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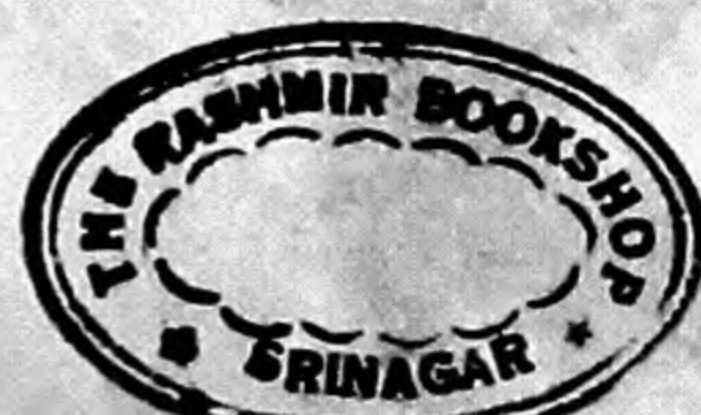
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THE WORKS OF EDMUND SPENSER

A Variorum Edition

S/c

THE FAERIE QVEENE

BOOKS SIX AND SEVEN

LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
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THE WORKS
OF
EDMUND SPENSER

A Variorum Edition

EDITED BY

EDWIN GREENLAW

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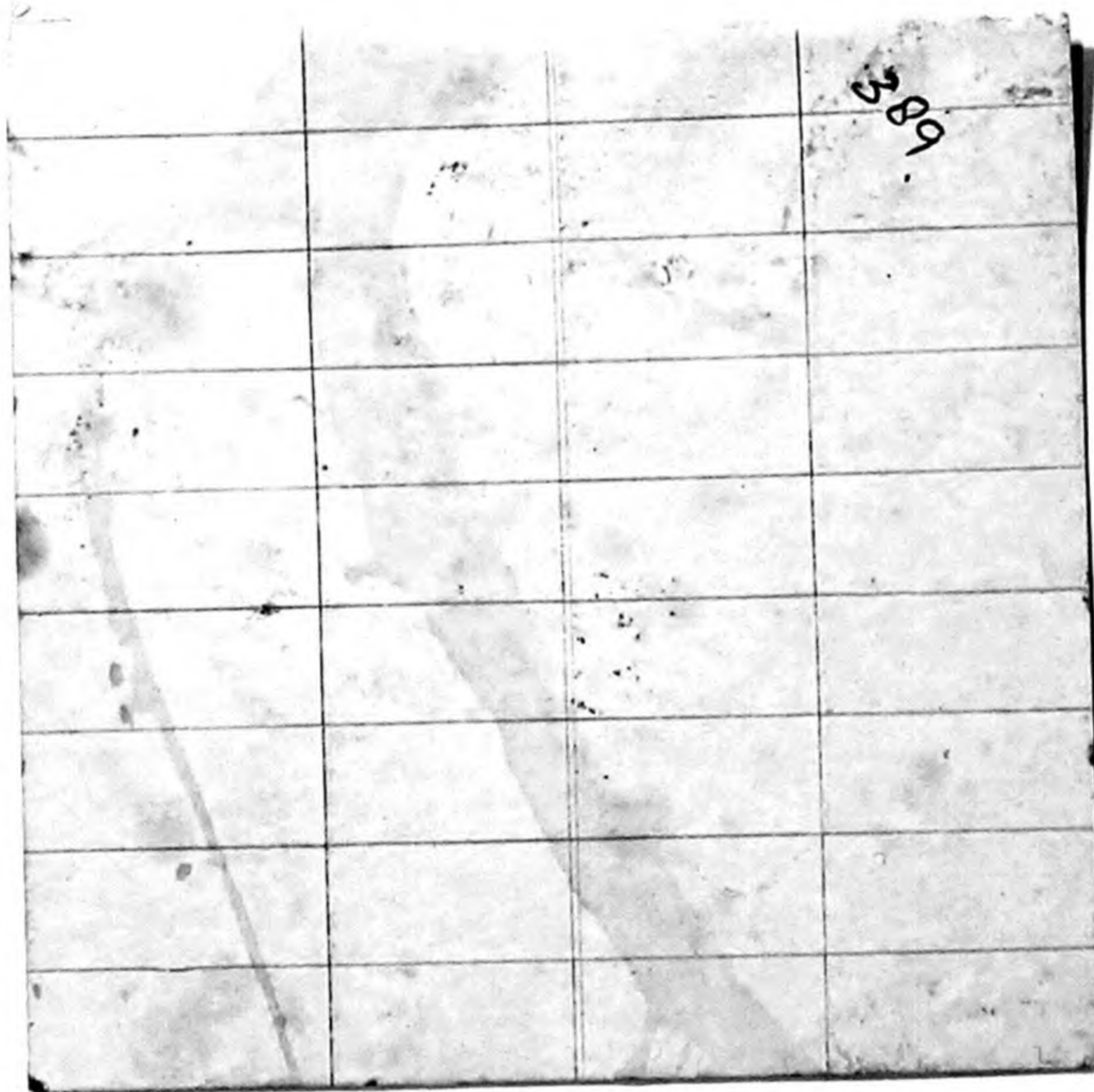
RAY HEFFNER



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THE FAERIE QVEENE

BOOKS SIX AND SEVEN

Prepared by

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BRENTS STIRLING



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PREFACE TO VOLUME SIX

The text is largely the work of Mr. McManaway, who has written the Critical Notes on the Text, collected the variants for all the editions consulted, and assumed the responsibility for the readings finally adopted. Mr. Heffner, Miss Mason, Mr. Osgood, and Mr. Padelford read copies of the 1596 and 1609 editions and contributed to the variants for these editions. Mr. Roswell G. Ham supplied the corrections from Dryden's copy of the 1679 edition.

The notes for the Commentary were collected by Mr. Heffner, and all unsigned notes and notes ascribed to the EDITOR (without initials) are his. The checking and revision of the Commentary was done by Mr. Heffner, Miss Mason, Mr. Osgood, and Mr. Padelford. The Appendices for Book VI were prepared by Mr. Padelford, and revised by him, Mr. Heffner, and Mr. Osgood. Those for Book VII were collected and condensed by Mr. Stirling, with the assistance of the General Editors. The Index of Sources and Analogues and the Bibliography were prepared by Mr. Heffner. The treatise on the punctuation is the work of Mr. Padelford, assisted by Miss Dorothy Atkinson and Mr. Stirling.

We are indebted to Miss Kathrine Koller and Mr. Lewis F. Ball for assistance in checking the many references in the Commentary, to Mr. Edwin E. Willoughby for assistance in the discussion of bibliographical problems, and to Miss Sarah Jenkins Smith for assistance in checking certain textual variants.

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R. H.
C. G. O.
F. M. P.

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THE SIXTH
BOOKE OF THE
FAERIE QVEENE.

Contayning

THE LEGEND OF S. CALIDORE
OR
OF COVRTESIE.

He waies, through which my weary steps I guyde, i
In this delightfull land of Faery,
Are so exceeding spacious and wyde,
And sprinkled with such sweet variety,
Of all that pleasant is to eare or eye,
That I nigh rauisht with rare thoughts delight,
My tedious trauell doe forget thereby;
And when I gin to feele decay of might,
It strength to me supplies, and chears my dulled spright.
Such secret comfort, and such heauenly pleasures, ii
Ye sacred imps, that on *Parnasso* dwell,
And there the keeping haue of learnings treasures,
Which doe all worldly riches farre excell,
Into the mindes of mortall men doe well,
And goodly fury into them infuse;
Guyde ye my footing, and conduct me well
In these strange waies, where neuer foote did vse,
Ne none can find, but who was taught them by the Muse.

Reuele to me the sacred nursery
 Of vertue, which with you doth there remaine,
 Where it in siluer bowre does hidden ly
 From view of men, and wicked worlds disdaine.
 Since it at first was by the Gods with paine
 Planted in earth, being deriu'd at furst
 From heauenly seedes of bounty soueraine,
 And by them long with carefull labour nurst,
 Till it to ripenesse grew, and forth to honour burst.

iv

Amongst them all growes not a fayrer flowre,
 Then is the bloosme of comely courtesie,
 Which though it on a lowly stalke doe bowre,
 Yet brancheth forth in braue nobilitie,
 And spreads it selfe through all ciuilitie:
 Of which though present age doe plenteous seeme,
 Yet being matcht with plaine Antiquitie,
 Ye will them all but fayned shoves esteeme,
 Which carry colours faire, that feeble eies misdeeme.

v

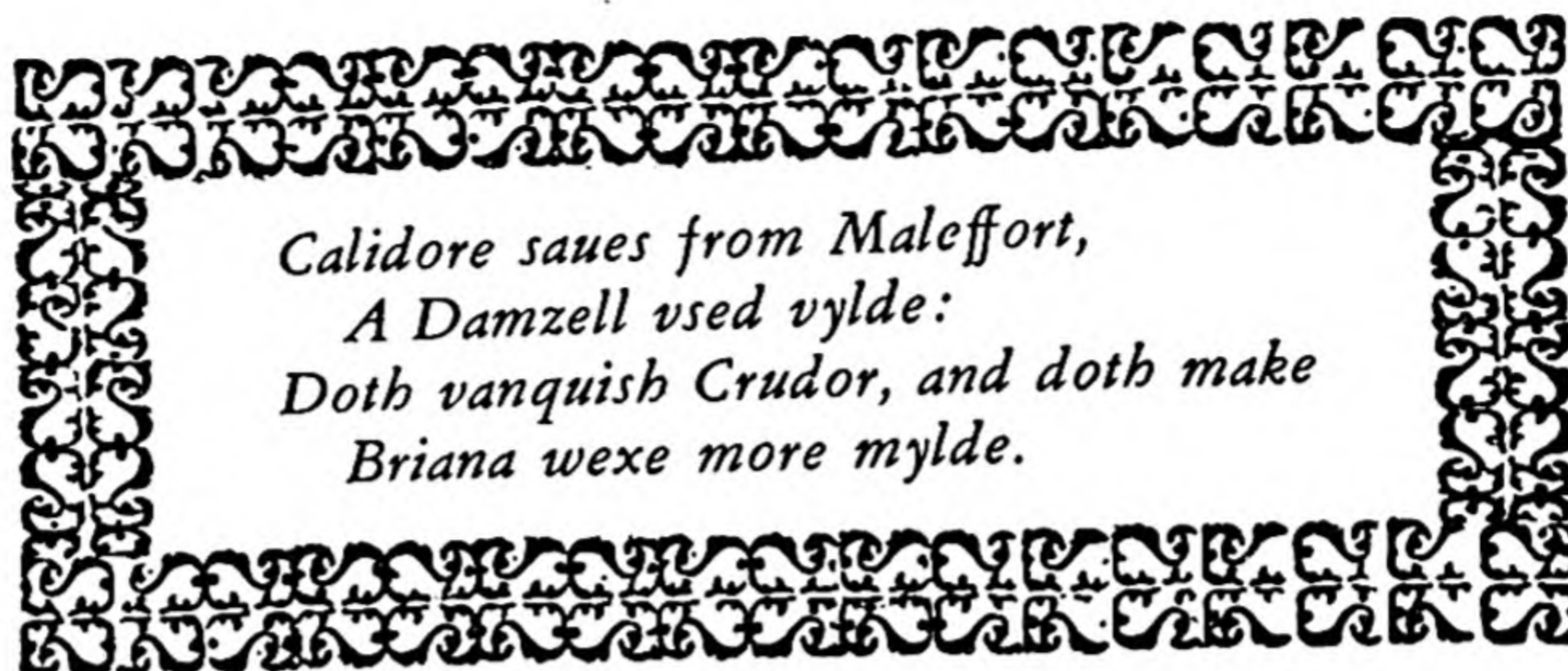
But in the triall of true curtesie,
 Its now so farre from that, which then it was,
 That it indeed is nought but forgerie,
 Fashion'd to please the eies of them, that pas,
 Which see not perfect things but in a glas:
 Yet is that glasse so gay, that it can blynd
 The wisest sight, to thinke gold that is bras.
 But vertues seat is deepe within the mynd,
 And not in outward shows, but inward thoughts defynd.

vi

But where shall I in all Antiquity
 So faire a patterne finde, where may be seene
 The goodly praise of Princely curtesie,
 As in your selfe, O soueraine Lady Queene,
 In whose pure minde, as in a mirrour sheene,
 It shoves, and with her brightnesse doth inflame
 The eyes of all, which thereon fixed beene;
 But meriteth indeede an higher name:
 Yet so from low to high vplifted is your name.

Then pardon me, most dreaded Soueraine,
That from your selfe I doe this vertue bring,
And to your selfe doe it returne againe:
So from the Ocean all riuers spring,
And tribute backe repay as to their King.
Right so from you all goodly vertues well
Into the rest, which round about you ring,
Faire Lords and Ladies, which about you dwell,
And doe adorne your Court, where courtesies excell.

Cant. I.



OF Court it seemes, men Courtesie doe call,
 For that it there most vseth to abound;
 And well beseemeth that in Princes hall
 That vertue should be plentifully found,
 Which of all goodly manners is the ground,
 And roote of ciuill conuersation.
 Right so in Faery court it did redound,
 Where curteous Knights and Ladies most did won
 Of all on earth, and made a matchlesse paragon.
 But mongst them all was none more courteous Knight,
 Then *Calidore*, beloued ouer all,
 In whom it seemes, that gentlenesse of spright
 And manners mylde were planted naturall;
 To which he adding comely guize withall,
 And gracious speach, did steale mens hearts away.
 Nathlesse thereto he was full stout and tall,
 And well approu'd in batteilous affray,
 That him did much renowme, and far his fame display.
 Ne was there Knight, ne was there Lady found
 In Faery court, but him did deare embrace,
 For his faire vsage and conditions sound,
 The which in all mens liking gayned place,
 And with the greatest purchast greatest grace:
 Which he could wisely vse, and well apply,
 To please the best, and th'euill to embase.
 For he loathd leasing, and base flattery,
 And loued simple truth and stedfast honesty.

i

ii

iii

And now he was in trauell on his way,
Vppon an hard aduenture sore bestad,
Whenas by chaunce he met vppon a day
With *Artegall*, returning yet halfe sad
From his late conquest, which he gotten had.
Who whenas each of other had a sight,
They knew them selues, and both their persons rad:
When *Calidore* thus first; Haile noblest Knight
Of all this day on ground, that breathen liuing spright.

iv

Now tell, if please you, of the good successe,
Which ye haue had in your late enterprize.
To whom Sir *Artegall* gan to expresse
His whole exploite, and valorous emprize,
In order as it did to him arize.
Now happy man (sayd then Sir *Calidore*)
Which haue so goodly, as ye can deuize,
Atchieu'd so hard a quest, as few before;
That shall you most renowmed make for euermore.

v

But where ye ended haue, now I begin
To tread an endlesse trace, withouten guyde,
Or good direction, how to enter in,
Or how to issue forth in waies vntryde,
In perils strange, in labours long and wide,
In which although good Fortune me befall,
Yet shall it not by none be testifyde.

vi

What is that quest (quoth then Sir *Artegall*)
That you into such perils presently doth call?

The Blattant Beast (quoth he) I doe pursew,
And through the world incessantly doe chase,
Till I him ouertake, or else subdew:
Yet know I not or how, or in what place
To find him out, yet still I forward trace.
What is that Blattant Beast? (then he replide.)
It is a Monster bred of hellishe race,
(Then answerd he) which often hath annoyd
Good Knights and Ladies true, and many else destroyd.

vii

Of *Cerberus* whilome he was begot,
 And fell *Chimæra* in her darkesome den,
 Through fowle commixture of his filthy blot;
 Where he was fostred long in *Stygian* fen,
 Till he to perfect ripenesse grew, and then
 Into this wicked world he forth was sent,
 To be the plague and scourge of wretched men:
 Whom with vile tongue and venemous intent
 He sore doth wound, and bite, and cruelly torment.

ix

Then since the saluage Island I did leaue,
 Sayd *Artegall*, I such a Beast did see,
 The which did seeme a thousand tongues to haue,
 That all in spight and malice did agree,
 With which he bayd and loudly barkt at mee,
 As if that he attonce would me deuoure.
 But I that knew my selfe from perill free,
 Did nought regard his malice nor his powre,
 But he the more his wicked poyson forth did poure.

x

That surely is that Beast (saide *Calidore*)
 Which I pursue, of whom I am right glad
 To heare these tidings, which of none afore
 Through all my weary trauell I haue had:
 Yet now some hope your words vnto me add.
 Now God you speed (quoth then Sir *Artegall*)
 And keepe your body from the daunger drad,
 For ye haue much adoe to deale withall:
 So both tooke goodly leaue, and parted seuerall.

xi

Sir *Calidore* thence trauelled not long,
 When as by chaunce a comely Squire he found,
 That thorough some more mighty enemies wrong,
 Both hand and foote vnto a tree was bound:
 Who seeing him from farre, with piteous sound
 Of his shrill cries him called to his aide.
 To whom approching, in that painefull stound
 When he him saw, for no demaunds he staide,
 But first him losde, and afterwards thus to him saide.

Vnhappy Squire, what hard mishap thee brought
Into this bay of perill and disgrace?
What cruell hand thy wretched thraldome wrought,
And thee captyued in this shamefull place?
To whom he answerd thus; My haplesse case
Is not occasiond through my misdesert,
But through misfortune, which did me abase
Vnto this shame, and my young hope subuert,
Ere that I in her guilefull traines was well expert.

xii

Not farre from hence, vppon yond rocky hill,
Hard by a streight there stands a castle strong,
Which doth obserue a custome lewd and ill,
And it hath long mayntaind with mighty wrong:
For may no Knight nor Lady passe along
That way, (and yet they needs must passe that way,)
By reason of the streight, and rocks among,
But they that Ladies lockes doe shaue away,
And that knights berd for toll, which they for passage pay.

xiii

A shamefull vse as euer I did heare,
Sayd *Calidore*, and to be ouerthrowne.
But by what meanes did they at first it reare,
And for what cause, tell if thou haue it knowne.
Sayd then that Squire: The Lady which doth owne
This Castle, is by name *Briana* hight.
Then which a prouder Lady liueth none:
She long time hath deare lou'd a doughty Knight,
And sought to win his loue by all the meanes she might.

xiv

His name is *Crudor*, who through high disdaine
And proud despight of his selfe pleasing mynd,
Refused hath to yeeld her loue againe,
Vntill a Mantle she for him doe fynd,
With beards of Knights and locks of Ladies lynd.
Which to prouide, she hath this Castle dight,
And therein hath a Seneschall assynd,
Cald *Maleffort*, a man of mickle might,
Who executes her wicked will, with worse despight.

xv

He this same day, as I that way did come
 With a faire Damzell, my beloued deare,
 In execution of her lawlesse doome,
 Did set vppon vs flying both for feare:
 For little bootes against him hand to reare.
 Me first he tooke, vnhabable to withstond;
 And whiles he her pursued euery where,
 Till his returne vnto this tree he bond:
 Ne wote I surely, whether her he yet haue fond.

xvii

Thus whiles they spake, they heard a ruefull shrieke
 Of one loud crying, which they streight way ghest,
 That it was she, the which for helpe did seeke.
 Tho looking vp vnto the cry to lest,
 They saw that Carle from farre, with hand vnblest
 Hayling that mayden by the yellow heare,
 That all her garments from her snowy brest,
 And from her head her lockes he nigh did teare,
 Ne would he spare for pittie, nor refraine for feare.

xviii

Which haynous sight when *Calidore* beheld,
 Eftsoones he loosd that Squire, and so him left,
 With hearts dismay and inward dolour queld,
 For to pursue that villaine, which had reft
 That piteous spoile by so iniurious theft.
 Whom ouertaking, loude to him he cryde;
 Leaue faytor quickly that misgotten weft
 To him, that hath it better iustifyde,
 And turne thee soone to him, of whom thou art defyde.

xix

Who hearkning to that voice, him selfe vpreard,
 And seeing him so fiercely towards make,
 Against him stoutly ran, as nought afeard,
 But rather more enrag'd for those words sake;
 And with sterne count'naunce thus vnto him spake.
 Art thou the caytiue, that defyest me,
 And for this Mayd, whose party thou doest take,
 Wilt giue thy beard, though it but little bee?
 Yet shall it not her lockes for raunsome fro me free.

With that he fiercely at him flew, and layd
On hideous strokes with most importune might,
That oft he made him stagger as vnstayd,
And oft recuile to shunne his sharpe despight.
But *Calidore*, that was well skild in fight,
Him long forbore, and still his spirite spar'd,
Lying in waite, how him he damadge might.
But when he felt him shrink, and come to ward,
He greater grew, and gan to driue at him more hard.

xx

Like as a water streame, whose swelling sourse
Shall driue a Mill, within strong bancks is pent,
And long restrayned of his ready course;
So soone as passage is vnto him lent,
Breakes forth, and makes his way more violent.
Such was the fury of Sir *Calidore*,
When once he felt his foeman to relent;
He fiercely him pursu'd, and pressed sore,
Who as he still decayd, so he encreased more.

xxi

The heauy burden of whose dreadfull might
When as the Carle no longer could sustaine,
His heart gan faint, and streight he tooke his flight
Toward the Castle, where if need constraine,
His hope of refuge vsed to remaine.
Whom *Calidore* perceiuing fast to flie,
He him pursu'd and chaced through the plaine,
That he for dread of death gan loude to crie
Vnto the ward, to open to him hastilie.

xxii

They from the wall him seeing so aghast,
The gate soone opened to receiue him in,
But *Calidore* did follow him so fast,
That euen in the Porch he him did win,
And cleft his head asunder to his chin.
The carkasse tumbling downe within the dore,
Did choke the entraunce with a lumpe of sin,
That it could not be shut, whilest *Calidore*
Did enter in, and slew the Porter on the flore.

xxiii

With that the rest, the which the Castle kept,
About him flockt, and hard at him did lay;
But he them all from him full lightly swept,
As doth a Steare, in heat of sommers day,
With his long taile the bryzes brush away.
Thence passing forth, into the hall he came,
Where of the Lady selfe in sad dismay
He was ymett, who with vncomely shame
Gan him salute, and fowle vpbrayd with faulty blame.

xxiv

False traytor Knight, (sayd she) no Knight at all,
But scorne of armes that hast with guilty hand
Murdred my men, and slaine my Seneschall;
Now comest thou to rob my house vnmand,
And spoile my selfe, that can not thee withstand?
Yet doubt thou not, but that some better Knight
Then thou, that shall thy treason vnderstand,
Will it auenge, and pay thee with thy right:
And if none do, yet shame shal thee with shame requight.

xxv

Much was the Knight abashed at that word;
Yet answerd thus; Not vnto me the shame,
But to the shamefull doer it afford.
Bloud is no blemish; for it is no blame
To punish those, that doe deserue the same;
But they that breake bands of ciuilitie,
And wicked customes make, those doe defame
Both noble armes and gentle curtesie.
No greater shame to man then inhumanitie.

xxvi

Then doe your selfe, for dread of shame, forgoe
This euill manner, which ye here maintaine,
And doe in stead thereof mild curt'sie showe
To all, that passe. That shall you glory gaine
More then his loue, which thus ye seeke t'obtaine.
Wherewith all full of wrath, she thus replyde;
Vile recreant, know that I doe much disdain
Thy courteous lore, that doest my loue deride,
Who scornes thy ydle scoffe, and bids thee be defyde.

xxvii

To take defiaunce at a Ladies word

xxviii

(Quoth he) I hold it no indignity;

But were he here, that would it with his sword

Abett, perhaps he mote it deare aby.

Cowherd (quoth she) were not, that thou wouldst fly,

Ere he doe come, he should be soone in place.

If I doe so, (sayd he) then liberty

I leaue to you, for aye me to disgrace

With all those shames, that erst ye spake me to deface.

With that a Dwarfe she cald to her in hast,

xxix

And taking from her hand a ring of gould,

A priuy token, which betweene them past,

Bad him to flie with all the speed he could,

To *Crudor*, and desire him that he would

Vouchsafe to reskue her against a Knight,

Who through strong powre had now her self in hould,

Hauing late slaine her Seneschall in fight,

And all her people murdred with outrageous might.

The Dwarfe his way did hast, and went all night;

xxx

But *Calidore* did with her there abyde

The comming of that so much threatned Knight,

Where that discourteous Dame with scornfull pryde,

And fowle entreaty him indignifyde,

That yron heart it hardly could sustaine:

Yet he, that could his wrath full wisely guyde,

Did well endure her womanish disdaine,

And did him selfe from fraile impatience refraine.

The morrow next, before the lampe of light

xxxi

Aboue the earth vpreard his flaming head,

The Dwarfe, which bore that message to her knight,

Brought aunswere backe, that ere he tasted bread,

He would her succour, and aliue or dead

Her foe deliuer vp into her hand:

Therefore he wild her doe away all dread;

And that of him she mote assured stand,

He sent to her his basenet, as a faithfull band.

xxxii

Thereof full blyth the Lady streight became,
 And gan t'augment her bitternesse much more:
 Yet no whit more appalled for the same,
 Ne ought dismayed was Sir *Calidore*,
 But rather did more chearefull seeme therefore.
 And hauing soone his armes about him dight,
 Did issue forth, to meete his foe afore;
 Where long he stayed not, when as a Knight
 He spide come pricking on with al his powre and might.

xxxiii

Well weend he streight, that he should be the same,
 Which tooke in hand her quarrell to maintaine;
 Ne stayd to aske if it were he by name,
 But coucht his speare, and ran at him amaine.
 They bene ymett in midst of the plaine,
 With so fell fury, and dispiteous forse,
 That neither could the others stroke sustaine,
 But rudely rowld to ground both man and horse,
 Neither of other taking pittie nor remorse.

xxxiv

But *Calidore* vprose againe full light,
 Whiles yet his foe lay fast in sencelesse sound,
 Yet would he not him hurt, although he might:
 For shame he weend a sleeping wight to wound.
 But when *Briana* saw that drery stound,
 There where she stood vppon the Castle wall,
 She deem'd him sure to haue bene dead on ground,
 And made such piteous mourning therewithall,
 That from the battlements she ready seem'd to fall.

xxxv

Nathlesse at length him selfe he did vpreare
 In lustlesse wise, as if against his will,
 Ere he had slept his fill, he wakened were,
 And gan to stretch his limbs; which feeling ill
 Of his late fall, a while he rested still:
 But when he saw his foe before in vew,
 He shooke off luskishnesse, and courage chill
 Kindling a fresh, gan battell to renew,
 To proue if better foote then horsebacke would ensew.

There then began a fearefull cruell fray
Betwixt them two, for maystery of might.
For both were wondrous practicke in that play,
And passing well expert in single fight,
And both inflam'd with furious despight:
Which as it still encreast, so still increast
Their cruell strokes and terrible affright;
Ne once for ruth their rigour they releast,
Ne once to breath a while their angers tempest ceast.

xxxvi

Thus long they trac'd and trauerst to and fro,
And tryde all waies, how each mote entrance make
Into the life of his malignant foe;
They hew'd their helmes, and plates asunder brake,
As they had potshares bene; for nought mote slake
Their greedy vengeaunces, but goary blood,
That at the last like to a purple lake
Of bloudy gore congeal'd about them stood,
Which from their riuen sides forth gushed like a flood.

xxxvii

At length it chaunst, that both their hands on hie
At once did heaue, with all their powre and might,
Thinking the vtmost of their force to trie,
And proue the finall fortune of the fight:
But *Calidore*, that was more quicke of sight,
And nimbler handed, then his enemye,
Preuented him before his stroke could light,
And on the helmet smote him formerlie,
That made him stoupe to ground with meeke humilitie.

xxxviii

And ere he could recouer foot againe,
He following that faire aduantage fast,
His stroke redoubled with such might and maine,
That him vpon the ground he groueling cast;
And leaping to him light, would haue vnlast
His Helme, to make vnto his vengeance way.
Who seeing, in what daunger he was plast,
Cryde out, Ah mercie Sir, doe me not slay,
But saue my life, which lot before your foot doth lay.

xxxix

With that his mortall hand a while he stayd,
And hauing somewhat calm'd his wrathfull heat
With goodly patience, thus he to him sayd;
And is the boast of that proud Ladies threat,
That menaced me from the field to beat,
Now brought to this? By this now may ye learne,
Strangers no more so rudely to intreat,
But put away proud looke, and vsage sterne,
The which shal nought to you but foule dishonor yearne.

xl

For nothing is more blamefull to a knight,
That court'sie doth as well as armes professe,
How euer strong and fortunate in fight,
Then the reproch of pride and cruelnesse.
In vaine he seeketh others to suppressse,
Who hath not learnd him selfe first to subdew:
All flesh is frayle, and full of ficklenesse,
Subiect to fortunes chance, still chaunging new;
What haps to day to me, to morrow may to you.

xli

Who will not mercie vnto others shew,
How can he mercy euer hope to haue?
To pay each with his owne is right and dew.
Yet since ye mercie now doe need to craue,
I will it graunt, your hopelesse life to saue;
With these conditions, which I will propound:
First, that ye better shall your selfe behaue
Vnto all errant knights, whereso on ground;
Next that ye Ladies ayde in euery stead and stound.

xlii

The wretched man, that all this while did dwell
In dread of death, his heasts did gladly heare,
And promist to performe his precept well,
And whatsoeuer else he would requere.
So suffring him to rise, he made him sweare
By his owne sword, and by the crosse thereon,
To take *Briana* for his louing fere,
Withouten dowre or composition;
But to release his former foule condition.

xliii

All which accepting, and with faithfull oth
Bynding himselfe most firmly to obay,
He vp arose, how euer liefte or loth,
And swore to him true fealtie for aye.
Then forth he cald from sorrowfull dismay
The sad *Briana*, which all this beheld:
Who comming forth yet full of late affray,
Sir *Calidore* vpheard, and to her teld
All this accord, to which he *Crudor* had compeld.

xliv

Whereof she now more glad, then sory earst,
All ouercome with infinite affect,
For his exceeding courtesie, that pearst
Her stubborne hart with inward deepe effect,
Before his feet her selfe she did proiect,
And him adoring as her liues deare Lord,
With all due thankes, and dutifull respect,
Her selfe acknowledg'd bound for that accord,
By which he had to her both life and loue restord.

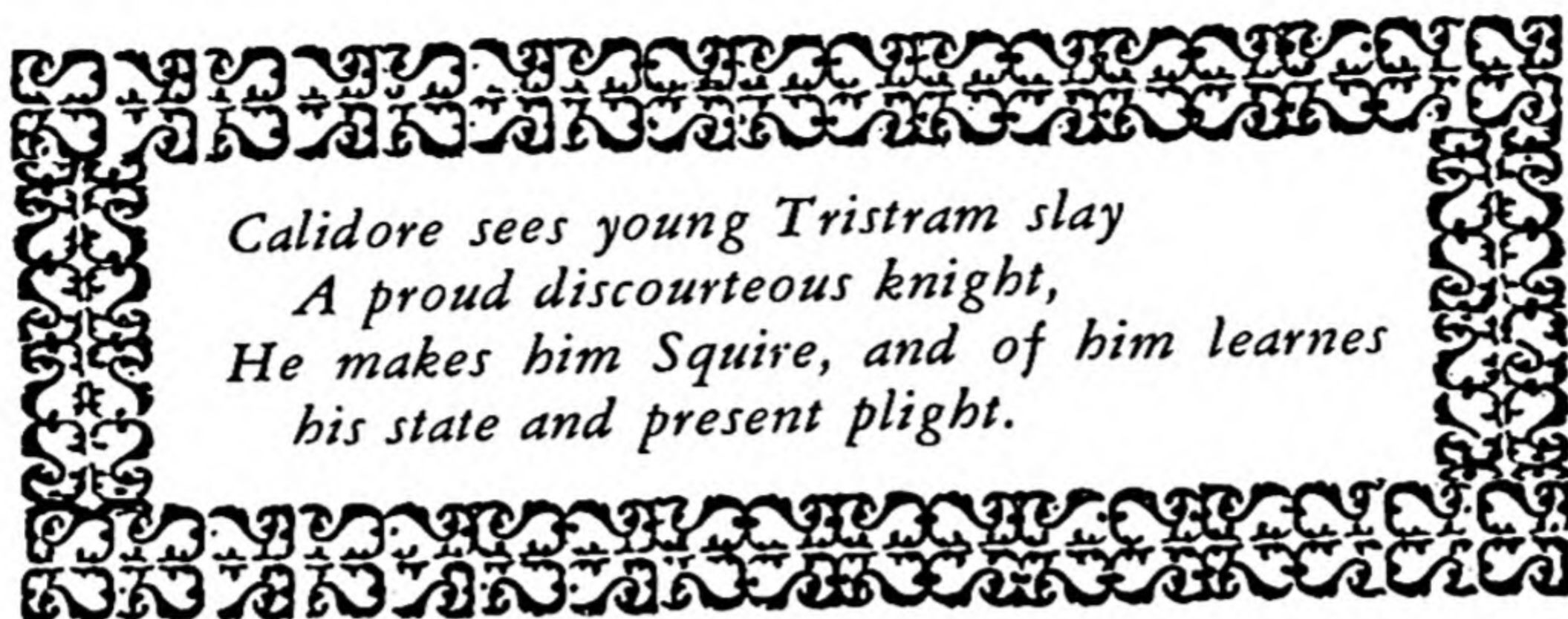
xlv

So all returning to the Castle glad,
Most ioyfully she them did entertaine,
Where goodly glee and feast to them she made,
To shew her thankefull mind and meaning faine,
By all the meanes she mote it best explaine:
And after all, vnto Sir *Calidore*
She freely gaue that Castle for his paine,
And her selfe bound to him for euermore;
So wondrously now chaung'd, from that she was afore.

xlvi

But *Calidore* himselfe would not retaine
Nor land nor fee, for hyre of his good deede,
But gaue them streight vnto that Squire againe,
Whom from her Seneschall he lately freed,
And to his damzell as their rightfull meed,
For recompence of all their former wrong:
There he remaind with them right well agreed,
Till of his wounds he waxed hole and strong,
And then to his first quest he passed forth along.

xlvii

Cant. II.

WHat vertue is so fitting for a knight,
 Or for a Ladie, whom a knight should loue,
 As Curtesie, to beare themselues aright
 To all of each degree, as doth behoue?
 For whether they be placed high aboue,
 Or low beneath, yet ought they well to know
 Their good, that none them rightly may reprove
 Of rudenesse, for not yeelding what they owe:
 Great skill it is such duties timely to bestow.

i

Thereto great helpe dame Nature selfe doth lend:
 For some so goodly gracious are by kind,
 That euery action doth them much commend,
 And in the eyes of men great liking find;
 Which others, that haue greater skill in mind,
 Though they enforce themselues, cannot attaine.
 For euerie thing, to which one is inclin'd,
 Doth best become, and greatest grace doth gaine:
 Yet praise likewise deserue good thewes, enforst with paine.

ii

That well in courteous *Calidore* appeares,
 Whose euery act and word, that he did say,
 Was like enchantment, that through both the eares,
 And both the eyes did steale the hart away.
 He now againe is on his former way,
 To follow his first quest, when as he spyde
 A tall young man from thence not farre away,
 Fighting on foot, as well he him descryde,
 Against an armed knight, that did on horsebacke ryde.

iii

And them beside a Ladie faire he saw,
Standing alone on foot, in foule array:
To whom himselfe he hastily did draw,
To weet the cause of so vncomely fray,
And to depart them, if so be he may.
But ere he came in place, that youth had kild
That armed knight, that low on ground he lay;
Which when he saw, his hart was inly child
With great amazement, and his thought with wonder fild.

iv

Him stedfastly he markt, and saw to bee
A goodly youth of amiable grace,
Yet but a slender slip, that scarce did see
Yet seuentene yeares, but tall and faire of face
That sure he deem'd him borne of noble race.
All in a woodmans iacket he was clad
Of Lincolne greene, belayd with siluer lace;
And on his head an hood with aglets sprad,
And by his side his hunters horne he hanging had.

v

Buskins he wore of costliest cordwayne,
Pinckt vpon gold, and paled part per part,
As then the guize was for each gentle swayne;
In his right hand he held a trembling dart,
Whose fellow he before had sent apart;
And in his left he held a sharpe borespeare,
With which he wont to launch the saluage hart
Of many a Lyon, and of many a Beare
That first vnto his hand in chase did happen neare.

vi

Whom *Calidore* a while well hauing vewed,
At length bespake; What meanes this, gentle swaine?
Why hath thy hand too bold it selfe embrewed
In blood of knight, the which by thee is slaine,
By thee no knight; which armes impugneth plaine?
Certes (said he) loth were I to haue broken
The law of armes; yet breake it should againe,
Rather then let my selfe of wight be stroken,
So long as these two armes were able to be wroken.

vii

For not I him, as this his Ladie here
 May witnesse well, did offer first to wrong,
 Ne surely thus vnarm'd I likely were;
 But he me first, through pride and puissance strong
 Assayld, not knowing what to armes doth long.
 Perdie great blame, (then said Sir *Calidore*)
 For armed knight a wight vnarm'd to wrong.
 But then aread, thou gentle chyld, wherefore
 Betwixt you two began this strife and sterne vprore.

That shall I sooth (said he) to you declare.
 I whose vnryper yeares are yet vnfit
 For thing of weight, or worke of greater care,
 Doe spend my dayes, and bend my carelesse wit
 To saluage chace, where I thereon may hit
 In all this forrest, and wyld wooddie raine:
 Where, as this day I was enraunging it,
 I chaunst to meete this knight, who there lyes slaine,
 Together with this Ladie, passing on the plaine.

The knight, as ye did see, on horsebacke was,
 And this his Ladie, (that him ill became,)
 On her faire feet by his horse side did pas
 Through thicke and thin, vnfit for any Dame.
 Yet not content, more to increase his shame,
 When so she lagged, as she needs mote so,
 He with his speare, that was to him great blame,
 Would thumpe her forward, and inforce to goe,
 Weeping to him in vaine, and making piteous woe.

Which when I saw, as they me passed by,
 Much was I moued in indignant mind,
 And gan to blame him for such cruelty
 Towards a Ladie, whom with vsage kind
 He rather should haue taken vp behind.
 Wherewith he wroth, and full of proud disdaine,
 Tooke in foule scorne, that I such fault did find,
 And me in lieu thereof reuil'd againe,
 Threatning to chastize me, as doth t'a chyld pertaine.

ix

x

xi

Which I no lesse disdayning, backe returned
His scornefull taunts vnto his teeth againe,
That he streight way with haughtie choler burned,
And with his speare strooke me one stroke or twaine;
Which I enforst to beare though to my paine,
Cast to requite, and with a slender dart,
Fellow of this I beare, throwne not in vaine,
Strooke him, as seemeth, vnderneath the hart,
That through the wound his spirit shortly did depart.

xii

Much did Sir *Calidore* admyre his speach
Tempred so well, but more admyr'd the stroke
That through the mayles had made so strong a breach
Into his hart, and had so sternely wroke
His wrath on him, that first occasion broke.
Yet rested not, but further gan inquire
Of that same Ladie, whether what he spoke,
Were soothly so, and that th'vnrighteous ire
Of her owne knight, had giuen him his owne due hire.

xiii

Of all which, when as she could nought deny,
But cleard that stripling of th'imputed blame,
Sayd then Sir *Calidore*; Neither will I
Him charge with guilt, but rather doe quite clame:
For what he spake, for you he spake it, Dame;
And what he did, he did him selfe to saue:
Against both which that knight wrought knightlesse shame.
For knights and all men this by nature haue,
Towards all womenkind them kindly to behaue.

xiv

But sith that he is gone irreuocable,
Please it you Ladie, to vs to aread,
What cause could make him so dishonourable,
To driue you so on foot vnfit to tread,
And lackey by him, gainst all womanhead?
Certes Sir knight (sayd she) full loth I were
To rayse a lyuing blame against the dead:
But since it me concernes, my selfe to clere,
I will the truth discouer, as it chaunst whylere.

xv

This day, as he and I together roade
Vpon our way, to which we weren bent,
We chaunst to come foreby a couert glade
Within a wood, whereas a Ladie gent
Sate with a knight in ioyous iolliment
Of their franke loues, free from all gealous spyes:
Faire was the Ladie sure, that mote content
An hart, not carried with too curious eyes,
And vnto him did shew all louely courtesyes.

xvi

Whom when my knight did see so louely faire,
He inly gan her louer to enuy,
And wish, that he part of his spoyle might share.
Whereto when as my presence he did spy
To be a let, he bad me by and by
For to alight: but when as I was loth,
My loues owne part to leaue so suddenly,
He with strong hand down from his steed me throw'th,
And with presumptuous powre against that knight streight go'th.

xvii

Vnarm'd all was the knight, as then more meete
For Ladies seruice, and for loues delight,
Then fearing any foeman there to meete:
Whereof he taking oddes, streight bids him dight
Himselfe to yeeld his loue, or else to fight.
Whereat the other starting vp dismayd,
Yet boldly answer'd, as he rightly might;
To leaue his loue he should be ill apayd,
In which he had good right gaynst all, that it gainesayd.

xviii

Yet since he was not presently in plight
Her to defend, or his to iustifie,
He him requested, as he was a knight,
To lend him day his better right to trie,
Or stay till he his armes, which were thereby,
Might lightly fetch. But he was fierce and whot,
Ne time would giue, nor any termes aby,
But at him flew, and with his speare him smot;
From which to thinke to saue himselfe, it booted not.

xix

Meane while his Ladie, which this outrage saw,
Whilest they together for the quarrey stroue,
Into the couert did her selfe withdraw,
And closely hid her selfe within the groue.
My knight hers soone, as seemes, to daunger droue
And left sore wounded: but when her he mist,
He woxe halfe mad, and in that rage gan roue
And range through all the wood, where so he wist
She hidden was, and sought her so long, as him list.

xx

But when as her he by no meanes could find,
After long search and chauff, he turned backe
Vnto the place, where me he left behind:
There gan he me to curse and ban, for lacke
Of that faire bootie, and with bitter wracke
To wreake on me the guilt of his owne wrong.
Of all which I yet glad to beare the packe,
Stroue to appease him, and perswaded long:
But still his passion grew more violent and strong.

xxi

Then as it were t'auenge his wrath on mee,
When forward we should fare, he flat refused
To take me vp (as this young man did see)
Vpon his steed, for no iust cause accused,
But forst to trot on foot, and foule misused,
Pouching me with the butt end of his speare,
In vaine complayning, to be so abused.
For he regarded neither playnt nor teare,
But more enforst my paine, the more my plaints to heare.

xxii

So passed we, till this young man vs met,
And being moou'd with pittie of my plight,
Spake, as was meet, for ease of my regret:
Whereof befell, what now is in your sight.
Now sure (then said Sir *Calidore*) and right
Me seemes, that him befell by his owne fault:
Who euer thinkes through confidence of might,
Or through support of count'nance proud and hault
To wrong the weaker, oft falles in his owne assault.

xxiii

Then turning backe vnto that gentle boy,
Which had himselfe so stoutly well acquit;
Seeing his face so louely sterne and coy,
And hearing th'answeres of his pregnant wit,
He praysd it much, and much admyred it;
That sure he weend him borne of noble blood,
With whom those graces did so goodly fit:
And when he long had him beholding stood,
He burst into these words, as to him seemed good.

xxiv

Faire gentle swayne, and yet as stout as fayre,
That in these woods amongst the Nymphs dost wonne,
Which daily may to thy sweete lookes repayre,
As they are wont vnto *Latonaes* sonne,
After his chace on woodie *Cynthus* donne:
Well may I certes such an one thee read,
As by thy worth thou worthily hast wonne,
Or surely borne of some Heroicke sead,
That in thy face appeares and gracious goodlyhead.

xxv

But should it not displease thee it to tell;
(Vnlesse thou in these woods thy selfe conceale,
For loue amongst the woodie Gods to dwell;)
I would thy selfe require thee to reueale,
For deare affection and vnfayned zeale,
Which to thy noble personage I beare,
And wish thee grow in worship and great weale.
For since the day that armes I first did reare,
I neuer saw in any greater hope appeare.

xxvi

To whom then thus the noble youth; May be
Sir knight, that by discovering my estate,
Harme may arise vnweeting vnto me;
Nathelesse, sith ye so courteous seemed late,
To you I will not feare it to relate.
Then wote ye that I am a Briton borne,
Sonne of a King, how euer thorough fate
Or fortune I my countrie haue forlorne,
And lost the crowne, which should my head by right adorne.

xxvii

And *Tristram* is my name, the onely heire
Of good king *Meliogras* which did rayne
In Cornewale, till that he through liues despeire
Vntimely dyde, before I did attaine
Ripe yeares of reason, my right to maintaine.
After whose death, his brother seeing mee
An infant, weake a kingdome to sustaine,
Vpon him tooke the roiall high degree,
And sent me, where him list, instructed for to bee.

xxviii

The widow Queene my mother, which then hight
Faire *Emiline*, conceiuing then great feare
Of my fraile safetie, resting in the might
Of him, that did the kingly Scepter beare,
Whose gealous dread induring not a peare,
Is wont to cut off all, that doubt may breed,
Thought best away me to remoue somewhere
Into some forrein land, where as no need
Of dreaded daunger might his doubtfull humor feed.

xxix

So taking counsell of a wise man red,
She was by him aduiz'd, to send me quight
Out of the countrie, wherein I was bred,
The which the fertile *Lionesse* is hight,
Into the land of *Faerie*, where no wight
Should weet of me, nor worke me any wrong.
To whose wise read she hearkning, sent me streight
Into this land, where I haue wond thus long,
Since I was ten yeares old, now growen to stature strong.

xxx

All which my daies I haue not lewdly spent,
Nor spilt the blossome of my tender yeares
In ydlesse, but as was conuenient,
Haue trayned bene with many noble feres
In gentle thewes, and such like seemely leres.
Mongst which my most delight hath alwaies been,
To hunt the saluage chace amongst my peres,
Of all that raungeth in the forrest greene;
Of which none is to me vnknowne, that eu'r was seene.

xxxi

Ne is there hauke, which mantleth her on pearch,
Whether high towring, or accoasting low,
But I the measure of her flight doe search,
And all her pray, and all her diet know.
Such be our ioyes, which in these forrests grow:
Onely the vse of armes, which most I ioy,
And fitteth most for noble swayne to know,
I haue not tasted yet, yet past a boy,
And being now high time these strong ioynts to imploy.

xxxii

Therefore, good Sir, sith now occasion fit
Doth fall, whose like hereafter seldome may,
Let me this craue, vnworthy though of it,
That ye will make me Squire without delay,
That from henceforth in batteilous array
I may beare armes, and learne to vse them right;
The rather since that fortune hath this day
Giuen to me the spoile of this dead knight,
These goodly gilden armes, which I haue won in fight.

xxxiii

All which when well Sir *Calidore* had heard,
Him much more now, then earst he gan admire,
For the rare hope which in his yeares appear'd,
And thus replide; Faire chyld, the high desire
To loue of armes, which in you doth aspire,
I may not certes without blame denie;
But rather wish, that some more noble hire,
(Though none more noble then is cheualrie,)
I had, you to reward with greater dignitie.

xxxiv

There him he causd to kneele, and made to sweare
Faith to his knight, and truth to Ladies all,
And neuer to be recreant, for feare
Of perill, or of ought that might befall:
So he him dubbed, and his Squire did call.
Full glad and ioyous then young *Tristram* grew,
Like as a flowre, whose silken leaues small,
Long shut vp in the bud from heauens vew,
At length breakes forth, and brode displayes his smyling hew.

xxxv

Thus when they long had treated to and fro,
And *Calidore* betooke him to depart,
Chyld *Tristram* prayd, that he with him might goe
On his aduventure, vowing not to start,
But wayt on him in euery place and part.
Whereat Sir *Calidore* did much delight,
And greatly ioy'd at his so noble hart,
In hope he sure would proue a doughtie knight:
Yet for the time this answere he to him behight.

xxxvi

Glad would I surely be, thou courteous Squire,
To haue thy presence in my present quest,
That mote thy kindled courage set on fire,
And flame forth honour in thy noble brest:
But I am bound by vow, which I profest
To my dread Soueraine, when I it assayd,
That in atchieuement of her high behest,
I should no creature ioyne vnto mine ayde,
For thy I may not graunt, that ye so greatly prayde.

xxxvii

But since this Ladie is all desolate,
And needeth safegard now vpon her way,
Ye may doe well in this her needfull state
To succour her, from daunger of dismay;
That thankfull guerdon may to you repay.
The noble ympe of such new seruice fayne,
It gladly did accept, as he did say.
So taking courteous leaue, they parted twayne,
And *Calidore* forth passed to his former payne.

xxxviii

But *Tristram* then despoyling that dead knight
Of all those goodly implements of prayse,
Long fed his greedie eyes with the faire sight
Of the bright mettall, shyning like Sunne rayes;
Handling and turning them a thousand wayes.
And after hauing them vpon him dight,
He tooke that Ladie, and her vp did rayse
Vpon the steed of her owne late dead knight,
So with her marched forth, as she did him behight.

xxxix

xl

There to their fortune leaue we them awhile,
 And turne we backe to good Sir *Calidore*;
 Who ere he thence had traueild many a mile,
 Came to the place, whereas ye heard afore
 This knight, whom *Tristram* slew, had wounded sore
 Another knight in his despiteous pryde;
 There he that knight found lying on the flore,
 With many wounds full perilous and wyde,
 That all his garments, and the grasse in vermeill dyde.

xli

And there beside him sate vpon the ground
 His wofull Ladie, piteously complayning
 With loud laments that most vnluckie stound,
 And her sad selfe with carefull hand constrayning
 To wype his wounds, and ease their bitter payning.
 Which sorie sight when *Calidore* did vew
 With heaueie eyne, from teares vneath refrayning,
 His mightie hart their mournefull case can rew,
 And for their better comfort to them nigher drew.

xlii

Then speaking to the Ladie, thus he sayd:
 Ye dolefull Dame, let not your grieve impeach
 To tell, what cruell hand hath thus arayd
 This knight vnarm'd, with so vnknightly breach
 Of armes, that if I yet him nigh may reach,
 I may auenge him of so foule despight.
 The Ladie hearing his so courteous speach,
 Gan reare her eyes as to the chearefull light,
 And from her sory hart few heaueie words forth sight.

xliii

In which she shew'd, how that discourteous knight
 (Whom *Tristram* slew) them in that shadow found,
 Ioying together in vnblam'd delight,
 And him vnarm'd, as now he lay on ground,
 Charg'd with his speare and mortally did wound,
 Withouten cause, but onely her to reauē
 From him, to whom she was for euer bound:
 Yet when she fled into that couert greaue,
 He her not finding, both them thus nigh dead did leaue.

When *Calidore* this ruefull storie had
Well vnderstood, he gan of her demand,
What manner wight he was, and how yclad,
Which had this outrage wrought with wicked hand.
She then, like as she best could vnderstand,
Him thus describ'd, to be of stature large,
Clad all in gilden armes, with azure band
Quartred athwart, and bearing in his targe
A Ladie on rough waues, row'd in a sommer barge.

xliv

Then gan Sir *Calidore* to ghesse streight way
By many signes, which she described had,
That this was he, whom *Tristram* earst did slay,
And to her said; Dame be no longer sad:
For he, that hath your Knight so ill bestad,
Is now him selfe in much more wretched plight;
These eyes him saw vpon the cold earth sprad,
The meede of his desert for that despight,
Which to your selfe he wrought, and to your loued knight.

xlv

Therefore faire Lady lay aside this griefe,
Which ye haue gathered to your gentle hart,
For that displeasure; and thinke what reliefe
Were best deuise for this your louers smart,
And how ye may him hence, and to what part
Conuay to be recur'd. She thank't him deare,
Both for that newes he did to her impart,
And for the courteous care, which he did beare
Both to her loue, and to her selfe in that sad dreare.

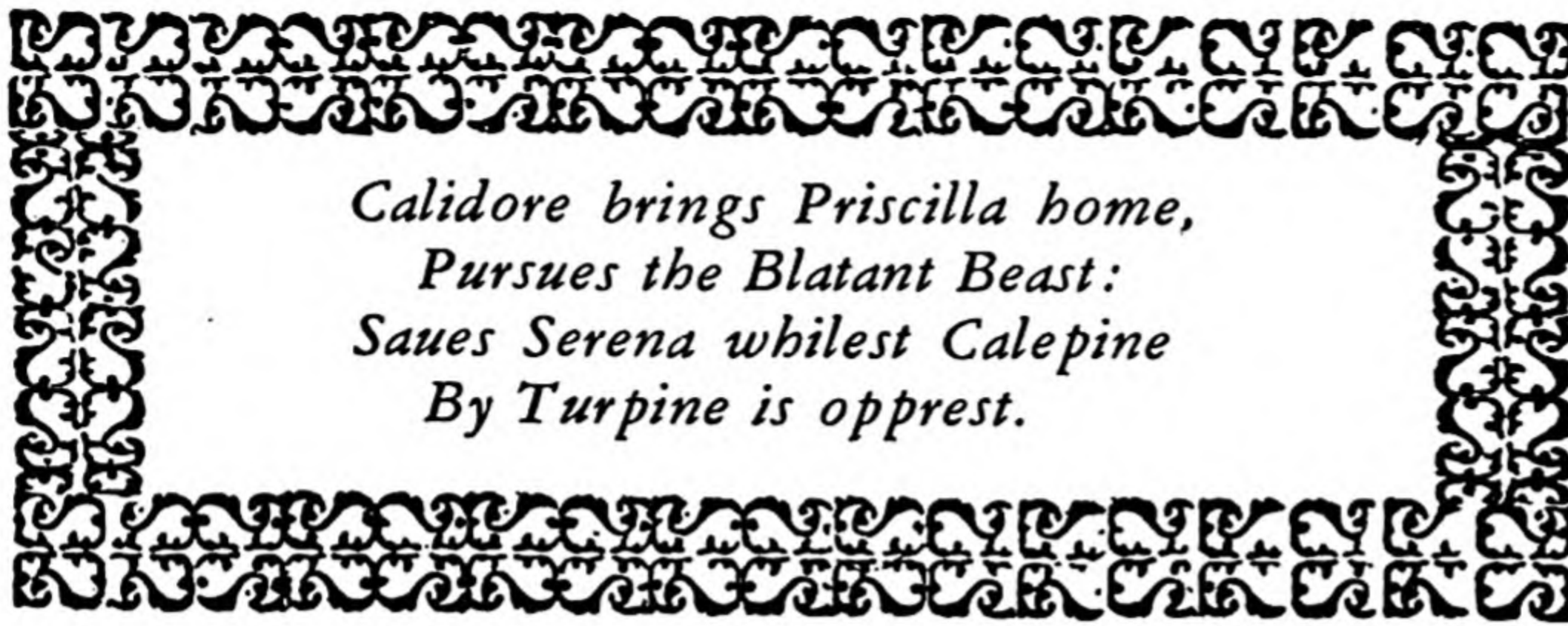
xlvi

Yet could she not deuise by any wit,
How thence she might conuay him to some place.
For him to trouble she it thought vnfit,
That was a straunger to her wretched case;
And him to beare, she thought it thing too base.
Which when as he perceiu'd, he thus bespake;
Faire Lady let it not you seeme disgrace,
To beare this burden on your dainty backe;
My selfe will beare a part, coportion of your packe.

xlvii

So off he did his shield, and downeward layd
Vpon the ground, like to an hollow beare;
And powring balme, which he had long puruayd,
Into his wounds, him vp thereon did reare,
And twixt them both with parted paines did beare,
Twixt life and death, not knowing what was donne.
Thence they him carried to a Castle neare,
In which a worthy auncient Knight did wonne:
Where what ensu'd, shall in next Canto be begonne.

Cant. III.



TRue is, that whilome that good Poet sayd,
 The gentle minde by gentle deeds is knowne.
 For a man by nothing is so well bewrayd,
 As by his manners, in which plaine is showne
 Of what degree and what race he is growne.
 For seldome seene, a trotting Stalion get
 An ambling Colt, that is his proper owne:
 So seldome seene, that one in basenesse set
 Doth noble courage shew, with curteous manners met.

i

But euermore contrary hath bene tryde,
 That gentle blood will gentle manners breed;
 As well may be in *Calidore* descryde,
 By late ensample of that courteous deed,
 Done to that wounded Knight in his great need,
 Whom on his backe he bore, till he him brought
 Vnto the Castle where they had decreed.
 There of the Knight, the which that Castle ought,
 To make abode that night he greatly was besought.

ii

He was to weete a man of full ripe yeares,
 That in his youth had beene of mickle might,
 And borne great sway in armes amongst his peares:
 But now weake age had dimd his candle light.
 Yet was he courteous still to euery wight,
 And loued all that did to armes incline.
 And was the father of that wounded Knight,
 Whom *Calidore* thus carried on his chine,
 And *Aldus* was his name, and his sonnes *Aladine*.

iii

Who when he saw his sonne so ill bedight,
With bleeding wounds, brought home vpon a Beare,
By a faire Lady, and a straunger Knight,
Was inly touched with compassion deare,
And deare affection of so dolefull dreare,
That he these words burst forth; Ah sory boy,
Is this the hope that to my hoary heare
Thou brings? aie me, is this the timely ioy,
Which I expected long, now turnd to sad annoy?

iv

Such is the weakenesse of all mortall hope;
So tickle is the state of earthly things,
That ere they come vnto their aymed scope,
They fall too short of our fraile reckonings,
And bring vs bale and bitter sorrowings,
In stead of comfort, which we should embrace:
This is the state of Keasars and of Kings.
Let none therefore, that is in meaner place,
Too greatly grieue at any his vnlucky case.

v

So well and wisely did that good old Knight
Temper his griefe, and turned it to cheare,
To cheare his guests, whom he had stayd that night,
And make their welcome to them well appeare:
That to Sir *Calidore* was easie geare;
But that faire Lady would be cheard for nought,
But sigh'd and sorrow'd for her loue deare,
And inly did afflict her pensiue thought,
With thinking to what case her name should now be brought.

vi

For she was daughter to a noble Lord,
Which dwelt thereby, who sought her to affy
To a great pere; but she did disaccord,
Ne could her liking to his loue apply,
But lou'd this fresh young Knight, who dwelt her ny,
The lusty *Aladine*, though meaner borne,
And of lesse liuelood and hability,
Yet full of valour, the which did adorne
His meanesse much, and make her th'others riches scorne.

vii

So hauing both found fit occasion,
They met together in that luckelesse glade;
Where that proud Knight in his presumption
The gentle *Aladine* did earst inuade,
Being vnarm'd, and set in secret shade.
Whereof she now bethinking, gan t'aduize,
How great a hazard she at earst had made
Of her good fame, and further gan deuize,
How she the blame might salue with coloured disguise.

viii

But *Calidore* with all good courtesie
Fain'd her to frolicke, and to put away
The pensie fit of her melancholie;
And that old Knight by all meanes did assay,
To make them both as merry as he may.
So they the euening past, till time of rest,
When *Calidore* in seemly good array
Vnto his bowre was brought, and there vndrest,
Did sleepe all night through weary trauell of his quest.

ix

But faire *Priscilla* (so that Lady hight)
Would to no bed, nor take no kindly sleepe,
But by her wounded loue did watch all night,
And all the night for bitter anguish weepe,
And with her teares his wounds did wash and steepe.
So well she washt them, and so well she wacht him,
That of the deadly swound, in which full deepe
He drenched was, she at the length dispacht him,
And droue away the stound, which mortally attacht him.

x

The morrow next, when day gan to vplooke,
He also gan vplooke with drery eye,
Like one that out of deadly dreame awooke:
Where when he saw his faire *Priscilla* by,
He deeply sigh'd, and groaned inwardly,
To thinke of this ill state, in which she stood,
To which she for his sake had weetingly
Now brought her selfe, and blam'd her noble blood:
For first, next after life, he tendered her good.

xi

Which she perceiuing, did with plenteous teares
His care more then her owne compassionate,
Forgetfull of her owne, to minde his feares:
So both conspiring, gan to intimate
Each others griefe with zeale affectionate,
And twixt them twaine with equall care to cast,
How to saue hole her hazarded estate;
For which the onely helpe now left them last
Seem'd to be *Calidore*: all other helpes were past.

xii

Him they did deeme, as sure to them he seemed,
A courteous Knight, and full of faithfull trust:
Therefore to him their cause they best esteemed
Whole to commit, and to his dealing iust.
Earely, so soone as *Titans* beames forth brust
Through the thicke clouds, in which they steeped lay
All night in darkenesse, duld with yron rust,
Calidore rising vp as fresh as day,
Gan freshly him addresse vnto his former way.

xiii

But first him seemed fit, that wounded Knight
To visite, after this nights perillous passe,
And to salute him, if he were in plight,
And eke that Lady his faire louely lasse.
There he him found much better then he was,
And moued speach to him of things of course,
The anguish of his paine to ouerpasse:
Mongst which he namely did to him discourse,
Of former daies mishap, his sorrowes wicked sourse.

xiv

Of which occasion *Aldine* taking hold,
Gan breake to him the fortunes of his loue,
And all his disaduentures to vnfold;
That *Calidore* it dearly deepe did moue.
In th'end his kyndly courtesie to proue,
He him by all the bands of loue besought,
And as it mote a faithfull friend behoue,
To safeconduct his loue, and not for ought
To leaue, till to her fathers house he had her brought.

xv

Sir *Calidore* his faith thereto did plight,
It to performe: so after little stay,
That she her selfe had to the iourney dight,
He passed forth with her in faire array,
Fearelesse, who ought did thinke, or ought did say,
Sith his own thought he knew most cleare from wite.
So as they past together on their way,
He can deuize this counter-cast of slight,
To giue faire colour to that Ladies cause in sight.

xvi

Streight to the carkasse of that Knight he went,
The cause of all this euill, who was slaine
The day before by iust auengement
Of noble *Tristram*, where it did remaine:
There he the necke thereof did cut in twaine,
And tooke with him the head, the signe of shame.
So forth he passed thorough that daies paine,
Till to that Ladies fathers house he came,
Most pensiue man, through feare, what of his childe became.

xvii

There he arriuing boldly, did present
The fearefull Lady to her father deare,
Most perfect pure, and guiltlesse innocent
Of blame, as he did on his Knighthood sweare,
Since first he saw her, and did free from feare
Of a discourteous Knight, who her had reft,
And by outrageous force away did beare:
Witnesse thereof he shew'd his head there left,
And wretched life forlorne for vengeance of his theft.

xviii

Most ioyfull man her sire was her to see,
And heare th'aduenture of her late mischaunce;
And thousand thanks to *Calidore* for fee
Of his large paines in her deliueraunce
Did yeeld; Ne lesse the Lady did aduaunce.
Thus hauing her restored trustily,
As he had vow'd, some small continuaunce
He there did make, and then most carefully
Vnto his first exploite he did him selfe apply.

xix

So as he was pursuing of his quest
 He chaunst to come whereas a iolly Knight,
 In couert shade him selfe did safely rest,
 To solace with his Lady in delight:
 His warlike armes he had from him vndight;
 For that him selfe he thought from daunger free,
 And far from enuious eyes that mote him spight.
 And eke the Lady was full faire to see,
 And courteous withall, becomming her degree.

xx

To whom Sir *Calidore* approaching nye,
 Ere they were well aware of liuing wight,
 Them much abasht, but more him selfe thereby,
 That he so rudely did vppon them light,
 And troubled had their quiet loues delight.
 Yet since it was his fortune, not his fault,
 Him selfe thereof he labour'd to acquite,
 And pardon crau'd for his so rash default,
 That he gainst courtesie so fowly did default.

xxi

With which his gentle words and goodly wit
 He soone allayd that Knights conceiu'd displeasure,
 That he besought him downe by him to sit,
 That they mote treat of things abroad at leasure;
 And of aduentures, which had in his measure
 Of so long waies to him befallen late.
 So downe he sate, and with delightfull pleasure
 His long aduentures gan to him relate,
 Which he endured had through daungerous debate.

xxii

Of which whilst they discoursed both together,
 The faire *Serena* (so his Lady hight)
 Allur'd with myldnesse of the gentle wether,
 And pleasaunce of the place, the which was dight
 With diuers flowres distinct with rare delight,
 Wandred about the fields, as liking led
 Her wauering lust after her wandring sight,
 To make a garland to adorne her hed,
 Without suspect of ill or daungers hidden dred.

xxiii

All sodainely out of the forrest nere

xxiv

The *Blatant Beast* forth rushing vnaware,
Caught her thus loosely wandring here and there,
And in his wide great mouth away her bare,
Crying aloud in vaine, to shew her sad misfare
Vnto the Knights, and calling oft for ayde,
Who with the horreur of her haplesse care
Hastily starting vp, like men dismayde,
Ran after fast to reskue the distressed mayde.

The Beast with their pursuit incited more,

xxv

Into the wood was bearing her apace
For to haue spoyled her, when *Calidore*
Who was more light of foote and swift in chace,
Him ouertooke in midst of his race:
And fiercely charging him with all his might,
Forst to forgoe his pray there in the place,
And to betake him selfe to fearefull flight;
For he durst not abide with *Calidore* to fight.

Who nathelesse, when he the Lady saw

xxvi

There left on ground, though in full euill plight,
Yet knowing that her Knight now neare did draw,
Staide not to succour her in that affright,
But follow'd fast the Monster in his flight:
Through woods and hils he follow'd him so fast,
That he nould let him breath nor gather spright,
But forst him gape and gaspe, with dread aghast,
As if his lungs and lites were nigh a sunder brast.

And now by this Sir *Calepine* (so hight)

xxvii

Came to the place, where he his Lady found
In dolorous dismay and deadly plight,
All in gore bloud there tumbled on the ground,
Hauing both sides through grypt with griesly wound.
His weapons soone from him he threw away,
And stouping downe to her in drery swound,
Vprear'd her from the ground, whereon she lay,
And in his tender armes her forced vp to stay.

So well he did his busie paines apply,
 That the faint sprite he did reuoke againe,
 To her fraile mansion of mortality.
 Then vp he tooke her twixt his armes twaine,
 And setting on his steede, her did sustaine
 With carefull hands soft footing her beside,
 Till to some place of rest they mote attaine,
 Where she in safe assuraunce mote abide,
 Till she recured were of those her woundes wide.

xxix

Now when as *Phæbus* with his fiery waine
 Vnto his Inne began to draw apace;
 Tho waxing weary of that toylesome paine,
 In traouelling on foote so long a space,
 Not wont on foote with heauy armes to trace,
 Downe in a dale forby a riuers syde,
 He chaunst to spie a faire and stately place,
 To which he meant his weary steps to guyde,
 In hope there for his loue some succour to prouyde.

xxx

But comming to the riuers side, he found
 That hardly passable on foote it was:
 Therefore there still he stood as in a stound,
 Ne wist which way he through the foord mote pas.
 Thus whilest he was in this distressed case,
 Deuising what to doe, he nigh espyde
 An armed Knight approaching to the place,
 With a faire Lady lincked by his syde,
 The which themselues prepared through the foord to ride.

xxxi

Whom *Calepine* saluting (as became)
 Besought of courtesie in that his neede,
 For safe conducting of his sickely Dame,
 Through that same perillous foord with better heede,
 To take him vp behinde vpon his steed.
 To whom that other did this taunt returne.
 Perdy thou peasant Knight, mightst rightly reed
 Me then to be full base and euill borne,
 If I would beare behinde a burden of such scorne.

But as thou hast thy steed forlorne with shame,
So fare on foote till thou another gayne,
And let thy Lady likewise doe the same,
Or beare her on thy backe with pleasing payne,
And proue thy manhood on the billowes vayne.
With which rude speach his Lady much displeased,
Did him reprove, yet could him not restrayne,
And would on her owne Palfrey him haue eased,
For pittie of his Dame, whom she saw so diseased.

xxxii

Sir *Calepine* her thanckt, yet inly wroth
Against her Knight, her gentlenesse refused,
And carelesly into the riuer goth,
As in despight to be so fowle abused
Of a rude churle, whom often he accused
Of fowle discourtesie, vnfit for Knight;
And strongly wading through the waues vnused,
With speare in th'one hand, stayd him selfe vpright,
With th'other staide his Lady vp with steddy might.

xxxiii

And all the while, that same discourteous Knight,
Stood on the further bancke beholding him,
At whose calamity, for more despight
He laught, and mockt to see him like to swim.
But when as *Calepine* came to the brim,
And saw his carriage past that perill well,
Looking at that same Carle with count'nance grim,
His heart with vengeaunce inwardly did swell,
And forth at last did breake in speeches sharpe and fell.

xxxiv

Vnknighly Knight, the blemish of that name,
And blot of all that armes vppon them take,
Which is the badge of honour and of fame,
Loe I defie thee, and here challenge make,
That thou for euer doe those armes forsake;
And be for euer held a recreant Knight,
Vnlesse thou dare for thy deare Ladies sake,
And for thine owne defence on foote alight,
To iustifie thy fault gainst me in equall fight.

xxxv

xxxvi

The dastard, that did heare him selfe defyde,
Seem'd not to weigh his threatfull words at all,
But laught them out, as if his greater pryde
Did scorne the challenge of so base a thrall:
Or had no courage, or else had no gall.
So much the more was *Calepine* offended,
That him to no reuenge he forth could call,
But both his challenge and him selfe contemned,
Ne cared as a coward so to be condemned.

xxxvii

But he nought weighing what he sayd or did,
Turned his steede about another way,
And with his Lady to the Castle rid,
Where was his won; ne did the other stay,
But after went directly as he may,
For his sicke charge some harbour there to seeke;
Where he arriuing with the fall of day,
Drew to the gate, and there with prayers meeke,
And myld entreaty lodging did for her beseeke.

xxxviii

But the rude Porter that no manners had,
Did shut the gate against him in his face,
And entraunce boldly vnto him forbad.
Nathelesse the Knight now in so needy case,
Gan him entreat euen with submission base,
And humbly praid to let them in that night:
Who to him aunswer'd, that there was no place
Of lodging fit for any errant Knight,
Vnlesse that with his Lord he formerly did fight.

xxxix

Full loth am I (quoth he) as now at earst,
When day is spent, and rest vs needeth most,
And that this Lady, both whose sides are pearst
With wounds, is ready to forgo the ghost:
Ne would I gladly combate with mine host,
That should to me such curtesie afford,
Vnlesse that I were thereunto enforst.
But yet aread to me, how hight thy Lord,
That doth thus strongly ward the Castle of the ford.

His name (quoth he) if that thou list to learne,
Is hight Sir *Turpine*, one of mickle might,
And manhood rare, but terrible and stearne
In all assaies to euery errant Knight,
Because of one, that wrought him fowle despight.
Ill seemes (sayd he) if he so valiaunt be,
That he should be so sterne to stranger wight:
For seldome yet did liuing creature see,
That curtesie and manhood euer disagree.

xl

But go thy waies to him, and fro me say,
That here is at his gate an errant Knight,
That house-rome craues, yet would be loth t'assay
The prooue of battell, now in doubtfull night,
Or curtesie with rudenesse to requite:
Yet if he needes will fight, craue leaue till morne,
And tell withall, the lamentable plight,
In which this Lady languisheth forlorne,
That pittie craues, as he of woman was yborne.

xli

The groome went streight way in, and to his Lord
Declar'd the message, which that Knight did moue;
Who sitting with his Lady then at bord,
Not onely did not his demaund approue,
But both himselfe reuil'd, and eke his loue;
Albe his Lady, that *Blandina* hight,
Him of vngentle vsage did reprove
And earnestly entreated that they might
Finde fauour to be lodged there for that same night.

xlii

Yet would he not perswaded be for ought,
Ne from his currish will awhit reclame.
Which answer when the groome returning, brought
To *Calepine*, his heart did inly flame
With wrathfull fury for so foule a shame,
That he could not thereof auenged bee:
But most for pittie of his dearest Dame,
Whom now in deadly daunger he did see;
Yet had no meanes to comfort, nor procure her glee.

xliii

But all in vaine; for why, no remedy
 He saw, the present mischiefe to redresse,
 But th'vtmost end perforce for to aby,
 Which that nights fortune would for him adresse.
 So downe he tooke his Lady in distresse,
 And layd her vnderneath a bush to sleepe,
 Couer'd with cold, and wrapt in wretchednesse,
 Whiles he him selfe all night did nought but weepe,
 And wary watch about her for her safegard keepe.

xlv

The morrow next, so soone as ioyous day
 Did shew it selfe in sunny beames bedight,
Serena full of dolorous dismay,
 Twixt darkenesse dread, and hope of liuing light,
 Vprear'd her head to see that chearefull sight.
 Then *Calepine*, how euer inly wroth,
 And greedy to auenge that vile despight,
 Yet for the feeble Ladies sake, full loth
 To make there lenger stay, forth on his iourney goth.

xlvi

He goth on foote all armed by her side,
 Vpstaying still her selfe vppon her steede,
 Being vnhabable else alone to ride;
 So sore her sides, so much her wounds did bleede:
 Till that at length, in his extreamest neede,
 He chaunst far off an armed Knight to spy,
 Pursuing him apace with greedy speede,
 Whom well he wist to be some enemy,
 That meant to make aduantage of his misery.

xlvii

Wherefore he stayd, till that he nearer drew,
 To weet what issue would thereof betyde,
 Tho whenas he approched nigh in vew,
 By certaine signes he plainely him descryde,
 To be the man, that with such scornefull pryde
 Had him abusde, and shamed yesterday;
 Therefore misdoubting, least he should misguyde
 His former malice to some new assay,
 He cast to keepe him selfe so safely as he may.

By this the other came in place likewise,
And couching close his speare and all his powre,
As bent to some malicious enterprise,
He bad him stand, t'abide the bitter stoure
Of his sore vengeaunce, or to make auoure
Of the lewd words and deedes, which he had done:
With that ran at him, as he would deuoure
His life attonce; who nought could do, but shun
The perill of his pride, or else be ouerrun.

xlvi

Yet he him still pursew'd from place to place,
With full intent him cruelly to kill,
And like a wilde goate round about did chace,
Flying the fury of his bloody will.
But his best succour and refuge was still
Behinde his Ladies backe, who to him cryde,
And called oft with prayers loud and shrill,
As euer he to Lady was affyde,
To spare her Knight, and rest with reason pacifyde.

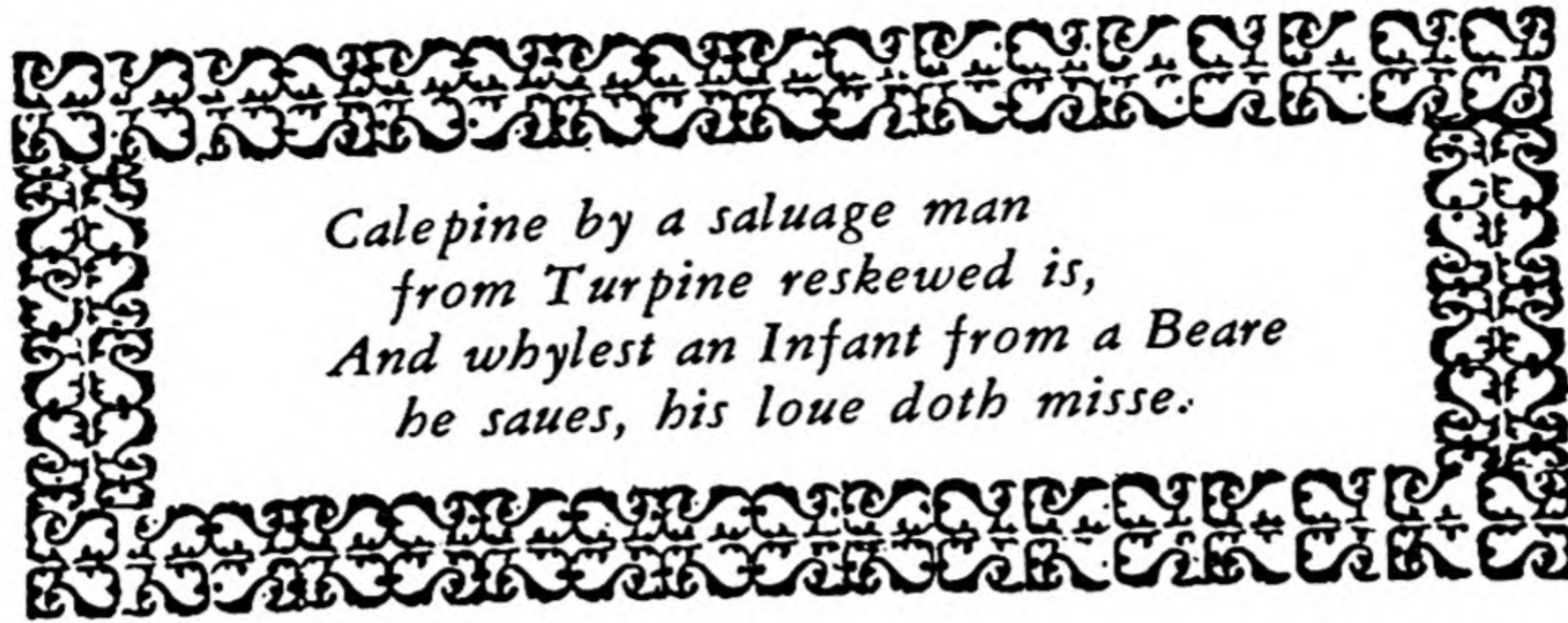
xlix

But he the more thereby enraged was,
And with more eager felnesse him pursew'd,
So that at length, after long weary chace,
Hauing by chaunce a close aduantage vew'd,
He ouer raught him, hauing long eschew'd
His violence in vaine, and with his spere
Strooke through his shoulder, that the blood ensew'd
In great abundance, as a well it were,
That forth out of an hill fresh gushing did appere.

l

Yet ceast he not for all that cruell wound,
But chaste him still, for all his Ladies cry,
Not satisfyde till on the fatall ground
He saw his life powrd forth dispiteously:
The which was certes in great ieopardy,
Had not a wondrous chaunce his reskue wrought,
And saued from his cruell villany.
Such chaunces oft exceed all humaine thought:
That in another Canto shall to end be brought.

li

Cant. IIII.

Like as a ship with dreadfull storme long tost,
 Hauing spent all her mastes and her ground-hold,
 Now farre from harbour likely to be lost,
 At last some fisher barke doth neare behold,
 That giueth comfort to her courage cold.
 Such was the state of this most courteous knight
 Being oppressed by that faytour bold,
 That he remayned in most perilous plight,
 And his sad Ladie left in pitifull affright.

i

Till that by fortune, passing all foresight,
 A saluage man, which in those woods did wonne,
 Drawne with that Ladies loud and piteous shrigh, t
 Toward the same incessantly did ron, ne,
 To vnderstand what there was to be donne.
 There he this most discourteous crauen found,
 As fiercely yet, as when he first begonne,
 Chasing the gentle *Calepine* around,
 Ne sparing him the more for all his grievous wound.

ii

The saluage man, that neuer till this houre
 Did taste of pittie, neither gentlesse knew,
 Seeing his sharpe assault and cruell stoure
 Was much emmoued at his perils vew,
 That euen his ruder hart began to rew,
 And feele compassion of his euill plight,
 Against his foe that did him so pursew:
 From whom he meant to free him, if he might,
 And him auenge of that so villenous despight.

iii

Yet armes or weapon had he none to fight,
Ne knew the vse of warlike instruments,
Saue such as sudden rage him lent to smite,
But naked without needfull vestiments,
To clad his corpse with meete habiliments,
He cared not for dint of sword nor speere,
No more then for the stroke of strawes or bents:
For from his mothers wombe, which him did beare,
He was invulnerable made by Magicke leare.

iv

He stayed not t'aduize, which way were best
His foe t'assayle, or how himselfe to gard,
But with fierce fury and with force infest
Vpon him ran; who being well prepar'd,
His first assault full warily did ward,
And with the push of his sharp-pointed speare
Full on the breast him strooke, so strong and hard,
That forst him backe recoyle, and reele areare;
Yet in his bodie made no wound nor bloud appeare.

v

With that the wyld man more enraged grew,
Like to a Tygre that hath mist his pray,
And with mad mood againe vpon him flew,
Regarding neither speare, that mote him slay,
Nor his fierce steed, that mote him much dismay:
The saluage nation doth all dread despize.
Tho on his shield he griple hold did lay,
And held the same so hard, that by no wize
He could him force to loose, or leaue his enterprize.

vi

Long did he wrest and wring it to and fro,
And euery way did try, but all in vaine:
For he would not his greedie grype forgoe,
But hayld and puld with all his might and maine,
That from his steed him nigh he drew againe.
Who hauing now no vse of his long speare,
So nigh at hand, nor force his shield to straine,
Both speare and shield, as things that needlesse were,
He quite forsooke, and fled himselfe away for feare.

vii

But after him the wyld man ran apace,
And him pursewed with importune speed,
(For he was swift as any Bucke in chace)
And had he not in his extreamest need,
Bene helped through the swiftnesse of his steed,
He had him ouertaken in his flight.
Who euer, as he saw him nigh succeed,
Gan cry aloud with horrible affright,
And shrieked out, a thing vncomely for a knight.

But when the Saluage saw his labour vaine,
In following of him, that fled so fast,
He wearie woxe, and backe return'd againe
With speede vnto the place, whereas he last
Had left that couple, nere their vtmost cast.
There he that knight full sorely bleeding found,
And eke the Ladie fearefully aghast,
Both for the perill of the present stound,
And also for the sharpnesse of her rankling wound.

For though she were right glad, so rid to bee
From that vile lozell, which her late offended,
Yet now no lesse encombrance she did see,
And perill by this saluage man pretended;
Gainst whom she saw no meanes to be defended,
By reason that her knight was wounded sore.
Therefore her selfe she wholly recommended
To Gods sole grace, whom she did oft implore,
To send her succour, being of all hope forlore.

But the wyld man, contrarie to her feare,
Came to her creeping like a fawning hound,
And by rude tokens made to her appeare
His deepe compassion of her dolefull stound,
Kissing his hands, and crouching to the ground;
For other language had he none nor speach,
But a soft murmure, and confused sound
Of senselesse words, which nature did him teach,
T'expresse his passions, which his reason did empeach.

ix

x

xi

And comming likewise to the wounded knight, xii

When he beheld the streames of purple blood

Yet flowing fresh, as moued with the sight,

He made great mone after his saluage mood,

And running streight into the thickest wood,

A certaine herbe from thence vnto him brought,

Whose vertue he by vse well vnderstood:

The iuyce whereof into his wound he wrought,

And stopt the bleeding straight, ere he it staunched thought.

Then taking vp that Recreants shield and speare, xiii

Which earst he left, he signes vnto them made,

With him to wend vnto his wonning neare:

To which he easily did them perswade.

Farre in the forrest by a hollow glade,

Couered with mossie shrubs, which spredding brode

Did vnderneath them make a gloomy shade;

There foot of liuing creature neuer trode,

Ne scarce wyld beasts durst come, there was this wights abode.

Thether he brought these vnacquainted guests; xiv

To whom faire semblance, as he could, he shewed

By signes, by lookes, and all his other gests.

But the bare ground, with hoarie mosse bestrowed,

Must be their bed, their pillow was vnsowed,

And the frutes of the forrest was their feast:

For their bad Stuard neither plough'd nor sowed,

Ne fed on flesh, ne euer of wyld beast

Did taste the bloud, obaying natures first beheast.

Yet howsoeuer base and meane it were, xv

They tooke it well, and thanked God for all,

Which had them freed from that deadly feare,

And sau'd from being to that caytiue thrall.

Here they of force (as fortune now did fall)

Compelled were themselues a while to rest,

Glad of that easement, though it were but small;

That hauing there their wounds awhile redrest,

They mote the abler be to passe vnto the rest.

During which time, that wyld man did apply
His best endeouour, and his daily paine,
In seeking all the woods both farre and nye
For herbes to dresse their wounds; still seeming faine,
When ought he did, that did their lyking gaine.
So as ere long he had that knightes wound
Recured well, and made him whole againe:
But that same Ladies hurts no herbe he found,
Which could redresse, for it was inwardly vnsound.

xvi

Now when as *Calepine* was woxen strong,
Vpon a day he cast abroad to wend,
To take the ayre, and heare the thrushes song,
Vnarm'd, as fearing neither foe nor frend,
And without sword his person to defend.
There him befell, vnlooked for before,
An hard aduenture with vnhappie end,
A cruell Beare, the which an infant bore
Betwixt his bloodie iawes, besprinckled all with gore.

xvii

The litle babe did loudly srike and squall,
And all the woods with piteous plaints did fill,
As if his cry did meane for helpe to call
To *Calepine*, whose eares those shrieches shrill
Percing his hart with pities point did thrill;
That after him he ran with zealous haste,
To rescue th'infant, ere he did him kill:
Whom though he saw now somewhat ouerpast,
Yet by the cry he follow'd, and pursewed fast.

xviii

Well then him chaunst his heauy armes to want,
Whose burden mote empeach his needfull speed,
And hinder him from libertie to pant:
For hauing long time, as his daily weed,
Them wont to weare, and wend on foot for need,
Now wanting them he felt himselfe so light,
That like an Hauke, which feeling her selfe freed
From bels and iesses, which did let her flight,
Him seem'd his feet did fly, and in their speed delight.

xix

So well he sped him, that the wearie Beare
Ere long he ouertooke, and forst to stay,
And without weapon him assayling neare,
Compeld him soone the spoyle adowne to lay.
Wherewith the beast enrag'd to loose his pray,
Vpon him turned, and with greedie force
And furie, to be crossed in his way,
Gaping full wyde, did thinke without remorse
To be aueng'd on him, and to deuoure his corse.

xx

But the bold knight no whit thereat dismayd,
But catching vp in hand a ragged stone,
Which lay thereby (so fortune him did ayde)
Vpon him ran, and thrust it all attone
Into his gaping throte, that made him grone
And gaspe for breath, that he nigh choked was,
Being vnable to digest that bone;
Ne could it vpward come, nor downward passe,
Ne could he brooke the coldnesse of the stony masse.

xxi

Whom when as he thus combred did behold,
Stryuing in vaine that nigh his bowels brast,
He with him closd, and laying mightie hold
Vpon his throte, did gripe his gorge so fast,
That wanting breath, him downe to ground he cast;
And then oppressing him with vrgent paine,
Ere long enforst to breath his vtmost blast,
Gnashing his cruell teeth at him in vaine,
And threatning his sharpe clawes, now wanting powre to straine.

xxii

Then tooke he vp betwixt his armes twaine
The litle babe, sweet relickes of his pray;
Whom pitying to heare so sore complaine,
From his soft eyes the teares he wypt away,
And from his face the filth that did it ray,
And euery litle limbe he searcht around,
And euery part, that vnder sweathbands lay,
Least that the beasts sharpe teeth had any wound
Made in his tender flesh, but whole them all he found.

xxiii

So hauing all his bands againe vptyde,
He with him thought backe to returne againe:
But when he lookt about on euery syde,
To weet which way were best to entertaine,
To bring him to the place, where he would faine,
He could no path nor tract of foot descry,
Ne by inquirie learne, nor ghesse by ayme.
For nought but woods and forrests farre and nye,
That all about did close the compasse of his eye.

Much was he then encombred, ne could tell
Which way to take: now West he went a while,
Then North; then neither, but as fortune fell.
So vp and downe he wandred many a mile,
With wearie trauell and vncertaine toile,
Yet nought the nearer to his iourneys end;
And euermore his louely litle spoile
Crying for food, did greatly him offend.
So all that day in wandring vainely he did spend.

At last about the setting of the Sunne,
Him selfe out of the forest he did wynd,
And by good fortune the plaine champion wonne:
Where looking all about, where he mote fynd
Some place of succour to content his mynd,
At length he heard vnder the forrests syde
A voice, that seemed of some woman kynd,
Which to her selfe lamenting loudly cryde,
And oft complayn'd of fate, and fortune oft defyde.

To whom approching, when as she perceiued
A stranger wight in place, her plaint she stayd,
As if she doubted to haue bene deceiued,
Or loth to let her sorrowes be bewrayd.
Whom when as *Calepine* saw so dismayd,
He to her drew, and with faire blandishment
Her chearing vp, thus gently to her sayd;
What be you wofull Dame, which thus lament,
And for what cause declare, so mote ye not repent.

To whom she thus, What need me Sir to tell,
That which your selfe haue earst ared so right?
A wofull dame ye haue me termed well;
So much more wofull, as my wofull plight
Cannot redressed be by liuing wight.
Nathlesse (quoth he) if need doe not you bynd,
Doe it disclose, to ease your grieued spright:
Oftimes it haps, that sorrowes of the mynd
Find remedie vnsought, which seeking cannot fynd.

xxviii

Then thus began the lamentable Dame;
Sith then ye needs will know the grieve I hoord,
I am th'vnfortunate *Matilde* by name,
The wife of bold Sir *Bruin*, who is Lord
Of all this land, late conquer'd by his sword
From a great Gyant, called *Cormoraunt*;
Whom he did ouerthrow by yonder foord,
And in three battailes did so deadly daunt,
That he dare not returne for all his daily vaunt.

xxix

So is my Lord now seiz'd of all the land,
As in his fee, with peaceable estate,
And quietly doth hold it in his hand,
Ne any dares with him for it debate.
But to these happie fortunes, cruell fate
Hath ioyn'd one euill, which doth ouerthrow
All these our ioyes, and all our blisse abate;
And like in time to further ill to grow,
And all this land with endlesse losse to ouerflow.

xxx

For th'heauens enuying our prosperitie,
Haue not vouchsaft to graunt vnto vs twaine
The gladfull blessing of posteritie,
Which we might see after our selues remaine
In th'heritage of our vnhappie paine:
So that for want of heires it to defend,
All is in time like to returne againe
To that foule feend, who dayly doth attend
To leape into the same after our liues end.

xxxi

- But most my Lord is griued herewithall, xxxii
And makes exceeding mone, when he does thinke
That all this land vnto his foe shall fall,
For which he long in vaine did sweat and swinke,
That now the same he greatly doth forthinke.
Yet was it sayd, there should to him a sonne
Be gotten, not begotten, which should drinke
And dry vp all the water, which doth ronne
In the next brooke, by whom that feend shold be fordonne.
- Well hop't he then, when this was propheside, xxxiii
That from his sides some noble chyld should rize,
The which through fame should farre be magnifide,
And this proud gyant should with braue emprize
Quite ouerthrow, who now ginnes to despize
The good Sir *Bruin*, growing farre in yeares;
Who thinkes from me his sorrow all doth rize.
Lo this my cause of grieve to you appeares;
For which I thus doe mourne, and poure forth ceaselesse teares.
- Which when he heard, he inly touched was xxxiv
With tender ruth for her vnworthy grieve,
And when he had deuized of her case,
He gan in mind conceiue a fit reliefe
For all her paine, if please her make the priefe.
And hauing cheared her, thus said; Faire Dame,
In euils counsell is the comfort chiefe,
Which though I be not wise enough to frame,
Yet as I well it meane, vouchsafe it without blame.
- If that the cause of this your languishment xxxv
Be lacke of children, to supply your place,
Lo how good fortune doth to you present
This litle babe, of sweete and louely face,
And spotlesse spirit, in which ye may enchace
What euer formes ye list thereto apply,
Being now soft and fit them to embrace;
Whether ye list him traine in cheualry,
Or nourle vp in lore of learn'd Philosophy.

And certes it hath oftentimes bene seene, xxxvi
That of the like, whose linage was vnknowne,
More braue and noble knights haue raysed beene,
As their victorious deedes haue often shoven,
Being with fame through many Nations blowen,
Then those, which haue bene dandled in the lap.
Therefore some thought, that those braue imps were sowen
Here by the Gods, and fed with heauenly sap,
That made them grow so high t'all honorable hap.

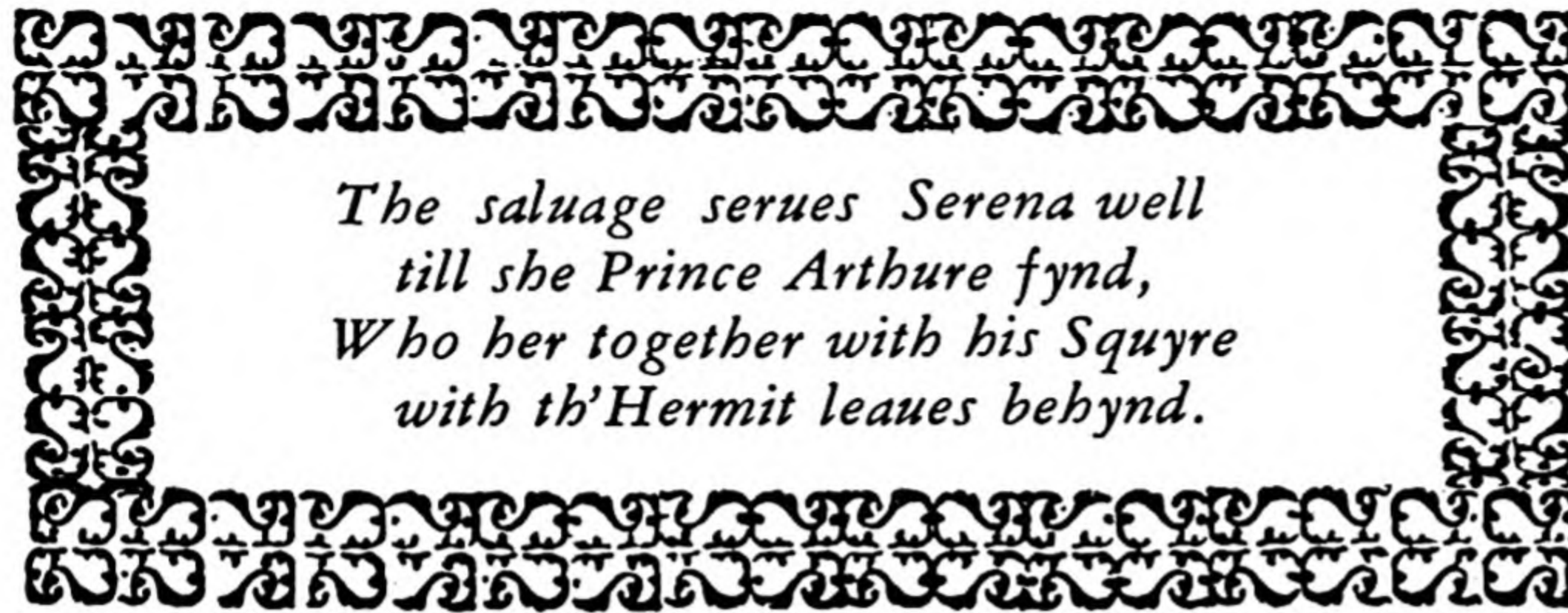
The Ladie hearkning to his sensefull speach, xxxvii
Found nothing that he said, vnmeet nor geason,
Hauing oft seene it tryde, as he did teach.
Therefore inclyning to his goodly reason,
Agreeing well both with the place and season,
She gladly did of that same babe accept,
As of her owne by liuerey and seisin,
And hauing ouer it a litle wept,
She bore it thence, and euer as her owne it kept.

Right glad was *Calepine* to be so rid xxxviii
Of his young charge, whereof he skilled nought:
Ne she lesse glad; for she so wisely did,
And with her husband vnder hand so wrought,
That when that infant vnto him she brought,
She made him thinke it surely was his owne,
And it in goodly thewes so well vpbrought,
That it became a famous knight well knowne
And did right noble deedes, the which elsewhere are showne.

But *Calepine*, now being left alone xxxix
Vnder the greenewoods side in sorie plight,
Withouten armes or steede to ride vpon,
Or house to hide his head from heauens spight,
Albe that Dame by all the meanes she might,
Him oft desired home with her to wend,
And offred him, his courtesie to requite,
Both horse and armes, and what so else to lend,
Yet he them all refusd, though thankd her as a frend.

And for exceeding griefe which inly grew,
That he his loue so lucklesse now had lost,
On the cold ground, maugre himselfe he threw,
For fell despight, to be so sorely crost;
And there all night himselfe in anguish tost,
Vowing, that neuer he in bed againe
His limbes would rest, ne lig in ease embost,
Till that his Ladies sight he mote attaine,
Or vnderstand, that she in safetie did remaine.

Cant. V.



O What an easie thing is to descry
The gentle bloud, how euer it be wrapt
In sad misfortunes foule deformity,
And wretched sorrowes, which haue often hapt?
For howsoeuer it may grow mis-shapt,
Like this wyld man, being vndisciplynd,
That to all vertue it may seeme vnapt,
Yet will it shew some sparkes of gentle mynd,
And at the last breake forth in his owne proper kynd.

i

That plainely may in this wyld man be red,
Who though he were still in this desert wood,
Mongst saluage beasts, both rudely borne and bred,
Ne euer saw faire guize, ne learned good,
Yet shewd some token of his gentle blood,
By gentle vsage of that wretched Dame.
For certes he was borne of noble blood,
How euer by hard hap he hether came;
As ye may know, when time shall be to tell the same.

ii

Who when as now long time he lacked had
The good Sir *Calepine*, that farre was strayd,
Did wexe exceeding sorrowfull and sad,
As he of some misfortune were afrayd:
And leauing there this Ladie all dismayd,
Went forth streightway into the forrest wyde,
To seeke, if he perchance a sleepe were layd,
Or what so else were vnto him betyde:
He sought him farre and neare, yet him no where he spyde.

iii

Tho backe returning to that sorie Dame,
He shewed semblant of exceeding mone,
By speaking signes, as he them best could frame;
Now wringing both his wretched hands in one,
Now beating his hard head vpon a stone,
That ruth it was to see him so lament.
By which she well perceiuing, what was done,
Gan teare her hayre, and all her garments rent,
And beat her breast, and piteously her selfe torment.

Vpon the ground her selfe she fiercely threw,
Regardlesse of her wounds, yet bleeding rife,
That with their bloud did all the flore imbrew,
As if her breast new launcht with murdrous knife,
Would streight dislodge the wretched wearie life.
There she long groueling, and deepe groning lay,
As if her vitall powers were at strife
With stronger death, and feared their decay,
Such were this Ladies pangs and dolorous assay.

Whom when the Saluage saw so sore distrest,
He reared her vp from the bloudie ground,
And sought by all the meanes, that he could best
Her to recure out of that stony swound,
And staunch the bleeding of her dreary wound.
Yet nould she be recomforted for nought,
Ne cease her sorrow and impatient stound,
But day and night did vexe her carefull thought,
And euer more and more her owne affliction wrought.

At length, when as no hope of his retourne
She saw now left, she cast to leaue the place,
And wend abroad, though feeble and forlorne,
To seeke some comfort in that sorie case.
His steede now strong through rest so long a space,
Well as she could, she got, and did bedight,
And being thereon mounted, forth did pace,
Withouten guide, her to conduct aright,
Or gard her to defend from bold oppressors might.

iv

v

vi

vii

Whom when her Host saw readie to depart,
He would not suffer her alone to fare,
But gan himselfe addresse to take her part.
Those warlike armes, which *Calepine* whyleare
Had left behind, he gan eftsoones prepare,
And put them all about himselfe vnfit,
His shield, his helmet, and his curats bare.
But without sword vpon his thigh to sit:
Sir Calepine himselfe away had hidden it.

So forth they traueled an vneuen payre,
That mote to all men seeme an vncouth sight;
A saluage man matcht with a Ladie fayre,
That rather seem'd the conquest of his might,
Gotten by spoyle, then purchaced aright.
But he did her attend most carefully,
And faithfully did serue both day and night,
Withouten thought of shame or villeny,
Ne euer shewed signe of foule disloyalty.

Vpon a day as on their way they went,
It chaunst some furniture about her steed
To be disordred by some accident:
Which to redresse, she did th'assistance need
Of this her groome, which he by signes did reede,
And streight his combrous armes aside did lay
Vpon the ground, withouten doubt or dread,
And in his homely wize began to assay
T'amend what was amisse, and put in right aray.

Bout which whilest he was busied thus hard,
Lo where a knight together with his squire,
All arm'd to point came ryding thetherward,
Which seemed by their portance and attire,
To be two errant knights, that did inquire
After aduentures, where they mote them get.
Those were to weet (if that ye it require)
Prince *Arthur* and young *Timias*, which met
By straunge occasion, that here needs forth be set.

After that *Timias* had againe recured
The fauour of *Belphebe*, (as ye heard)
And of her grace did stand againe assured,
To happie blisse he was full high vprear'd,
Nether of enuy, nor of chaunge afear'd,
Though many foes did him maligne therefore,
And with vniust detraction him did beard;
Yet he himselfe so well and wisely bore,
That in her soueraine lyking he dwelt euermore.

But of them all, which did his ruine seeke
Three mightie enemies did him most despight,
Three mightie ones, and cruell minded eeke,
That him not onely sought by open might
To ouerthrow, but to supplant by slight.
The first of them by name was cald *Despetto*,
Exceeding all the rest in powre and hight;
The second not so strong but wise, *Decetto*;
The third nor strong nor wise, but spightfullest *Defetto*.

Oftimes their sundry powres they did employ,
And seuerall deceipts, but all in vaine:
For neither they by force could him destroy,
Ne yet entrap in treasons subtill traine.
Therefore conspiring all together plaine,
They did their counsels now in one compound;
Where singled forces faile, conioynd may gaine.
The *Blatant Beast* the fittest meanes they found,
To worke his vtter shame, and throughly him confound.

Vpon a day as they the time did waite,
When he did raunge the wood for saluage game,
They sent that *Blatant Beast* to be a baite,
To draw him from his deare beloued dame,
Vnwares into the daunger of defame.
For well they wist, that Squire to be so bold,
That no one beast in forrest wylde or tame,
Met him in chase, but he it challenge would,
And plucke the pray oftimes out of their greedy hould.

xii

xiii

xiv

xv

The hardy boy, as they deuised had,
Seeing the vgly Monster passing by,
Vpon him set, of perill nought adrad,
Ne skilfull of the vncouth ieopardy;
And charged him so fierce and furiously,
That his great force vnable to endure,
He forced was to turne from him and fly:
Yet ere he fled, he with his tooth impure
Him heedlesse bit, the whiles he was thereof secure.

xvi

Securely he did after him pursew,
Thinking by speed to ouertake his flight;
Who through thicke woods and brakes and briers him drew,
To weary him the more, and waste his spight,
So that he now has almost spent his spright.
Till that at length vnto a woody glade
He came, whose couert stopt his further sight,
There his three foes shrowded in guilefull shade,
Out of their ambush broke, and gan him to inuade.

xvii

Sharpely they all attonce did him assaile,
Burning with inward rancour and despight,
And heaped strokes did round about him haile
With so huge force, that seemed nothing might
Beare off their blowes, from percing thorough quite.
Yet he them all so warily did ward,
That none of them in his soft flesh did bite,
And all the while his backe for best safegard,
He lent against a tree, that backward onset bard.

xviii

Like a wylde Bull, that being at a bay,
Is bayted of a mastiffe, and a hound,
And a curre-dog; that doe him sharpe assay
On euery side, and beat about him round;
But most that curre barking with bitter sownd,
And creeping still behinde, doth him incomber,
That in his chauffe he digs the trampled ground,
And threats his horns, and bellowes like the thonder,
So did that Squire his foes disperse, and driue asonder.

xix

Him well behoued so; for his three foes
Sought to encompassse him on euery side,
And dangerously did round about enclose.
But most of all *Defetto* him annoyde,
Creeping behinde him still to haue destroyde:
So did *Decetto* eke him circumuent,
But stout *Despetto* in his greater pryde,
Did front him face to face against him bent,
Yet he them all withstood, and often made relent.

xx

Till that at length nigh tyrd with former chace,
And weary now with carefull keeping ward,
He gan to shrinke, and somewhat to giue place,
Full like ere long to haue escaped hard;
When as vnwares he in the forrest heard
A trampling steede, that with his neighing fast
Did warne his rider be vppon his gard;
With noise whereof the Squire now nigh aghast,
Reuiued was, and sad dispaire away did cast.

xxi

Eftsoones he spide a Knight approching nye,
Who seeing one in so great daunger set
Mongst many foes, him selfe did faster hye;
To reskue him, and his weake part abet,
For pittie so to see him ouerset.
Whom soone as his three enemies did vew,
They fled, and fast into the wood did get:
Him booted not to thinke them to pursew,
The couert was so thicke, that did no passage shew.

xxii

Then turning to that swaine, him well he knew
To be his *Timias*, his owne true Squire,
Whereof exceeding glad, he to him drew,
And him embracing twixt his armes entire,
Him thus bespake; My lief, my lifes desire,
Why haue ye me alone thus long yleft?
Tell me what worlds despight, or heauens yre
Hath you thus long away from me bereft?
Where haue ye all this while bin wandring, where bene weft?

xxiii

With that he sighed deepe for inward tyne:
To whom the Squire nought aunswered againe,
But shedding few soft teares from tender eyne,
His deare affect with silence did restraine,
And shut vp all his plaint in priuy paine.
There they awhile some gracious speaches spent,
As to them seemed fit time to entertaine.
After all which vp to their steedes they went,
And forth together rode a comely couplement.

xxiv

So now they be arriued both in sight
Of this wyld man, whom they full busie found
About the sad *Serena* things to dight,
With those braue armours lying on the ground,
That seem'd the spoile of some right well renownd.
Which when that Squire beheld, he to them stept,
Thinking to take them from that hylding hound:
But he it seeing, lightly to him leapt,
And sternely with strong hand it from his handling kept.

xxv

Gnashing his grinded teeth with griesly looke,
And sparkling fire out of his furious eyne,
Him with his fist vnwares on th'head he strooke,
That made him downe vnto the earth encline;
Whence soone vpstarting much he gan repine,
And laying hand vpon his wrathfull blade,
Thought therewithall forthwith him to haue slaine,
Who it perceiuing, hand vpon him layd,
And greedily him griping, his auengement stayd.

xxvi

With that aloude the faire *Serena* cryde
Vnto the Knight, them to dispart in twaine:
Who to them stepping did them soone diuide,
And did from further violence restraine,
Albe the wyld-man hardly would refraine.
Then gan the Prince, of her for to demand,
What and from whence she was, and by what traine
She fell into that saluage villaines hand,
And whether free with him she now were, or in band.

xxvii

To whom she thus; I am, as now ye see,
The wretchedst Dame, that liue this day on ground,
Who both in minde, the which most griueth me,
And body haue receiu'd a mortall wound,
That hath me driuen to this drery stound.
I was erewhile, the loue of *Calepine*,
Who whether he aliue be to be found,
Or by some deadly chaunce be done to pine,
Since I him lately lost, vneath is to define.

xxix

In saluage forrest I him lost of late,
Where I had surely long ere this bene dead,
Or else remained in most wretched state,
Had not this wylde man in that wofull stead
Kept, and deliuered me from deadly dread.
In such a saluage wight, of brutish kynd,
Amongst wilde beastes in desert forrests bred,
It is most straunge and wonderfull to fynd
So milde humanity, and perfect gentle mynd.

xxx

Let me therefore this fauour for him finde,
That ye will not your wrath vpon him wreake,
Sith he cannot expresse his simple minde,
Ne yours conceiue, ne but by tokens speake:
Small praise to proue your powre on wight so weake.
With such faire words she did their heate asswage,
And the strong course of their displeasure breake,
That they to pittie turnd their former rage,
And each sought to supply the office of her page.

xxxi

So hauing all things well about her dight,
She on her way cast forward to proceede,
And they her forth conducted, where they might
Finde harbour fit to comfort her great neede.
For now her wounds corruption gan to breed;
And eke this Squire, who likewise wounded was
Of that same Monster late, for lacke of heed,
Now gan to faint, and further could not pas
Through feeblenesse, which all his limbes oppressed has.

So forth they rode together all in troupe,
To seeke some place, the which mote yeeld some ease
To these sicke twaine, that now began to droupe,
And all the way the Prince sought to appease
The bitter anguish of their sharpe disease,
By all the courteous meanes he could inuent,
Somewhile with merry purpose fit to please,
And otherwhile with good encouragement,
To make them to endure the pains, did them torment.

xxxii

Mongst which, *Serena* did to him relate
The foule discour'tsies and vnknightly parts,
Which *Turpine* had vnto her shewed late,
Without compassion of her cruell smarts,
Although *Blandina* did with all her arts
Him otherwise perswade, all that she might;
Yet he of malice, without her desarts,
Not onely her excluded late at night,
But also trayterously did wound her weary Knight.

xxxiii

Wherewith the Prince sore moued, there auoud,
That soone as he returned backe againe,
He would auenge th'abuses of that proud
And shamefull Knight, of whom she did complaine.
This wize did they each other entertaine,
To passe the tedious trauell of the way;
Till towards night they came vnto a plaine,
By which a little Hermitage there lay,
Far from all neighbourhood, the which annoy it may.

xxxiv

And nigh thereto a little Chappell stoode,
Which being all with Yuy ouerspred,
Deckt all the roofe, and shadowing the roode,
Seem'd like a groue faire braunched ouer hed:
Therein the Hermite, which his life here led
In streight obseruaunce of religious vow,
Was wont his howres and holy things to bed;
And therein he likewise was praying now,
Whenas these Knights arriu'd, they wist not where nor how.

xxxv

They stayd not there, but streight way in did pas.
 Whom when the Hermite present saw in place,
 From his deuotion streight he troubled was;
 Which breaking of he toward them did pace,
 With stayed steps, and graue beseeching grace:
 For well it seem'd, that whilome he had beene
 Some goodly person, and of gentle race,
 That could his good to all, and well did weene,
 How each to entertaine with curt'sie well beseene.

xxxvi

And soothly it was sayd by common fame,
 So long as age enabled him thereto,
 That he had bene a man of mickle name,
 Renowmed much in armes and derring doe:
 But being aged now and weary to
 Of warres delight, and worlds contentious toyle,
 The name of knighthood he did disauow,
 And hanging vp his armes and warlike spoyle,
 From all this worlds incombraunce did himselfe assoyle.

xxxvii

He thence them led into his Hermitage,
 Letting their steedes to graze vpon the greene:
 Small was his house, and like a little cage,
 For his owne turne, yet inly neate and clene,
 Deckt with greene boughes, and flowers gay beseene.
 Therein he them full faire did entertaine
 Not with such forged showes, as fitter beene
 For courting fooles, that curtesies would faine,
 But with entire affection and appearaunce plaine.

xxxviii

Yet was their fare but homely, such as hee
 Did vse, his feeble body to sustaine;
 The which full gladly they did take in glee,
 Such as it was, ne did of want complaine,
 But being well suffiz'd, them rested faine.
 But faire *Serene* all night could take no rest,
 Ne yet that gentle Squire, for grievous paine
 Of their late woundes, the which the *Blatant Beast*
 Had giuen them, whose grieve through suffraunce sore increast.

xxxix

So all that night they past in great disease, xl
Till that the morning, bringing earely light
To guide mens labours, brought them also ease,
And some asswagement of their painefull plight.
Then vp they rose, and gan them selues to dight
Vnto their iourney; but that Squire and Dame
So faint and feeble were, that they ne might
Endure to trauell, nor one foote to frame:
Their hearts were sicke, their sides were sore, their feete were lame.

Therefore the Prince, whom great affaires in mynd xli
Would not permit, to make there lenger stay,
Was forced there to leaue them both behynd,
In that good Hermits charge, whom he did pray
To tend them well. So forth he went his way,
And with him eke the saluage, that whyleare
Seeing his royall vsage and array,
Was greatly growne in loue of that braue pere,
Would needes depart, as shall declared be elsewhere.

Cant. VI.

*The Hermite heales both Squire and dame
Of their sore maladies:
He Turpine doth defeate, and shame
For his late villanies.*

NO wound, which warlike hand of enemy
Inflicts with dint of sword, so sore doth light,
As doth the poysnous sting, which infamy
Infixeth in the name of noble wight:
For by no art, nor any leaches might
It euer can recured be againe;
Ne all the skill, which that immortall spright
Of *Podalyrius* did in it retaine,
Can remedy such hurts; such hurts are hellish paine. i

Such were the wounds, the which that *Blatant Beast*
Made in the bodies of that Squire and Dame;
And being such, were now much more increast,
For want of taking heede vnto the same,
That now corrupt and curelesse they became. ii
Howbe that carefull Hermite did his best,
With many kindes of medicines meete, to tame
The poysnous humour, which did most infest
Their ranckling wounds, and euery day them duely drest.

For he right well in Leaches craft was seene, iii
And through the long experience of his dayes,
Which had in many fortunes tossed beene,
And past through many perillous assayes,
He knew the diuerse went of mortall wayes,
And in the mindes of men had great insight;
Which with sage counsell, when they went astray,
He could enforme, and them reduce aright,
And al the passions heale, which wound the weaker spright.

For whylome he had bene a doughty Knight,
As any one, that liued in his daies,
And proued oft in many perillous fight,
Of which he grace and glory wonne alwaies,
And in all battels bore away the baies.
But being now attacht with timely age,
And weary of this worlds vnquiet waies,
He tooke him selfe vnto this Hermitage,
In which he liu'd alone, like carelesse bird in cage.

iv

One day, as he was searching of their wounds,
He found that they had festred priuily,
And ranckling inward with vnruely stounds,
The inner parts now gan to putrify,
That quite they seem'd past helpe of surgery,
And rather needed to be disciplinde
With holesome reede of sad sobriety,
To rule the stubborne rage of passion blinde:
Giue salues to euery sore, but counsell to the minde.

v

So taking them apart into his cell,
He to that point fit speaches gan to frame,
As he the art of words knew wondrous well,
And eke could doe, as well as say the same,
And thus he to them sayd; Faire daughter Dame,
And you faire sonne, which here thus long now lie
In piteous languor, since ye hither came,
In vaine of me ye hope for remedie,
And I likewise in vaine doe salues to you applie.

vi

For in your selfe your onely helpe doth lie,
To heale your selues, and must proceed alone
From your owne will, to cure your maladie.
Who can him cure, that will be cur'd of none?
If therefore health ye seeke, obserue this one.
First learne your outward sences to refraine
From things, that stirre vp fraile affection;
Your eies, your eares, your tongue, your talk restraine
From that they most affect, and in due termes containe.

vii

For from those outward sences ill affected,
The seede of all this euill first doth spring,
Which at the first before it had infected,
Mote easie be supprest with little thing:
But being growen strong, it forth doth bring
Sorrow, and anguish, and impatient paine
In th'inner parts, and lastly scattering
Contagious poyson close through euery vaine,
It neuer rests, till it haue wrought his finall bane.

ix

For that beastes teeth, which wounded you tofore,
Are so exceeding venemous and keene,
Made all of rusty yron, ranckling sore,
That where they bite, it booteth not to weene
With salue, or antidote, or other mene
It euer to amend: ne maruaile ought;
For that same beast was bred of hellish strene,
And long in darksome *Stygian* den vpbrought,
Begot of foule *Echidna*, as in bookes is taught.

x

Echidna is a Monster direfull dred,
Whom Gods doe hate, and heauens abhor to see;
So hideous is her shape, so huge her hed,
That euen the hellish fiends affrighted bee
At sight thereof, and from her presence flee:
Yet did her face and former parts professe
A faire young Mayden, full of comely glee;
But all her hinder parts did plaine expresse
A monstrous Dragon, full of fearefull vglinesse.

xi

To her the Gods, for her so dreadfull face,
In fearefull darkenesse, furthest from the skie,
And from the earth, appointed haue her place,
Mongst rocks and caues, where she enrold doth lie
In hideous horror and obscurity,
Wasting the strength of her immortall age.
There did *Typhaon* with her company,
Cruell *Typhaon*, whose tempestuous rage
Make th'heauens tremble oft, and him with vowes asswage.

Of that commixtion they did then beget
This hellish Dog, that hight the *Blatant Beast*;
A wicked Monster, that his tongue doth whet
Gainst all, both good and bad, both most and least,
And poures his poysnous gall forth to infest
The noblest wights with notable defame:
Ne euer Knight, that bore so lofty creast,
Ne euer Lady of so honest name,
But he them spotted with reproch, or secrete shame.

xii

In vaine therefore it were, with medicine
To goe about to salue such kynd of sore,
That rather needes wise read and discipline,
Then outward salues, that may augment it more.
Aye me (sayd then *Serena* sighing sore)
What hope of helpe doth then for vs remaine,
If that no salues may vs to health restore?
But sith we need good counsell (sayd the swaine)
Aread good sire, some counsell, that may vs sustaine.

xiii

The best (sayd he) that I can you aduize,
Is to auoide the occasion of the ill:
For when the cause, whence euill doth arize,
Remoued is, th'effect surceaseth still.
Abstaine from pleasure, and restraine your will,
Subdue desire, and bridle loose delight,
Vse scanted diet, and forbear your fill,
Shun secresie, and talke in open sight:
So shall you soone repaire your present euill plight.

xiv

Thus hauing sayd, his sickely patients
Did gladly hearken to his graue beheast,
And kept so well his wise commaundements,
That in short space their malady was ceast,
And eke the biting of that harmefull Beast
Was throughly heal'd. Tho when they did perceau
Their wounds recur'd, and forces reincreast,
Of that good Hermite both they tooke their leaue,
And went both on their way, ne ech would other leaue.

xv

But each th'other vow'd t'accompany,
The Lady, for that she was much in dred,
Now left alone in great extremity,
The Squire, for that he courteous was indeed,
Would not her leaue alone in her great need.
So both together traueled, till they met
With a faire Mayden clad in mourning weed,
Vpon a mangy iade vnmeetely set,
And a lewd foole her leading thorough dry and wet.

xvi

But by what meanes that shame to her befell,
And how thereof her selfe she did acquite,
I must a while forbear to you to tell;
Till that, as comes by course, I doe recite,
What fortune to the Briton Prince did lite,
Pursuing that proud Knight, the which whileare
Wrought to Sir *Calepine* so foule despight;
And eke his Lady, though she sickely were,
So lewdly had abusde, as ye did lately heare.

xvii

The Prince according to the former token,
Which faire *Serene* to him deliuered had,
Pursu'd him streight, in mynd to bene ywroken
Of all the vile demeane, and vsage bad,
With which he had those two so ill bestad:
Ne wight with him on that aduenture went,
But that wylde man, whom though he oft forbad,
Yet for no bidding, nor for being shent,
Would he restrayned be from his attendement.

xviii

Arriuing there, as did by chaunce befall,
He found the gate wyde ope, and in he rode,
Ne stayd, till that he came into the hall:
Where soft dismounting like a weary lode,
Vpon the ground with feeble feete he trode,
As he vnable were for very neede
To moue one foote, but there must make abode;
The whiles the saluage man did take his steede,
And in some stable neare did set him vp to feede.

xix

Ere long to him a homely groome there came,
That in rude wise him asked, what he was,
That durst so boldly, without let or shame,
Into his Lords forbidden hall to passe.
To whom the Prince, him fayning to embase,
Mylde answer made; he was an errant Knight,
The which was fall'n into this feeble case,
Through many wounds, which lately he in fight
Receiued had, and prayd to pittie his ill plight.

xx

But he, the more outrageous and bold,
Sternely did bid him quickly thence auaunt,
Or deare aby, for why his Lord of old
Did hate all errant Knights, which there did haunt,
Ne lodging would to any of them graunt,
And therefore lightly bad him packe away,
Not sparing him with bitter words to taunt;
And therewithall rude hand on him did lay,
To thrust him out of dore, doing his worst assay.

xxi

Which when the Saluage comming now in place,
Beheld, eftsoones he all enraged grew,
And running streight vpon that villaine base,
Like a fell Lion at him fiercely flew,
And with his teeth and nailes, in present vew,
Him rudely rent, and all to peeces tore:
So miserably him all helpelesse slew,
That with the noise, whilest he did loudly rore,
The people of the house rose forth in great vprore.

xxii

Who when on ground they saw their fellow slaine,
And that same Knight and Saluage standing by,
Vpon them two they fell with might and maine,
And on them layd so huge and horribly,
As if they would haue slaine them presently.
But the bold Prince defended him so well,
And their assault withstood so mightily,
That maugre all their might, he did repell,
And beat them back, whilest many vnderneath him fell.

xxiii

Yet he them still so sharpely did pursew,
That few of them he left aliue, which fled,
Those euill tidings to their Lord to shew.
Who hearing how his people badly sped,
Came forth in hast: where when as with the dead
He saw the ground all strow'd, and that same Knight
And saluage with their bloud fresh steeming red,
He woxe nigh mad with wrath and fell despight,
And with reprochfull words him thus bespake on hight.

xxiv

Art thou he, traytor, that with treason vile,
Hast slaine my men in this vnmanly maner,
And now triumphest in the piteous spoile
Of these poore folk, whose soules with black dishonor
And foule defame doe decke thy bloudy baner?
The meede whereof shall shortly be thy shame,
And wretched end, which still attendeth on her.
With that him selfe to battell he did frame;
So did his forty yeomen, which there with him came.

xxv

With dreadfull force they all did him assaile,
And round about with boystrous strokes oppresse,
That on his shield did rattle like to haile
In a great tempest; that in such distresse,
He wist not to which side him to addresse.
And euermore that crauen cowherd Knight
Was at his backe with heartlesse heedinesse,
Wayting if he vnwares him murther might:
For cowardize doth still in villany delight.

xxvi

Whereof whenas the Prince was well aware,
He to him turnd with furious intent,
And him against his powre gan to prepare;
Like a fierce Bull, that being busie bent
To fight with many foes about him ment,
Feeling some curre behinde his heeles to bite,
Turnes him about with fell auengement;
So likewise turnde the Prince vpon the Knight,
And layd at him amaine with all his will and might.

xxvii

Who when he once his dreadfull strokes had tasted,
Durst not the furie of his force abyde,
But turn'd abacke, and to retyre him hasted
Through the thick prease, there thinking him to hyde.
But when the Prince had once him plainely eyde,
He foot by foot him followed alway,
Ne would him suffer once to shrinke asyde
But ioyning close, huge lode at him did lay:
Who flying still did ward, and warding fly away.

xxviii

But when his foe he still so eger saw,
Vnto his heeles himselfe he did betake,
Hoping vnto some refuge to withdraw:
Ne would the Prince him euer foot forsake,
Where so he went, but after him did make.
He fled from roome to roome, from place to place,
Whylest euery ioynt for dread of death did quake,
Still looking after him, that did him chace;
That made him euermore increase his speedie pace.

xxix

At last he vp into the chamber came,
Whereas his loue was sitting all alone,
Wayting what tydings of her folke became.
There did the Prince him ouertake anone,
Crying in vaine to her, him to bemone;
And with his sword him on the head did smyte,
That to the ground he fell in senselesse swone:
Yet whether thwart or flatly it did lyte,
The tempred steele did not into his braynepan byte.

xxx

Which when the Ladie saw, with great affright
She starting vp, began to shrieke aloud,
And with her garment couering him from sight,
Seem'd vnder her protection him to shroud;
And falling lowly at his feet, her bowd
Vpon her knee, intreating him for grace,
And often him besought, and prayd, and vowd;
That with the ruth of her so wretched case,
He stayd his second strooke, and did his hand abase.

xxxi

Her weed she then withdrawing, did him discouer,
Who now come to himselfe, yet would not rize,
But still did lie as dead, and quake, and quiuer,
That euen the Prince his basenesse did despize,
And eke his Dame him seeing in such guize,
Gan him recomfort, and from ground to reare.
Who rising vp at last in ghastly wize,
Like troubled ghost did dreadfully appeare,
As one that had no life him left through former feare.

xxxii

Whom when the Prince so deadly saw dismayd,
He for such basenesse shamefully him shent,
And with sharpe words did bitterly vpbrayd;
Vile cowheard dogge, now doe I much repent,
That euer I this life vnto thee lent,
Whereof thou caytue so vnworthie art;
That both thy loue, for lacke of hardiment,
And eke thy selfe, for want of manly hart,
And eke all knights hast shamed with this knightlesse part.

xxxiii

Yet further hast thou heaped shame to shame,
And crime to crime, by this thy cowheard feare.
For first it was to thee reprochfull blame,
To erect this wicked custome, which I heare,
Gainst errant Knights and Ladies thou dost reare;
Whom when thou mayst, thou dost of arms despoile,
Or of their vpper garment, which they weare:
Yet doest thou not with manhood, but with guile
Maintaine this euill vse, thy foes thereby to foile.

xxxiv

And lastly in approuance of thy wrong,
To shew such faintnesse and foule cowardize,
Is greatest shame: for oft it falles, that strong
And valiant knights doe rashly enterprize,
Either for fame, or else for exercize,
A wrongfull quarrell to maintaine by fight;
Yet haue, through prowesse and their braue emprize,
Gotten great worship in this worldes sight.
For greater force there needs to maintaine wrong, then right.

xxxv

Yet since thy life vnto this Ladie fayre
I giuen haue, liue in reproch and scorne;
Ne euer armes, ne euer knighthood dare
Hence to professe: for shame is to adorne
With so braue badges one so basely borne;
But onely breath sith that I did forgiue.
So hauing from his crauen bodie torne
Those goodly armes, he them away did giue
And onely suffred him this wretched life to liue.

xxxvi

There whilst he thus was setling things aboue,
Atwene that Ladie myld and recreant knight,
To whom his life he graunted for her loue,
He gan bethinke him, in what perilous plight
He had behynd him left that saluage wight,
Amongst so many foes, whom sure he thought
By this quite slaine in so vnequall fight:
Therefore descending backe in haste, he sought
If yet he were aliue, or to destruction brought.

xxxvii

There he him found enuironed about
With slaughtred bodies, which his hand had slaine,
And laying yet a fresh with courage stout
Vpon the rest, that did aliue remaine;
Whom he likewise right sorely did constraine,
Like scattred sheepe, to seeke for safetie,
After he gotten had with busie paine
Some of their weapons, which thereby did lie,
With which he layd about, and made them fast to flie.

xxxviii

Whom when the Prince so felly saw to rage,
Approching to him neare, his hand he stayd,
And sought, by making signes, him to asswage:
Who them perceiuing, streight to him obayd,
As to his Lord, and downe his weapons layd,
As if he long had to his heasts bene trayned.
Thence he him brought away, and vp conuayd
Into the chamber, where that Dame remayned
With her vnworthy knight, who ill him entertayned.

xxxix

Whom when the Saluage saw from daunger free,
Sitting beside his Ladie there at ease,
He well remembred, that the same was hee,
Which lately sought his Lord for to displease:
Tho all in rage, he on him streight did seaze,
As if he would in peeces him haue rent;
And were not, that the Prince did him appeaze,
He had not left one limbe of him vnrent:
But streight he held his hand at his commaundement.

xl

Thus hauing all things well in peace ordayned,
The Prince himselfe there all that night did rest,
Where him *Blandina* fayrely entertayned,
With all the courteous glee and goodly feast,
The which for him she could imagine best.
For well she knew the wayes to win good will
Of euery wight, that were not too infest,
And how to please the minds of good and ill,
Through tempering of her words and lookes by wondrous skill.

xli

Yet were her words and lookes but false and fayned,
To some hid end to make more easie way,
Or to allure such fondlings, whom she trayned
Into her trap vnto their owne decay:
Thereto, when needed, she could weepe and pray,
And when her listed, she could fawne and flatter;
Now smyling smoothly, like to sommers day,
Now glooming sadly, so to cloke her matter;
Yet were her words but wynd, and all her teares but water.

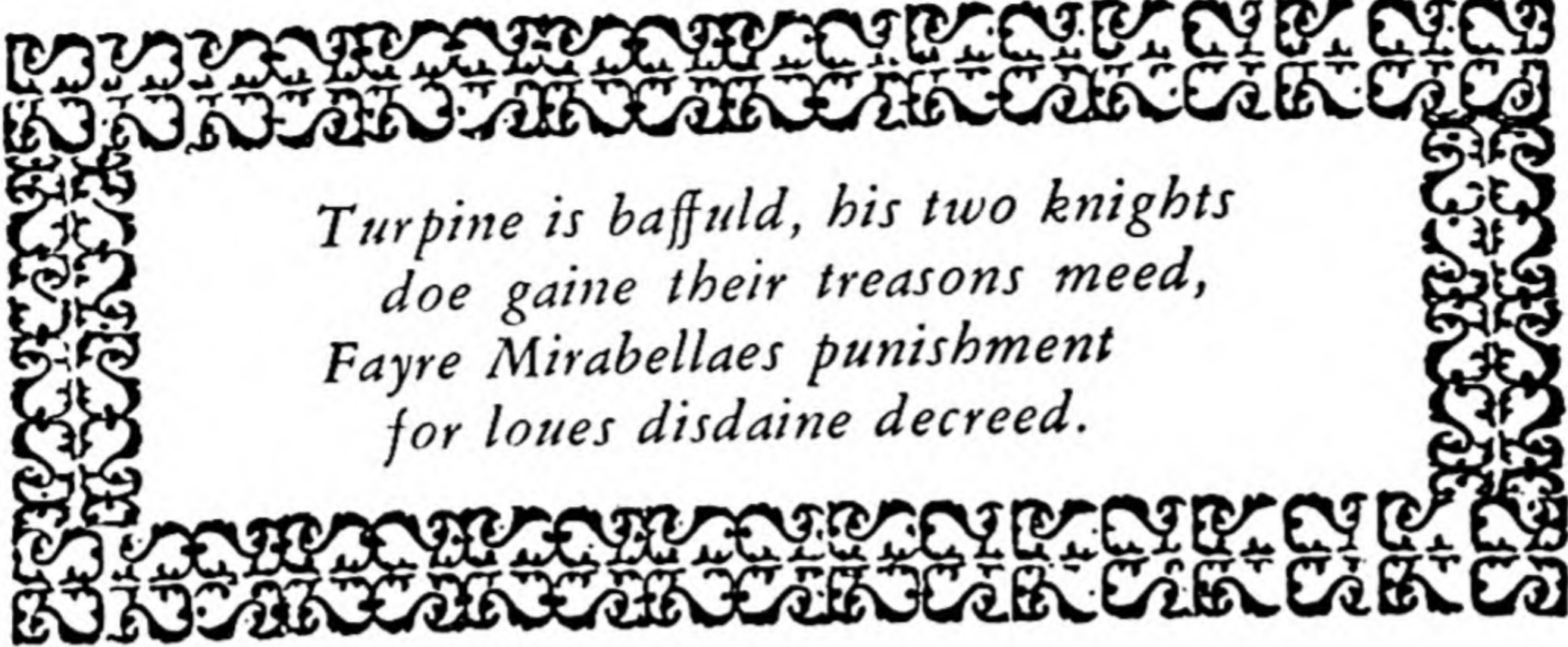
xlii

Whether such grace were giuen her by kynd,
As women wont their guilefull wits to guyde;
Or learn'd the art to please, I doe not fynd.
This well I wote, that she so well applyde
Her pleasing tongue, that soone she pacifyde
The wrathfull Prince, and wrought her husbands peace.
Who nathelesse not therewith satisfyde,
His rancorous despight did not release,
Ne secretly from thought of fell reuenge surceasse.

xliii

For all that night, the whyles the Prince did rest
In carelesse couch, not weeting what was ment,
He watcht in close awayt with weapons prest,
Willing to worke his villenous intent
On him, that had so shamefully him shent:
Yet durst he not for very cowardize
Effect the same, whylest all the night was spent.
The morrow next the Prince did early rize,
And passed forth, to follow his first enterprize.

Cant. VII.



*Turpine is baffuld, his two knights
doe gaine their treasons meed,
Fayre Mirabellaes punishment
for loues disdaine decreed.*

Like as the gentle hart it selfe bewrayes,
In doing gentle deedes with franke delight,
Euen so the baser mind it selfe displays,
In cancred malice and reuengefull spight.
For to maligne, t'enuie, t'vse shifting slight,
Be arguments of a vile donghill mind,
Which what it dare not doe by open might,
To worke by wicked treason wayes doth find,
By such discourteous deeds discovering his base kind.

That well appeares in this discourteous knight,
The coward *Turpine*, whereof now I treat;
Who notwithstanding that in former fight
He of the Prince his life receiued late,
Yet in his mind malicious and ingrate
He gan deuize, to be aueng'd anew
For all that shame, which kindled inward hate.
Therefore so soone as he was out of vew,
Himselfe in hast he arm'd, and did him fast pursew.

Well did he tract his steps, as he did ryde,
Yet would not neare approch in daungers eye,
But kept aloofe for dread to be descryde,
Vntill fit time and place he mote espy,
Where he mote worke him scath and villeny.
At last he met two knights to him vnknowne,
The which were arm'd both agreeably,
And both combynd, what euer chaunce were blowne,
Betwixt them to diuide, and each to make his owne.

i

ii

iii

To whom false *Turpine* comming courteously,
To cloke the mischiefe, which he inly ment,
Gan to complaine of great discourtesie,
Which a straunge knight, that neare afore him went,
Had doen to him, and his deare Ladie shent:
Which if they would afford him ayde at need
For to auenge, in time conuenient,
They should accomplish both a knightly deed,
And for their paines obtaine of him a goodly meed.

The knights beleeu'd, that all he sayd, was trew,
And being fresh and full of youthly spright,
Were glad to heare of that aduenture new,
In which they mote make triall of their might,
Which neuer yet they had approu'd in fight;
And eke desirous of the offred meed,
Said then the one of them; Where is that wight,
The which hath doen to thee this wrongfull deed,
That we may it auenge, and punish him with speed?

He rides (said *Turpine*) there not farre afore,
With a wyld man soft footing by his syde,
That if ye list to haste a litle more,
Ye may him ouertake in timely tyde.
Eftsoones they pricked forth with forward pryde,
And ere that litle while they ridden had,
The gentle Prince not farre away they spyde,
Ryding a softly pace with portance sad,
Deuizing of his loue more, then of daunger drad.

Then one of them aloud vnto him cryde,
Bidding him turne againe, false traytour knight,
Foule womanwronger, for he him defyde.
With that they both at once with equall spight
Did bend their speares, and both with equall might
Against him ran; but th'one did misse his marke,
And being carried with his force forthright,
Glaunst swiftly by; like to that heauenly sparke,
Which glyding through the ayre lights all the heauens darke.

But th'other ayming better, did him smite
Full in the shield, with so impetuous powre,
That all his launce in peeces shiuered quite,
And scattered all about, fell on the flowre.
But the stout Prince, with much more stedly stowre
Full on his beuer did him strike so sore,
That the cold steele through piercing, did deuowre
His vitall breath, and to the ground him bore,
Where still he bathed lay in his owne bloody gore.

As when a cast of Faulcons make their flight
At an Herneshaw, that lyes aloft on wing,
The whyles they strike at him with heedlesse might,
The warie foule his bill doth backward wring;
On which the first, whose force her first doth bring,
Her selfe quite through the bodie doth engore,
And falleth downe to ground like senselesse thing,
But th'other not so swift, as she before,
Fayles of her souse, and passing by doth hurt no more.

By this the other, which was passed by,
Himselfe recouering, was return'd to fight;
Where when he saw his fellow lifelesse ly,
He much was daunted with so dismall sight;
Yet nought abating of his former spight,
Let driue at him with so malicious mynd,
As if he would haue passed through him quight:
But the steele-head no stedfast hold could fynd,
But glauncing by, deceiu'd him of that he desynd.

Not so the Prince: for his well learned speare
Tooke surer hould, and from his horses backe
Aboue a launces length him forth did beare,
And gainst the cold hard earth so sore him strake,
That all his bones in peeces nigh he brake.
Where seeing him so lie, he left his steed,
And to him leaping, vengeance thought to take
Of him, for all his former follies meed,
With flaming sword in hand his terror more to breed.

ix

x

xi

The fearefull swayne beholding death so nie,
Cryde out aloud for mercie him to saue;
In lieu whereof he would to him descrie,
Great treason to him meant, his life to reauē.
The Prince soone hearkned, and his life forgauē.
Then thus said he, There is a straunger knight,
The which for promise of great meed, vs draue
To this attempt, to wreake his hid despight,
For that himselfe thereto did want sufficient might.

xii

The Prince much mused at such villenie,
And sayd; Now sure ye well haue earn'd your meed,
For th'one is dead, and th'other soone shall die,
Vnlesse to me thou hether bring with speed
The wretch, that hyr'd you to this wicked deed.
He glad of life, and willing eke to wreake
The guilt on him, which did this mischiefē breed,
Swore by his sword, that neither day nor weeke
He would surceasse, but him, where so he were, would seeke.

xiii

So vp he rose, and forth streight way he went
Backe to the place, where *Turpine* late he lore;
There he him found in great astonishment,
To see him so bedight with bloodie gore,
And griesly wounds that him appalled sore.
Yet thus at length he said, How now Sir knight?
What meaneth this, which here I see before?
How fortuneth this foule vncomely plight,
So different from that, which earst ye seem'd in sight?

xiv

Perdie (said he) in euill houre it fell,
That euer I for meed did vndertake
So hard a taske, as life for hyre to sell;
The which I earst aduentur'd for your sake.
Witnesse the wounds, and this wyde bloudie lake,
Which ye may see yet all about me steeme.
Therefore now yeeld, as ye did promise make,
My due reward, the which right well I deeme
I yearned haue, that life so dearely did redeeme.

xv

But where then is (quoth he halfe wrothfully)
Where is the bootie, which therefore I bought,
That cursed caytiue, my strong enemy,
That recreant knight, whose hated life I sought?
And where is eke your friend, which halfe it ought?
He lyes (said he) vpon the cold bare ground,
Slayne of that errant knight, with whom he fought;
Whom afterwards my selfe with many a wound
Did slay againe, as ye may see there in the stound.

xvi

Thereof false *Turpin* was full glad and faine,
And needs with him streight to the place would ryde,
Where he himselfe might see his foeman slaine;
For else his feare could not be satisfyde.
So as they rode, he saw the way all dyde
With streames of bloud; which tracting by the traile,
Ere long they came, whereas in euill tyde
That other swayne, like ashes deadly pale,
Lay in the lap of death, rewing his wretched bale.

xvii

Much did the Crauen seeme to mone his case,
That for his sake his deare life had forgone;
And him bewayling with affection base,
Did counterfeit kind pittie, where was none:
For wheres no courage, theres no ruth nor mone.
Thence passing forth, not farre away he found,
Whereas the Prince himselfe lay all alone,
Loosely displayd vpon the grassie ground,
Possessed of sweete sleepe, that luld him soft in swound.

xviii

Wearie of trauell in his former fight,
He there in shade himselfe had layd to rest,
Hauing his armes and warlike things vndight,
Fearelesse of foes that mote his peace molest;
The whyles his saluage page, that wont be prest,
Was wandred in the wood another way,
To doe some thing, that seemed to him best,
The whyles his Lord in siluer slomber lay,
Like to the Euening starre adorn'd with deawy ray.

xix

Whom when as *Turpin* saw so loosely layd,
He weened well, that he in deed was dead,
Like as that other knight to him had sayd:
But when he nigh approcht, he mote aread
Plaine signes in him of life and liuelihead.
Whereat much grieu'd against that straunger knight,
That him too light of credence did mislead,
He would haue backe retyred from that sight,
That was to him on earth the deadliest despight.

xx

But that same knight would not once let him start,
But plainely gan to him declare the case
Of all his mischiefe, and late lucklesse smart;
How both he and his fellow there in place
Were vanquished, and put to foule disgrace,
And how that he in lieu of life him lent,
Had vow'd vnto the victor, him to trace
And follow through the world, where so he went,
Till that he him deliuered to his punishment.

xxi

He therewith much abashed and affrayd,
Began to tremble euery limbe and vaine;
And softly whispering him, entyrelly prayd,
T'aduize him better, then by such a traine
Him to betray vnto a straunger swaine:
Yet rather counseld him contrarywize,
Sith he likewise did wrong by him sustaine,
To ioyne with him and vengeance to deuize,
Whylest time did offer meanes him sleeping to surprize.

xxii

Nathelesse for all his speach, the gentle knight
Would not be tempted to such villenie,
Regarding more his faith, which he did plight,
All were it to his mortall enemye,
Then to entrap him by false treacherie:
Great shame in lieges blood to be embrew'd.
Thus whylest they were debating diuerslie,
The Saluage forth out of the wood issew'd
Backe to the place, whereas his Lord he sleeping vew'd.

xxiii

There when he saw those two so neare him stand,
He doubted much what mote their meaning bee,
And throwing downe his load out of his hand,
To weet great store of forrest frute, which hee
Had for his food late gathered from the tree,
Himselfe vnto his weapon he betooke,
That was an oaken plant, which lately hee
Rent by the root; which he so sternely shooke,
That like an hazell wand, it quiuered and quooke.

xxiv

Whereat the Prince awaking, when he spyde
The traytour *Turpin* with that other knight,
He started vp, and snatching neare his syde
His trustie sword, the seruant of his might,
Like a fell Lyon leaped to him light,
And his left hand vpon his collar layd.
Therewith the cowheard deaded with affright,
Fell flat to ground, ne word vnto him sayd,
But holding vp his hands, with silence mercie prayd.

xxv

But he so full of indignation was,
That to his prayer nought he would incline,
But as he lay vpon the humbled gras,
His foot he set on his vile necke, in signe
Of seruile yoke, that nobler harts repine.
Then letting him arise like abiect thrall,
He gan to him object his haynous crime,
And to reuile, and rate, and recreant call,
And lastly to despoyle of knightly bannerall.

xxvi

And after all, for greater infamie,
He by the heeles him hung vpon a tree,
And baffuld so, that all which passed by,
The picture of his punishment might see,
And by the like ensample warned bee,
How euer they through treason doe trespasse.
But turne we now backe to that Ladie free,
Whom late we left ryding vpon an Asse,
Led by a Carle and foole, which by her side did passe.

xxvii

She was a Ladie of great dignitie,
And lifted vp to honorable place,
Famous through all the land of Faerie,
Though of meane parentage and kindred base,
Yet deckt with wondrous giftes of natures grace,
That all men did her person much admire,
And praise the feature of her goodly face,
The beames whereof did kindle louely fire
In th'harts of many a knight, and many a gentle squire.

xxviii

But she thereof grew proud and insolent,
That none she worthie thought to be her fere,
But scornd them all, that loue vnto her ment;
Yet was she lou'd of many a worthy pere,
Vnworthy she to be belou'd so dere,
That could not weigh of worthinesse aright.
For beautie is more glorious bright and clere,
The more it is admir'd of many a wight,
And noblest she, that serued is of noblest knight.

xxix

But this coy Damzell thought contrariwise,
That such proud looks would make her prayesd more;
And that the more she did all loue despize,
The more would wretched louers her adore.
What cared she, who sighed for her sore,
Or who did wayle or watch the wearie night?
Let them that list, their lucklesse lot deplore;
She was borne free, not bound to any wight,
And so would euer liue, and loue her owne delight.

xxx

Through such her stubborne stifnesse, and hard hart,
Many a wretch, for want of remedie,
Did languish long in lifeconsuming smart,
And at the last through dreary dolour die:
Whylest she, the Ladie of her libertie,
Did boast her beautie had such soueraine might,
That with the onely twinckle of her eye,
She could or saue, or spill, whom she would hight.
What could the Gods doe more, but doe it more aright?

xxxi

But loe the Gods, that mortall follies vew,
Did worthily reuenge this maydens pride;
And nought regarding her so goodly hew,
Did laugh at her, that many did deride,
Whilest she did weepe, of no man mercifide.
For on a day, when *Cupid* kept his court,
As he is wont at each Saint Valentide,
Vnto the which all louers doe resort,
That of their loues successe they there may make report;

xxxii

It fortun'd then, that when the roules were red,
In which the names of all loues folke were fyled,
That many there were missing, which were ded,
Or kept in bands, or from their loues exyled,
Or by some other violence despoyled.
Which when as *Cupid* heard, he waxed wroth,
And doubting to be wronged, or beguyled,
He bad his eyes to be vnblindfold both,
That he might see his men, and muster them by oth.

xxxiii

Then found he many missing of his crew,
Which wont doe suit and seruice to his might;
Of whom what was becomen, no man knew.
Therefore a Iurie was impaneld streight,
T'enquire of them, whether by force, or sleight,
Or their owne guilt, they were away conuayd.
To whom foule *Infamie*, and fell *Despight*
Gaue euidence, that they were all betrayd,
And mured cruelly by a rebellious Mayd.

xxxiv

Fayre *Mirabella* was her name, whereby
Of all those crymes she there indited was:
All which when *Cupid* heard, he by and by
In great displeasure, wild a *Capias*
Should issue forth, t'attach that scornefull lasse.
The warrant straight was made, and therewithall
A Baylieffe errant forth in post did passe,
Whom they by name there *Portamore* did call;
He which doth summon louers to loues iudgement hall.

xxxv

The damzell was attacht, and shortly brought
Vnto the barre, whereas she was arrayned:
But she thereto nould plead, nor answere ought
Euen for stubborne pride, which her restrayned.
So iudgement past, as is by law ordayned
In cases like, which when at last she saw,
Her stubborne hart, which loue before disdayned,
Gan stoupe, and falling downe with humble awe,
Cryde mercie, to abate the extremitie of law.

xxxvi

The sonne of *Venus* who is myld by kynd,
But where he is prouokt with peeuishnesse,
Vnto her prayers piteously enclynd,
And did the rigour of his doome repressse;
Yet not so freely, but that nathelesse
He vnto her a penance did impose,
Which was, that through this worlds wyde wildernes
She wander should in companie of those,
Till she had sau'd so many loues, as she did lose.

xxxvii

So now she had bene wandring two whole yeares
Throughout the world, in this vncomely case,
Wasting her goodly hew in heauie teares,
And her good dayes in dolorous disgrace:
Yet had she not in all these two yeares space,
Saued but two, yet in two yeares before,
Through her dispiteous pride, whilst loue lackt place,
She had destroyed two and twenty more.
Aie me, how could her loue make half amends therefore?

xxxviii

And now she was vppon the weary way,
When as the gentle Squire, with faire *Serene*,
Met her in such misseeming foule array;
The whiles that mighty man did her demeane
With all the euill termes and cruell meane,
That he could make; And eeke that angry foole
Which follow'd her, with cursed hands vncleane
Whipping her horse, did with his smarting toole
Oft whip her dainty selfe, and much augment her doole.

xxxix

Ne ought it mote auaile her to entreat
The one or th'other, better her to vse:
For both so wilfull were and obstinate,
That all her piteous plaint they did refuse,
And rather did the more her beate and bruse.
But most the former villaine, which did lead
Her tyreling iade, was bent her to abuse;
Who though she were with wearinesse nigh dead,
Yet would not let her lite, nor rest a little stead.

xl

For he was sterne, and terrible by nature,
And eeke of person huge and hideous,
Exceeding much the measure of mans stature,
And rather like a Gyant monstrous.
For sooth he was descended of the hous
Of those old Gyants, which did warres darraine
Against the heauen in order battailous,
And sib to great *Orgolio*, which was slaine
By *Arthure*, when as *Vnas* Knight he did maintaine.

xli

His lookes were dreadfull, and his fiery eies
Like two great Beacons, glared bright and wyde,
Glauncing askew, as if his enemies
He scorned in his ouerweening pryde;
And stalking stately like a Crane, did stryde
At euery step vppon the tiptoes hie,
And all the way he went, on euery syde
He gaz'd about, and stared horriblie,
As if he with his lookes would all men terrifie.

xlii

He wore no armour, ne for none did care,
As no whit dreading any liuing wight;
But in a Iacket quilted richly rare
Vpon checklaton he was straungely dight,
And on his head a roll of linnen plight,
Like to the Mores of Malaber he wore;
With which his locks, as blacke as pitchy night,
Were bound about, and voyded from before,
And in his hand a mighty yron club he bore.

xliii

This was *Disdaine*, who led that Ladies horse xliv
Through thick and thin, through mountains and through plains,
Compelling her, wher she would not, by force
Haling her palfrey by the hempen raines.
But that same foole, which most increast her paines,
Was *Scorne*, who hauing in his hand a whip,
Her therewith yirks, and still when she complaines,
The more he laughes, and does her closely quip,
To see her sore lament, and bite her tender lip.

Whose cruell handling when that Squire beheld, xlv
And saw those villaines her so vildely vse,
His gentle heart with indignation sweld,
And could no lenger beare so great abuse,
As such a Lady so to beate and bruse;
But to him stepping, such a stroke him lent,
That forst him th'halter from his hand to loose,
And maugre all his might, backe to relent:
Else had he surely there bene slaine, or fowly shent.

The villaine, wroth for greeting him so sore, xlvi
Gathered him selfe together soone againe,
And with his yron batton, which he bore,
Let driue at him so dreadfully amaine,
That for his safety he did him constraine
To giue him ground, and shift to euery side,
Rather then once his burden to sustaine:
For bootelesse thing him seemed, to abide
So mighty blowes, or proue the puissaunce of his pride.

Like as a Mastiffe hauing at a bay xlvii
A saluage Bull, whose cruell hornes doe threat
Desperate daunger, if he them assay,
Traceth his ground, and round about doth beat,
To spy where he may some aduauntage get;
The whiles the beast doth rage and loudly rore:
So did the Squire, the whiles the Carle did fret,
And fume in his disdainefull mynd the more,
And oftentimes by Turmagant and Mahound swore.

Nathelesse so sharpely still he him pursewd,
 That at aduantage him at last he tooke,
 When his foote slipt (that slip he dearely rewd,)
 And with his yron club to ground him strooke;
 Where still he lay, ne out of swoone awooke,
 Till heauy hand the Carle vpon him layd,
 And bound him fast: Tho when he vp did looke,
 And saw him selfe captiu'd, he was dismayd,
 Ne powre had to withstand, ne hope of any ayd.

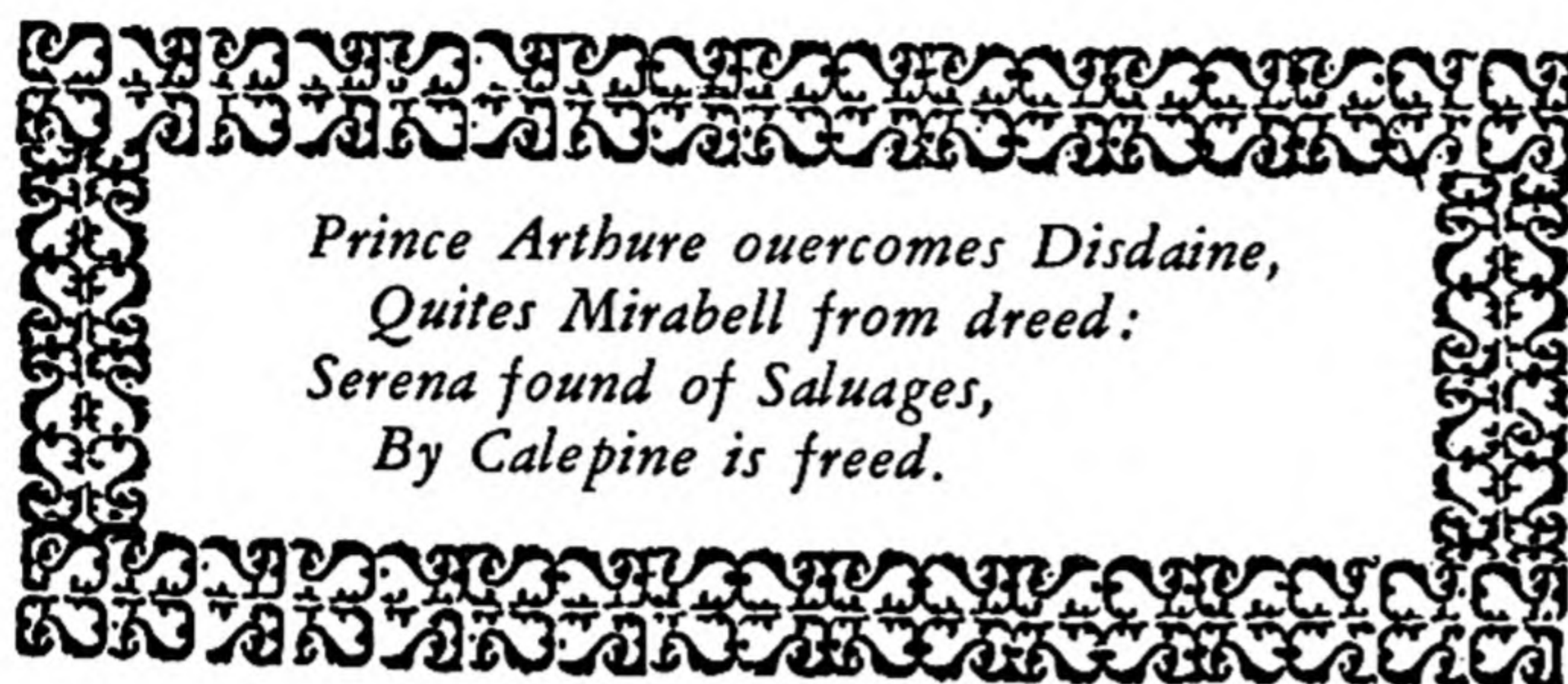
xlix

Then vp he made him rise, and forward fare,
 Led in a rope, which both his hands did bynd;
 Ne ought that foole for pittie did him spare,
 But with his whip him following behynd,
 Him often scourg'd, and forst his feete to fynd:
 And other whiles with bitter mockes and mowes
 He would him scorne, that to his gentle mynd
 Was much more grieuous, then the others blowes:
 Words sharpely wound, but greatest grieve of scorning growes.

1

The faire *Serena*, when she saw him fall
 Vnder that villaines club, then surely thought
 That slaine he was, or made a wretched thrall,
 And fled away with all the speede she mought,
 To seeke for safety, which long time she sought:
 And past through many perils by the way,
 Ere she againe to *Calepine* was brought;
 The which discourse as now I must delay,
 Till *Mirabellaes* fortunes I doe further say.

Cant. VIII.



YE gentle Ladies, in whose soueraine powre
 Loue hath the glory of his kingdome left,
 And th'hearts of men, as your eternall dowre,
 In yron chaines, of liberty bereft,
 Deliuered hath into your hands by gift;
 Be well aware, how ye the same doe vse,
 That pride doe not to tyranny you lift;
 Least if men you of cruelty accuse,
 He from you take that chiefedome, which ye doe abuse.

i

And as ye soft and tender are by kynde,
 Adorn'd with goodly gifts of beauties grace,
 So be ye soft and tender eke in mynde;
 But cruelty and hardnesse from you chace,
 That all your other praises will deface,
 And from you turne the loue of men to hate.
 Ensample take of *Mirabellaes* case,
 Who from the high degree of happy state,
 Fell into wretched woes, which she repented late.

ii

Who after thraldome of the gentle Squire,
 Which she beheld with lamentable eye,
 Was touched with compassion entire,
 And much lamented his calamity,
 That for her sake fell into misery:
 Which bootéd nought for prayers, nor for threat
 To hope for to release or mollify;
 For aye the more, that she did them entreat,
 The more they him misust, and cruelly did beat.

iii

So as they forward on their way did pas,
Him still reuiling and afflicting sore,
They met Prince *Arthure* with Sir *Enias*,
(That was that courteous Knight, whom he before
Hauing subdew'd, yet did to life restore,)
To whom as they approcht, they gan augment
Their cruelty, and him to punish more,
Scourging and haling him more vehement;
As if it them should grieue to see his punishment.

iv

The Squire him selfe when as he saw his Lord,
The witnesse of his wretchednesse, in place,
Was much asham'd, that with an hempen cord
He like a dog was led in captiue case,
And did his head for bashfulnesse abase,
As loth to see, or to be seene at all:
Shame would be hid. But whenas *Enias*
Beheld two such, of two such villaines thrall,
His manly mynde was much emmoued therewithall.

v

And to the Prince thus sayd; See you Sir Knight,
The greatest shame that euer eye yet saw?
Yond Lady and her Squire with foule despight
Abusde, against all reason and all law,
Without regard of pittie or of awe.
See how they doe that Squire beat and reuile;
See how they doe the Lady hale and draw.
But if ye please to lend me leaue a while,
I will them soone acquite, and both of blame assoile.

vi

The Prince assented, and then he streight way
Dismounting light, his shield about him threw,
With which approching, thus he gan to say;
Abide ye caytiue treachetours vntrew,
That haue with treason thrall'd vnto you
These two, vnworthy of your wretched bands;
And now your crime with cruelty pursew.
Abide, and from them lay your loathly hands;
Or else abide the death, that hard before you stands.

vii

The villaine stayd not aunswer to inuent,
But with his yron club preparing way,
His mindes sad message backe vnto him sent;
The which descended with such dreadfull sway,
That seemed nought the course thereof could stay:
No more then lightening from the lofty sky.
Ne list the Knight the powre thereof assay,
Whose doome was death, but lightly slipping by,
Vnwares defrauded his intended destiny.

viii

And to requite him with the like againe,
With his sharpe sword he fiercely at him flew,
And strooke so strongly, that the Carle with paine
Saued him selfe, but that he there him slew:
Yet sau'd not so, but that the bloud it drew,
And gaue his foe good hope of victory.
Who therewith flesht, vpon him set anew,
And with the second stroke, thought certainly
To haue supplyde the first, and paide the vsury.

ix

But Fortune aunswerd not vnto his call;
For as his hand was heaued vp on hight,
The villaine met him in the middle fall,
And with his club bet backe his brondyron bright
So forcibly, that with his owne hands might
Rebeaten backe vpon him selfe againe,
He driuen was to ground in selfe despight;
From whence ere he recouery could gaine,
He in his necke had set his foote with fell disdaine.

x

With that the foole, which did that end awayte,
Came running in, and whilest on ground he lay,
Laide heauy hands on him, and held so strayte,
That downe he kept him with his scornefull sway,
So as he could not weld him any way.
The whiles that other villaine went about
Him to haue bound, and thrald without delay;
The whiles the foole did him reuile and flout,
Threatning to yoke them two and tame their corage stout.

xi

As when a sturdy ploughman with his hynde
By strength haue ouerthrowne a stubborne steare,
They downe him hold, and fast with cords do bynde,
Till they him force the buxome yoke to beare:
So did these two this Knight oft tug and teare.
Which when the Prince beheld, there standing by,
He left his lofty steede to aide him neare,
And buckling soone him selfe, gan fiercely fly
Vppon that Carle, to saue his friend from ieopardy.

xii

The villaine leauing him vnto his mate
To be captiu'd, and handled as he list,
Himselfe addrest vnto this new debate,
And with his club him all about so blist,
That he which way to turne him scarcely wist:
Sometimes aloft he layd, sometimes alow;
Now here, now there, and oft him neare he mist;
So doubtfully, that hardly one could know
Whether more wary were to giue or ward the blow.

xiii

But yet the Prince so well enured was
With such huge strokes, approued oft in fight,
That way to them he gaue forth right to pas.
Ne would endure the daunger of their might,
But wayt aduantage, when they downe did light.
At last the caytiue after long discourse,
When all his strokes he saw auoyded quite,
Resolved in one t'assemble all his force,
And make one end of him without ruth or remorse.

xiv

His dreadfull hand he heaued vp aloft,
And with his dreadfull instrument of yre,
Thought sure haue pownded him to powder soft,
Or deepe emboweld in the earth entyre:
But Fortune did not with his will conspire.
For ere his stroke attayned his intent,
The noble childe preuenting his desire,
Vnder his club with wary boldnesse went,
And smote him on the knee, that neuer yet was bent.

xv

It neuer yet was bent, ne bent it now,
Albe the stroke so strong and puissant were,
That seem'd a marble pillour it could bow,
But all that leg, which did his body beare,
It crackt throughout, yet did no bloud appeare;
So as it was vnable to support
So huge a burden on such broken geare,
But fell to ground, like to a lumpe of durt,
Whence he assayd to rise, but could not for his hurt.

xvi

Eftsoones the Prince to him full nimbly stept,
And least he should recouer foote againe,
His head meant from his shoulders to haue swept.
Which when the Lady saw, she cryde amaine;
Stay stay, Sir Knight, for loue of God abstaine,
From that vnwares ye weetlesse doe intend;
Slay not that Carle, though worthy to be slaine:
For more on him doth then him selfe depend;
My life will by his death haue lamentable end.

xvii

He staide his hand according her desire,
Yet nathemore him suffred to arize;
But still suppressing gan of her inquire,
What meaning mote those vncouth words comprize,
That in that villaines health her safety lies:
That, were no might in man, nor heart in Knights,
Which durst her dreaded reskue enterprize,
Yet heauens them selues, that fauour feeble rights,
Would for it selfe redresse, and punish such despights.

xviii

Then bursting forth in teares, which gushed fast
Like many water streames, a while she stayd;
Till the sharpe passion being ouerpast,
Her tongue to her restord, then thus she sayd;
Nor heauens, nor men can me most wretched mayd
Deliuer from the doome of my desart,
The which the God of loue hath on me layd,
And damned to endure this direfull smart,
For penaunce of my proud and hard rebellious hart.

xix

In prime of youthly yeares, when first the flowre
Of beauty gan to bud, and bloosme delight,
And nature me endu'd with plenteous dowre,
Of all her gifts, that pleasde each liuing sight,
I was belou'd of many a gentle Knight,
And sude and sought with all the seruice dew:
Full many a one for me deepe groand and sight,
And to the dore of death for sorrow drew,
Complayning out on me, that would not on them rew.

xx

But let them loue that list, or liue or die;
Me list not die for any louers doole:
Ne list me leaue my loued libertie,
To pittie him that list to play the foole:
To loue my selfe I learned had in schoole.
Thus I triumphed long in louers paine,
And sitting carelesse on the scorner's stoole,
Did laugh at those that did lament and plaine:
But all is now repayd with interest againe.

xxi

For loe the winged God, that woundeth harts,
Causde me be called to accompt therefore,
And for reuengement of those wrongfull smarts,
Which I to others did inflict afore,
Addeem'd me to endure this penaunce sore;
That in this wize, and this vnmeete array,
With these two lewd companions, and no more,
Disdaine and *Scorne*, I through the world should stray,
Till I haue sau'd so many, as I earst did slay.

xxii

Certes (sayd then the Prince) the God is iust,
That taketh vengeance of his peoples spoile.
For were no law in loue, but all that lust
Might them oppresse, and painefully turmoile,
His kingdome would continue but a while.
But tell me Lady, wherefore doe you beare
This bottle thus before you with such toile,
And eeke this wallet at your backe arreare,
That for these Carles to carry much more comely were?

xxiii

Here in this bottle (sayd the sory Mayd)

xxiv

I put the teares of my contrition,

Till to the brim I haue it full defrayd:

And in this bag which I behinde me don,

I put repentaunce for things past and gon.

Yet is the bottle leake, and bag so torne,

That all which I put in, fals out anon;

And is behinde me trodden downe of *Scorne*,

Who mocketh all my paine, and laughs the more I mourn.

The Infant hearkned wisely to her tale,

xxv

And wondred much at *Cupids* iudg'ment wise,

That could so meekly make proud hearts auale,

And wreake him selfe on them, that him despise.

Then suffred he *Disdaine* vp to arise,

Who was not able vp him selfe to reare,

By meanes his leg through his late luckelesse prise,

Was crackt in twaine, but by his foolish feare

Was holpen vp, who him supported standing neare.

But being vp, he lookt againe aloft,

xxvi

As if he neuer had receiued fall;

And with sterne eye-browes stared at him oft,

As if he would haue daunted him withall:

And standing on his tiptoes, to seeme tall,

Downe on his golden feete he often gazed,

As if such pride the other could apall;

Who was so far from being ought amazed,

That he his lookes despised, and his boast dispraized.

Then turning backe vnto that captiue thrall,

xxvii

Who all this while stood there beside them bound,

Vnwilling to be knowne, or seene at all,

He from those bands weend him to haue vnwound.

But when approching neare, he plainely found,

It was his owne true groome, the gentle Squire,

He thereat wext exceedingly astound,

And him did oft embrace, and oft admire,

Ne could with seeing satisfie his great desire.

Meane while the Saluage man, when he beheld
That huge great foole oppressing th'other Knight,
Whom with his weight vnweldy downe he held,
He flew vpon him, like a greedy kight
Vnto some carrion offered to his sight,
And downe him plucking, with his nayles and teeth
Gan him to hale, and teare, and scratch, and bite;
And from him taking his owne whip, therewith
So sore him scourgeth, that the bloud downe followeth.

xxviii

And sure I weene, had not the Ladies cry
Procur'd the Prince his cruell hand to stay,
He would with whipping, him haue done to dye:
But being checkt, he did abstaine streight way,
And let him rise. Then thus the Prince gan say;
Now Lady sith your fortunes thus dispose,
That if ye list haue liberty, ye may,
Vnto your selfe I freely leaue to chose,
Whether I shall you leaue, or from these villaines lose.

xxix

Ah nay Sir Knight (sayd she) it may not be,
But that I needes must by all meanes fulfill
This penaunce, which enioyned is to me,
Least vnto me betide a greater ill;
Yet no lesse thanks to you for your good will.
So humbly taking leaue, she turnd aside,
But *Arthure* with the rest, went onward still
On his first quest, in which did him betide
A great aduenture, which did him from them deuide.

xxx

But first it falleth me by course to tell
Of faire *Serena*, who as earst you heard,
When first the gentle Squire at variaunce fell
With those two Carles, fled fast away, afeard
Of villany to be to her inferd:
So fresh the image of her former dread,
Yet dwelling in her eye, to her appeard,
That euery foote did tremble, which did tread,
And euery body two, and two she foure did read.

xxxi

Through hils and dales, through bushes and through breres xxxii

Long thus she fled, till that at last she thought
Her selfe now past the perill of her feares.

Then looking round about, and seeing nought,
Which doubt of daunger to her offer mought,
She from her palfrey lighted on the plaine,
And sitting downe, her selfe a while bethought
Of her long trauell and turmoyling paine;
And often did of loue, and oft of lucke complaine.

And euermore she blamed *Calepine*, xxxiii

The good Sir *Calepine*, her owne true Knight,
As th'onely author of her wofull tine:
For being of his loue to her so light,
As her to leaue in such a piteous plight.
Yet neuer Turtle truer to his make,
Then he was tride vnto his Lady bright:
Who all this while endured for her sake,
Great perill of his life, and restlesse paines did take.

Tho when as all her plaints she had displayd, xxxiv

And well disburdened her engrieued brest,
Vpon the grasse her selfe adowne she layd;
Where being tyrde with trauell, and opprest
With sorrow, she betooke her selfe to rest.
There whilst in *Morpheus* bosome safe she lay,
Fearelesse of ought, that mote her peace molest,
False Fortune did her safety betray,
Vnto a straunge mischaunce, that menac'd her decay.

In these wylde deserts, where she now abode, xxxv

There dwelt a saluage nation, which did liue
Of stealth and spoile, and making nightly rode
Into their neighbours borders; ne did giue
Them selues to any trade, as for to driue
The painefull plough, or cattell for to breed,
Or by aduentrous marchandize to thriue;
But on the labours of poore men to feed,
And serue their owne necessities with others need.

- Thereto they vsde one most accursed order, xxxvi
To eate the flesh of men, whom they mote fynde,
And straungers to deuoure, which on their border
Were brought by errour, or by wreckfull wynde.
A monstrous cruelty gainst course of kynde.
They towards euening wandring euery way,
To seeke for booty, came by fortune blynde,
Whereas this Lady, like a sheepe astray,
Now drowned in the depth of sleepe all fearelesse lay.
- Soone as they spide her, Lord what gladfull glee xxxvii
They made amongst them selues; but when her face
Like the faire yuory shining they did see,
Each gan his fellow solace and embrace,
For ioy of such good hap by heauenly grace.
Then gan they to deuize what course to take:
Whether to slay her there vpon the place,
Or suffer her out of her sleepe to wake,
And then her eate attonce; or many meales to make.
- The best aduizement was of bad, to let her xxxviii
Sleepe out her fill, without encomberment:
For sleepe they sayd would make her battill better.
Then when she wakt, they all gaue one consent,
That since by grace of God she there was sent,
Vnto their God they would her sacrificize,
Whose share, her guiltlesse bloud they would present,
But of her dainty flesh they did deuize
To make a common feast, and feed with gurmandize.
- So round about her they them selues did place xxxix
Vpon the grasse, and diuersely dispose,
As each thought best to spend the lingring space.
Some with their eyes the daintest morsels chose;
Some praise her paps, some praise her lips and nose;
Some whet their kniues, and strip their elboes bare:
The Priest him selfe a garland doth compose
Of finest flowres, and with full busie care
His bloudy vessels wash, and holy fire prepare.

The Damzell wakes, then all attonce vpstart,
And round about her flocke, like many flies,
Whooping, and hallowing on euery part,
As if they would haue rent the brasen skies.
Which when she sees with ghastly griefful eies,
Her heart does quake, and deadly pallid hew
Benumbes her cheekes: Then out aloud she cries,
Where none is nigh to heare, that will her rew,
And rends her golden locks, and snowy brests embrew.

xl

But all bootes not: they hands vpon her lay;
And first they spoile her of her iewels deare,
And afterwards of all her rich array;
The which amongst them they in peeces teare,
And of the pray each one a part doth beare.
Now being naked, to their sordid eyes
The goodly treasures of nature appeare:
Which as they view with lustfull fantasyes,
Each wisheth to him selfe, and to the rest enuyes.

xli

Her yuorie necke, her alablaster brest,
Her paps, which like white silken pillowes were,
For loue in soft delight thereon to rest;
Her tender sides, her bellie white and clere,
Which like an Altar did it selfe vprere,
To offer sacrifice diuine thereon;
Her goodly thighes, whose glorie did appeare
Like a triumphall Arch, and thereupon
The spoiles of Princes hang'd, which were in battel won.

xlii

Those daintie parts, the dearlings of delight,
Which mote not be prophan'd of common eyes,
Those villeins vew'd with loose lasciuious sight,
And closely tempted with their craftie spyes;
And some of them gan mongst themselues deuize,
Thereof by force to take their beastly pleasure.
But them the Priest rebuking, did aduize
To dare not to pollute so sacred treasure,
Vow'd to the gods: religion held euen theeuies in measure.

xliii

So being stayd, they her from thence directed xliv
Vnto a litle groue not farre asyde,
In which an altar shortly they erected,
To slay her on. And now the Euentyde
His brode black wings had through the heauens wyde
By this dispred, that was the tyme ordayned
For such a dismall deed, their guilt to hyde:
Of few greene turfes an altar soone they fayned,
And deckt it all with flowres, which they nigh hand obtayned.

Tho when as all things readie were aright, xlv
The Damzell was before the altar set,
Being alreadie dead with fearefull fright.
To whom the Priest with naked armes full net
Approching nigh, and murdrous knife well whet,
Gan mutter close a certaine secret charme,
With other diuelish ceremonies met:
Which doen he gan aloft t'aduance his arme,
Whereat they shouted all, and made a loud alarme.

Then gan the bagpipes and the hornes to shrill, xlvi
And shrieke aloud, that with the peoples voyce
Confused, did the ayre with terror fill,
And made the wood to tremble at the noyce:
The whyles she wayld, the more they did reioyce.
Now mote ye vnderstand that to this groue
Sir *Calepine* by chaunce, more then by choyce,
The selfe same euening fortune hether droue,
As he to seeke *Serena* through the woods did roue.

Long had he sought her, and through many a soyle xlvii
Had traueled still on foot in heauie armes,
Ne ought was tyred with his endlesse toyle,
Ne ought was feared of his certaine harmes:
And now all weetlesse of the wretched stormes,
In which his loue was lost, he slept full fast,
Till being waked with these loud alarmes,
He lightly started vp like one aghast,
And catching vp his arms streight to the noise forth past.

There by th'vncertaine glims of starry night,
And by the twinkling of their sacred fire,
He mote perceiue a litle dawning sight
Of all, which there was doing in that quire:
Mongst whom a woman spoyld of all attire
He spyde, lamenting her vnluckie strife,
And groning sore from grieued hart entire;
Eftsoones he saw one with a naked knife
Readie to launch her brest, and let out loued life.

xlvi

With that he thrusts into the thickest throng,
And euen as his right hand adowne descends,
He him preuenting, layes on earth along,
And sacrificeth to th'infernall feends.
Then to the rest his wrathfull hand he bends,
Of whom he makes such hauocke and such hew,
That swarmes of damned soules to hell he sends:
The rest that scape his sword and death eschew,
Fly like a flocke of doues before a Faulcons vew.

xlix

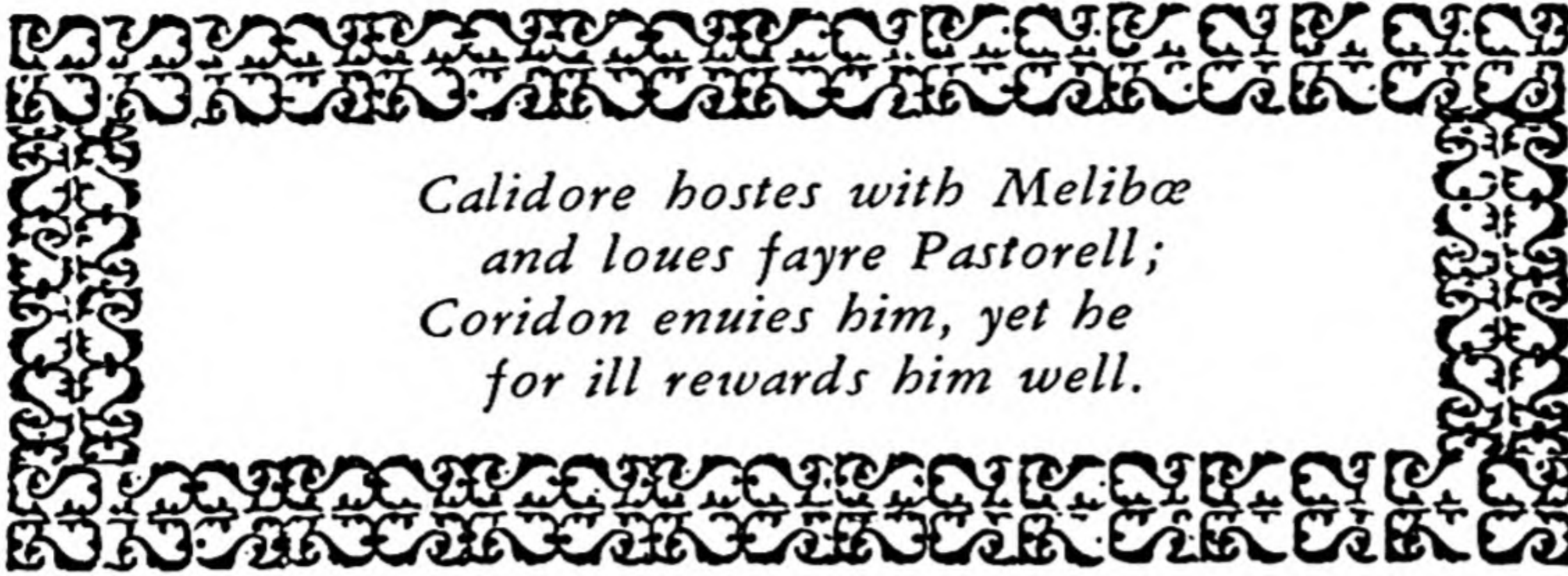
From them returning to that Ladie backe,
Whom by the Altar he doth sitting find,
Yet fearing death, and next to death the lacke
Of clothes to couer, what they ought by kind,
He first her hands beginneth to vnbind;
And then to question of her present woe;
And afterwards to cheare with speeches kind.
But she for nought that he could say or doe,
One word durst speake, or answere him a whit thereto.

l

So inward shame of her vncomely case
She did conceiue, through care of womanhood,
That though the night did couer her disgrace,
Yet she in so vnwomanly a mood,
Would not bewray the state in which she stood.
So all that night to him vnknownen she past.
But day, that doth discover bad and good,
Ensewing, made her knownen to him at last:
The end whereof Ile keepe vntill another cast.

li

Cant. IX.



NOW turne againe my teme thou iolly swayne,
Backe to the furrow which I lately left;
I lately left a furrow, one or twayne
Vnplough'd, the which my coulter hath not cleft:
Yet seem'd the soyle both fayre and frutefull eft,
As I it past, that were too great a shame,
That so rich frute should be from vs bereft;
Besides the great dishonour and defame,
Which should befall to *Calidores* immortall name.

i

Great trauell hath the gentle *Calidore*
And toyle endured, sith I left him last
Sewing the *Blatant beast*, which I forbore
To finish then, for other present hast.
Full many pathes and perils he hath past,
Through hils, through dales, throgh forests, and throgh plaines
In that same quest which fortune on him cast,
Which he atchieued to his owne great gaines,
Reaping eternall glorie of his restlesse paines.

ii

So sharply he the Monster did pursew,
That day nor night he suffred him to rest,
Ne rested he himselfe but natures dew,
For dread of daunger, not to be redrest,
If he for slouth forslackt so famous quest.
Him first from court he to the citties coursed,
And from the citties to the townes him prest,
And from the townes into the countrie forsed,
And from the country back to priuate farmes he scorsed.

iii

From thence into the open fields he fled,
Whereas the Heardes were keeping of their neat,
And shepheards singing to their flockes, that fed,
Layes of sweete loue and youthes delightfull heat:
Him thether eke for all his fearefull threat
He followed fast, and chaced him so nie,
That to the folds, where sheepe at night doe seat,
And to the litle cots, where shepherds lie
In winters wrathfull time, he forced him to flie.

iv

There on a day as he pursew'd the chace,
He chaunst to spy a sort of shepheard groomes,
Playing on pypes, and caroling apace,
The whyles their beasts there in the budded broomes
Beside them fed, and nipt the tender bloomes:
For other worldly wealth they cared nought.
To whom Sir *Calidore* yet sweating comes,
And them to tell him courteously besought,
If such a beast they saw, which he had thether brought.

v

They answer'd him, that no such beast they saw,
Nor any wicked feend, that mote offend
Their happie flockes, nor daunger to them draw:
But if that such there were (as none they kend)
They prayd high God him farre from them to send.
Then one of them him seeing so to sweat,
After his rusticke wise, that well he weend,
Offred him drinke, to quench his thirstie heat,
And if he hungry were, him offred eke to eat.

vi

The knight was nothing nice, where was no need,
And tooke their gentle offer: so adowne
They prayd him sit, and gaue him for to feed
Such homely what, as serues the simple clowne,
That doth despise the dainties of the towne.
Tho hauing fed his fill, he there besyde
Saw a faire damzell, which did weare a crowne
Of sundry flowres, with silken ribbands tyde,
Yclad in home-made greene that her owne hands had dyde.

vii

Vpon a litle hillocke she was placed
 Higher then all the rest, and round about
 Enuiron'd with a girland, goodly graced,
 Of louely lasses, and them all without
 The lustie shepheard swaynes sate in a rout,
 The which did pype and sing her prayes dew,
 And oft reioyce, and oft for wonder shout,
 As if some miracle of heauenly hew
 Were downe to them descended in that earthly vew.

And scothly sure she was full fayre of face,
 And perfectly well shapt in euery lim,
 Which she did more augment with modest grace,
 And comely carriage of her count'nance trim,
 That all the rest like lesser lamps did dim:
 Who her admiring as some heauenly wight,
 Did for their soueraine goddesses her esteeme,
 And caroling her name both day and night,
 The fayrest *Pastorella* her by name did hight.

Ne was there heard, ne was there shepheard's swayne
 But her did honour, and eke many a one
 Burnt in her loue, and with sweet pleasing payne
 Full many a night for her did sigh and grone:
 But most of all the shepheard *Coridon*
 For her did languish, and his deare life spend;
 Yet neither she for him, nor other none
 Did care a whit, ne any liking lend:
 Though meane her lot, yet higher did her mind ascend.

Her whyles Sir *Calidore* there vewed well,
 And markt her rare demeanure, which him seemed
 So farre the meane of shepheard's to excell,
 As that he in his mind her worthy deemed,
 To be a Princes Paragone esteemed,
 He was vnwares surprisd in subtile bands
 Of the blynd boy, ne thence could be redeemed
 By any skill out of his cruell hands,
 Caught like the bird, which gazing still on others stands.

ix

x

xi

So stood he still long gazing thereupon,
Ne any will had thence to moue away,
Although his quest were farre afore him gon;
But after he had fed, yet did he stay,
And sate there still, vntill the flying day
Was farre forth spent, discoursing diuersly
Of sundry things, as fell, to worke delay;
And euermore his speach he did apply
To th'heard, but meant them to the damzels fantazy.

xii

By this the moystie night approching fast,
Her deawy humour gan on th'earth to shed,
That warn'd the shepheards to their homes to hast
Their tender flocks, now being fully fed,
For feare of wetting them before their bed;
Then came to them a good old aged syre,
Whose siluer lockes bedeckt his beard and hed,
With shepheards hooke in hand, and fit attyre,
That wild the damzell rise; the day did now expyre.

xiii

He was to weet by common voice esteemed
The father of the fayrest *Pastorell*,
And of her selfe in very deede so deemed;
Yet was not so, but as old stories tell
Found her by fortune, which to him befell,
In th'open fields an Infant left alone,
And taking vp brought home, and noursed well
As his owne chyld; for other he had none,
That she in tract of time accompted was his owne.

xiv

She at his bidding meekely did arise,
And streight vnto her litle flocke did fare:
Then all the rest about her rose likewise,
And each his sundrie sheepe with seuerall care
Gathered together, and them homeward bare:
Whylest euerie one with helping hands did striue
Amongst themselues, and did their labours share,
To helpe faire *Pastorella*, home to driue
Her fleecie flocke; but *Coridon* most helpe did giue.

xv

But *Melibæe* (so hight that good old man)

xvi

Now seeing *Calidore* left all alone,
And night arriued hard at hand, began
Him to inuite vnto his simple home;
Which though it were a cottage clad with lome,
And all things therein meane, yet better so
To lodge, then in the saluage fields to rome.

The knight full gladly soone agreed thereto,
Being his harts owne wish, and home with him did go.

There he was welcom'd of that honest syre,

xvii

And of his aged Beldame homely well;
Who him besought himselfe to disattyre,
And rest himselfe, till supper time befell.
By which home came the fayrest *Pastorell*,
After her flocke she in their fold had tyde,
And supper readie dight, they to it fell
With small adoe, and nature satisfyde,

The which doth litle craue contented to abyde.

Tho when they had their hunger slaked well,

xviii

And the fayre mayd the table ta'ne away,
The gentle knight, as he that did excell
In courtesie, and well could doe and say,
For so great kindnesse as he found that day,
Gan greatly thanke his host and his good wife;
And drawing thence his speach another way,
Gan highly to commend the happie life, .

Which Shepheards lead, without debate or bitter strife.

How much (sayd he) more happie is the state,

xix

In which ye father here doe dwell at ease,
Leading a life so free and fortunate,
From all the tempests of these worldly seas,
Which tosse the rest in daungerous disease;
Where warres, and wreckes, and wicked enmitie
Doe them afflict, which no man can appease,
That certes I your happinesse enuie,
And wish my lot were plast in such felicitie.

Surely my sonne (then answer'd he againe)
If happie, then it is in this intent,
That hauing small, yet doe I not complaine
Of want, ne wish for more it to augment,
But doe my selfe, with that I haue, content;
So taught of nature, which doth litle need
Of forreine helpes to lifes due nourishment:
The fields my food, my flocke my rayment breed;
No better doe I weare, no better doe I feed.

xx

Therefore I doe not any one enuy,
Nor am enuyde of any one therefore;
They that haue much, feare much to loose thereby,
And store of cares doth follow riches store.
The litle that I haue, growes dayly more
Without my care, but onely to attend it;
My lambes doe euery yeare increase their score,
And my flockes father daily doth amend it.
What haue I, but to praise th'Almighty, that doth send it?

xxi

To them, that list, the worlds gay shewes I leaue,
And to great ones such follies doe forgiue,
Which oft through pride do their owne perill weaue,
And through ambition downe themselues doe driue
To sad decay, that might contented liue.
Me no such cares nor combrous thoughts offend,
Ne once my minds vnmoued quiet grieue,
But all the night in siluer sleepe I spend,
And all the day, to what I list, I doe attend.

xxii

Sometimes I hunt the Fox, the vowed foe
Vnto my Lambes, and him dislodge away;
Sometime the fawne I practise from the Doe,
Or from the Goat her kidde how to conuay;
Another while I baytes and nets display,
The birds to catch, or fishes to beguyle:
And when I wearie am, I downe doe lay
My limbes in euery shade, to rest from toyle,
And drinke of euery brooke, when thirst my throte doth boyle.

xxiii

The time was once, in my first prime of yeares,
When pride of youth forth pricked my desire,
That I disdain'd amongst mine equall peares
To follow sheepe, and shepheards base attire:
For further fortune then I would inquire.
And leauing home, to roiall court I sought;
Where I did sell my selfe for yearely hire,
And in the Princes gardin daily wrought:
There I beheld such vainenesse, as I neuer thought.

xxiv

With sight whereof soone cloyd, and long deluded
With idle hopes, which them doe entertaine,
After I had ten yeares my selfe excluded
From natiue home, and spent my youth in vaine,
I gan my follies to my selfe to plaine,
And this sweet peace, whose lacke did then appeare.
Tho backe returning to my sheepe againe,
I from thenceforth haue learn'd to loue more deare
This lowly quiet life, which I inherite here.

xxv

Whylest thus he talkt, the knight with greedy eare
Hong still vpon his melting mouth attent;
Whose sensefull words empierst his hart so neare,
That he was rapt with double rauishment,
Both of his speach that wrought him great content,
And also of the obiect of his vew,
On which his hungry eye was alwayes bent;
That twixt his pleasing tongue, and her faire hew,
He lost himselfe, and like one halfe entraunced grew.

xxvi

Yet to occasion meanes, to worke his mind,
And to insinuate his harts desire,
He thus replyde; Now surely syre, I find,
That all this worlds gay shoves, which we admire,
Be but vaine shadowes to this safe retyre
Of life, which here in lowlinesse ye lead,
Fearelesse of foes, or fortunes wrackfull yre,
Which tosseth states, and vnder foot doth tread
The mightie ones, affrayd of euery chaunges dread.

xxvii

That euen I which daily doe behold

xxviii

The glorie of the great, mongst whom I won,
And now haue prou'd, what happinesse ye hold
In this small plot of your dominion,
Now loath great Lordship and ambition;
And wish th'heauens so much had graced mee,
As graunt me liue in like condition;
Or that my fortunes might transposed bee
From pitch of higher place, vnto this low degree.

In vaine (said then old *Melibæ*) doe men

xxix

The heauens of their fortunes fault accuse,
Sith they know best, what is the best for them:
For they to each such fortune doe diffuse,
As they doe know each can most aptly vse.
For not that, which men couet most, is best,
Nor that thing worst, which men do most refuse;
But fittest is, that all contented rest
With that they hold: each hath his fortune in his brest.

It is the mynd, that maketh good or ill,

xxx

That maketh wretch or happie, rich or poore:
For some, that hath abundance at his will,
Hath not enough, but wants in greatest store;
And other, that hath litle, askes no more,
But in that litle is both rich and wise.
For wisdom is most riches; fooles therefore
They are, which fortunes doe by vowes deuize,
Sith each vnto himselfe his life may fortunize.

Since then in each mans self (said *Calidore*)

xxxi

It is, to fashion his owne lyfes estate,
Giue leaue awhyle, good father, in this shore
To rest my barcke, which hath bene beaten late
With stormes of fortune and tempestuous fate,
In seas of troubles and of toylesome paine,
That whether quite from them for to retrate
I shall resolute, or backe to turne againe,
I may here with your selfe some small repose obtaine.

Not that the burden of so bold a guest xxxii
Shall chargefull be, or chaunge to you at all;
For your meane food shall be my daily feast,
And this your cabin both my bowre and hall.
Besides for recompence hereof, I shall
You well reward, and golden guerdon giue,
That may perhaps you better much withall,
And in this quiet make you safer liue.
So forth he drew much gold, and toward him it driue.

But the good man, nought tempted with the offer xxxiii
Of his rich mould, did thrust it farre away,
And thus bespake; Sir knight, your bounteous proffer
Be farre fro me, to whom ye ill display
That mucky masse, the cause of mens decay,
That mote empaire my peace with daungers dread.
But if ye algates couet to assay
This simple sort of life, that shepherds lead,
Be it your owne: our rudenesse to your selfe aread.

So there that night Sir *Calidore* did dwell, xxxiv
And long while after, whilst him list remaine,
Dayly beholding the faire *Pastorell*,
And feeding on the bayt of his owne bane.
During which time he did her entertaine
With all kind courtesies, he could inuent;
And euery day, her com̃panie to gaine,
When to the field she went, he with her went:
So for to quench his fire, he did it more augment.

But she that neuer had acquainted beene xxxv
With such queint vsage, fit for Queenes and Kings,
Ne euer had such knightly seruice seene,
But being bred vnder base shepherds wings,
Had euer learn'd to loue the lowly things,
Did litle whit regard his courteous guize,
But cared more for *Colins* carolings
Then all that he could doe, or euer deuize:
His layes, his loues, his lookes she did them all despize.

Which *Calidore* perceiuing, thought it best
To chaunge the manner of his loftie looke;
And doffing his bright armes, himselfe addrest
In shepheards weed, and in his hand he tooke,
In stead of steelehead speare, a shepheards hooke,
That who had seene him then, would haue bethought
On *Phrygian Paris* by *Plexippus* brooke,
When he the loue of fayre *Oenone* sought,
What time the golden apple was vnto him brought.

xxxvi

So being clad, vnto the fields he went
With the faire *Pastorella* euery day,
And kept her sheepe with diligent attent,
Watching to driue the rauinous Wolfe away,
The whylest at pleasure she mote sport and play;
And euery euening helping them to fold:
And otherwhiles for need, he did assay
In his strong hand their rugged teats to hold,
And out of them to presse the milke: loue so much could.

xxxvii

Which seeing *Coridon*, who her likewise
Long time had lou'd, and hop'd her loue to gaine,
He much was troubled at that straungers guize,
And many gealous thoughts conceiu'd in vaine,
That this of all his labour and long paine
Should reap the haruest, ere it ripened were,
That made him scoule, and pout, and oft complaine
Of *Pastorell* to all the shepheards there,
That she did loue a stranger swayne then him more dere.

xxxviii

And euer when he came in companie,
Where *Calidore* was present, he would loure,
And byte his lip, and euen for gealousie
Was readie oft his owne hart to deuoure,
Impatient of any paramoure:
Who on the other side did seeme so farre
From malicing, or grudging his good houre,
That all he could, he graced him with her,
Ne euer shewed signe of rancour or of iarre.

xxxix

And oft, when *Coridon* vnto her brought
 Or litle sparrowes, stolen from their nest,
 Or wanton squirrels, in the woods farre sought,
 Or other daintie thing for her addrest,
 He would commend his guift, and make the best.
 Yet she no whit his presents did regard,
 Ne him could find to fancie in her brest:
 This newcome shepheard had his market mard.
 Old loue is litle worth when new is more prefard.

xl

One day when as the shepheard swaynes together
 Were met, to make their sports and merrie glee,
 As they are wont in faire sunshynie weather,
 The whiles their flockes in shadowes shrouded bee,
 They fell to daunce: then did they all agree,
 That *Colin Clout* should pipe as one most fit;
 And *Calidore* should lead the ring, as hee
 That most in *Pastorellaes* grace did sit.
 Thereat frown'd *Coridon*, and his lip closely bit.

xli

But *Calidore* of courteous inclination
 Tooke *Coridon*, and set him in his place,
 That he should lead the daunce, as was his fashion;
 For *Coridon* could daunce, and trimly trace.
 And when as *Pastorella*, him to grace,
 Her flowry garlond tooke from her owne head,
 And plast on his, he did it soone displace,
 And did it put on *Coridons* in stead:
 Then *Coridon* woxe frolicke, that earst seemed dead.

xlii

Another time, when as they did dispose
 To practise games, and maisteries to try,
 They for their Iudge did *Pastorella* chose;
 A garland was the meed of victory.
 There *Coridon* forth stepping openly,
 Did challenge *Calidore* to wrestling game:
 For he through long and perfect industry,
 Therein well practisd was, and in the same
 Thought sure t'auenge his grudge, and worke his foe great shame

xliii

But *Calidore* he greatly did mistake;

xliv

For he was strong and mightily stiffe pight,
That with one fall his necke he almost brake,
And had he not vpon him fallen light,
His dearest ioynt he sure had broken quight.

Then was the oaken crowne by *Pastorell*

Giuen to *Calidore*, as his due right;

But he, that did in courtesie excell,

Gaue it to *Coridon*, and said he wonne it well.

Thus did the gentle knight himselfe abeare

xlv

Amongst that rusticke rout in all his deeds,

That euen they, the which his riuals were,

Could not maligne him, but commend him needs:

For courtesie amongst the rudest breeds

Good will and fauour. So it surely wrought

With this faire Mayd, and in her mynde the seeds

Of perfect loue did sow, that last forth brought

The fruite of ioy and blisse, though long time dearely bought.

Thus *Calidore* continu'd there long time,

xlvi

To winne the loue of the faire *Pastorell*;

Which hauing got, he vsed without crime

Or blamefull blot, but menaged so well,

That he of all the rest, which there did dwell,

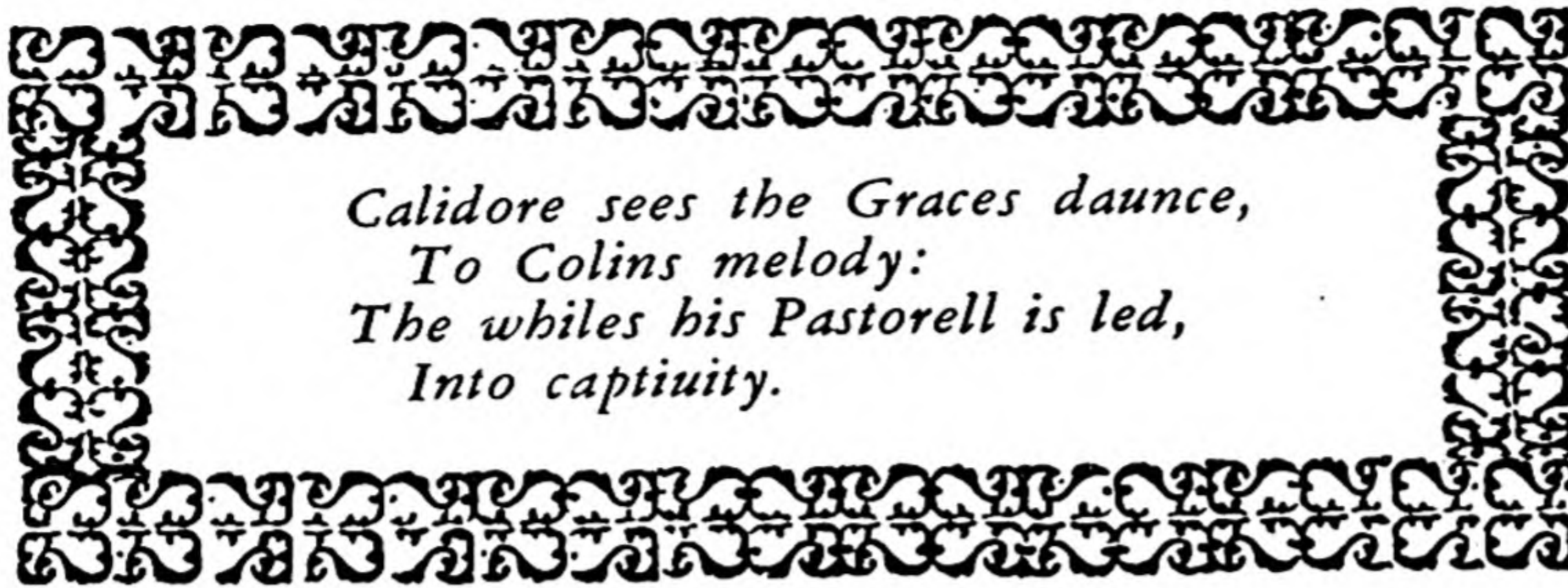
Was fauoured, and to her grace commended.

But what straunge fortunes vnto him befell,

Ere he attain'd the point by him intended,

Shall more conueniently in other place be ended.

Cant. X.



WHo now does follow the foule *Blatant Beast*, i
 Whilest *Calidore* does follow that faire Mayd,
 Vnmyndfull of his vow and high beheast,
 Which by the Faery Queene was on him layd,
 That he should neuer leaue, nor be delayd
 From chacing him, till he had it attchieued?
 But now entrapt of loue, which him betrayd,
 He mindeth more, how he may be relieued
 With grace from her, whose loue his heart hath sore engrieued.

That from henceforth he meanes no more to sew ii
 His former quest, so full of toile and paine;
 Another quest, another game in vew
 He hath, the guerdon of his loue to gaine:
 With whom he myndes for euer to remaine,
 And set his rest amongst the rusticke sort,
 Rather then hunt still after shadowes vaine
 Of courtly fauour, fed with light report
 Of euery blaste, and sayling alwaies on the port.

Ne certes mote he greatly blamed be, iii
 From so high step to stoupe vnto so low.
 For who had tasted once (as oft did he)
 The happy peace, which there doth ouerflow,
 And prou'd the perfect pleasures, which doe grow
 Amongst poore hyndes, in hils, in woods, in dales,
 Would neuer more delight in painted show
 Of such false blisse, as there is set for stales,
 T'entrap vnwary fooles in their eternall bales.

For what hath all that goodly glorious gaze
Like to one sight, which *Calidore* did vew?
The glaunce whereof their dimmed eies would daze,
That neuer more they should endure the shew
Of that sunne-shine, that makes them looke askew.
Ne ought in all that world of beauties rare,
(Saue onely *Glorianaes* heauenly hew
To which what can compare?) can it compare;
The which as commeth now, by course I will declare.

iv

One day as he did raunge the fields abroad,
Whilest his faire *Pastorella* was elsewhere,
He chaunst to come, far from all peoples troad,
Vnto a place, whose pleasaunce did appere
To passe all others, on the earth which were:
For all that euer was by natures skill
Deuized to worke delight, was gathered there,
And there by her were poured forth at fill,
As if this to adorne, she all the rest did pill.

v

It was an hill plaste in an open plaine,
That round about was bordered with a wood
Of matchlesse hight, that seem'd th'earth to disdaine,
In which all trees of honour stately stood,
And did all winter as in sommer bud,
Spredde paulions for the birds to bowre,
Which in their lower braunches sung aloud;
And in their tops the soring hauke did towre,
Sitting like King of fowles in maiesty and powre.

vi

And at the foote thereof, a gentle flud
His siluer waues did softly tumble downe,
Vnmard with ragged mosse or filthy mud,
Ne mote wylde beastes, ne mote the ruder clowne
Thereto approach, ne filth mote therein drowne:
But Nymphes and Faeries by the bancks did sit,
In the woods shade, which did the waters crowne,
Keeping all noysome things away from it,
And to the waters fall tuning their accents fit.

vii

viii

And on the top thereof a spacious plaine
Did spred it selfe, to serue to all delight,
Either to daunce, when they to daunce would faine,
Or else to course about their bases light;
Ne ought there wanted, which for pleasure might
Desired be, or thence to banish bale:
So pleasauntly the hill with equall hight,
Did seeme to ouerlooke the lowly vale;
Therefore it rightly cleeped was mount *Acidale*.

ix

They say that *Venus*, when she did dispose
Her selfe to pleasaunce, vsed to resort
Vnto this place, and therein to repose
And rest her selfe, as in a gladsome port,
Or with the Graces there to play and sport;
That euen her owne Cytheron, though in it
She vsed most to keepe her royall court,
And in her soueraine Maiesty to sit,
She in regard hereof refusde and thought vnfit.

x

Vnto this place when as the Elfin Knight
Approcht, him seemed that the merry sound
Of a shrill pipe he playing heard on hight,
And many feete fast thumping th'hollow ground,
That through the woods their Eccho did rebound.
He nigher drew, to weete what mote it be;
There he a troupe of Ladies dauncing found
Full merrily, and making gladfull glee,
And in the midst a Shepheard piping he did see.

xi

He durst not enter into th'open greene,
For dread of them vnwares to be descryde,
For breaking of their daunce, if he were seene;
But in the couert of the wood did byde,
Beholding all, yet of them vnespyde.
There he did see, that pleased much his sight,
That euen he him selfe his eyes enuyde,
An hundred naked maidens lilly white,
All raunged in a ring, and dauncing in delight.

All they without were raunged in a ring,
And daunced round; but in the midst of them
Three other Ladies did both daunce and sing,
The whilest the rest them round about did hemme,
And like a girlond did in compasse stemme:
And in the midst of those same three, was placed
Another Damzell, as a precious gemme,
Amidst a ring most richly well enchaced,
That with her goodly presence all the rest much graced.

Looke how the Crowne, which *Ariadne* wore
Vpon her yuory forehead that same day,
That *Theseus* her vnto his bridale bore,
When the bold *Centaures* made that bloody fray
With the fierce *Lapithes*, which did them dismay;
Being now placed in the firmament,
Through the bright heauen doth her beams display,
And is vnto the starres an ornament,
Which round about her moue in order excellent.

Such was the beauty of this goodly band,
Whose sundry parts were here too long to tell:
But she that in the midst of them did stand,
Seem'd all the rest in beauty to excell,
Crownd with a rosie girlond, that right well
Did her beseeme. And euer, as the crew
About her daunst, sweet flowres, that far did smell,
And fragrant odours they vppon her threw;
But most of all, those three did her with gifts endew.

Those were the Graces, daughters of delight,
Handmaides of *Venus*, which are wont to haunt
Vppon this hill, and daunce there day and night:
Those three to men all gifts of grace do graunt,
And all, that *Venus* in her selfe doth vaunt,
Is borrowed of them. But that faire one,
That in the midst was placed parauaunt,
Was she to whom that shepheard pypt alone,
That made him pipe so merrily, as neuer none.

She was to weete that iolly Shepherds lasse,
Which piped there vnto that merry rout,
That iolly shepheard, which there piped, was
Poore *Colin Clout* (who knowes not *Colin Clout*?)
He pypt apace, whilest they him daunst about.
Pype iolly shepheard, pype thou now apace
Vnto thy loue, that made thee low to lout;
Thy loue is present there with thee in place,
Thy loue is there aduaunst to be another Grace.

xvi

Much wondred *Calidore* at this straunge sight,
Whose like before his eye had neuer seene,
And standing long astonished in spright,
And rapt with pleasaunce, wist not what to weene;
Whether it were the traine of beauties Queene,
Or Nymphes, or Faeries, or enchanted show,
With which his eyes mote haue deluded beene.
Therefore resolving, what it was, to know,
Out of the wood he rose, and toward them did go.

xvii

But soone as he appeared to their vew,
They vanisht all away out of his sight,
And cleane were gone, which way he neuer knew;
All saue the shepheard, who for fell despight
Of that displeasure, broke his bag-pipe quight,
And made great mone for that vnhappy turne.
But *Calidore*, though no lesse sory wight,
For that mishap, yet seeing him to mourne,
Drew neare, that he the truth of all by him mote learne.

xviii

And first him greeting, thus vnto him spake,
Haile iolly shepheard, which thy ioyous dayes
Here ledest in this goodly merry make,
Frequented of these gentle Nymphes alwayes,
Which to thee flocke, to heare thy louely layes;
Tell me, what mote these dainty Damzels be,
Which here with thee doe make their pleasant playes?
Right happy thou, that mayst them freely see:
But why when I them saw, fled they away from me?

xix

Not I so happy, answerd then that swaine,
As thou vnhappy, which them thence didst chace,
Whom by no meanes thou canst recall againe,
For being gone, none can them bring in place,
But whom they of them selues list so to grace.
Right sory I, (saide then Sir *Calidore*,)
That my ill fortune did them hence displace.
But since things passed none may now restore,
Tell me, what were they all, whose lacke thee grieues so sore.

xx

Tho gan that sheheard thus for to dilate;
Then wote thou sheheard, whatsoeuer thou bee,
That all those Ladies, which thou sawest late,
Are *Venus* Damzels, all within her fee,
But differing in honour and degree:
They all are Graces, which on her depend,
Besides a thousand more, which ready bee
Her to adorne, when so she forth doth wend:
But those three in the midst, doe chiefe on her attend.

xxi

They are the daughters of sky-ruling Ioue,
By him begot of faire *Eurynome*,
The Oceans daughter, in this pleasant groue,
As he this way comming from feastfull glee,
Of *Thetis* wedding with *Æacidee*,
In sommers shade him selfe here rested weary.
The first of them hight mylde *Euphrosyne*,
Next faire *Aglaia*, last *Thalia* merry:
Sweete Goddesses all three which me in mirth do cherry.

xxii

These three on men all gracious gifts bestow,
Which decke the body or adorne the mynde,
To make them louely or well fauoured show,
As comely carriage, entertainment kynde,
Sweete semblaunt, friendly offices that bynde,
And all the complements of curtesie:
They teach vs, how to each degree and kynde
We should our selues demeane, to low, to hie;
To friends, to foes, which skill men call Ciuility.

xxiii

. xxiv

Therefore they alwaies smoothly seeme to smile,
That we likewise should mylde and gentle be,
And also naked are, that without guile
Or false dissemblaunce all them plaine may see,
Simple and true from couert malice free:
And eeke them selues so in their daunce they bore,
That two of them still froward seem'd to bee,
But one still towards shew'd her selfe afore;
That good should from vs goe, then come in greater store.

xxv

Such were those Goddesses, which ye did see;
But that fourth Mayd, which there amidst them traced,
Who can aread, what creature mote she bee,
Whether a creature, or a goddesse graced
With heauenly gifts from heuen first enraced?
But what so sure she was, she worthy was,
To be the fourth with those three other placed:
Yet was she certes but a countrey lasse,
Yet she all other countrey lasses farre did passe.

xxvi

So farre as doth the daughter of the day,
All other lesser lights in light excell,
So farre doth she in beautyfull array,
Aboue all other lasses beare the bell,
Ne lesse in vertue that beseemes her well,
Doth she exceede the rest of all her race,
For which the Graces that here wont to dwell,
Haue for more honor brought her to this place,
And graced her so much to be another Grace.

xxvii

Another Grace she well deserues to be,
In whom so many Graces gathered are,
Excelling much the meane of her degree;
Diuine resemblaunce, beauty soueraine rare,
Firme Chastity, that spight ne blemish dare;
All which she with such courtesie doth grace,
That all her peres cannot with her compare,
But quite are dimmed, when she is in place.
She made me often pipe and now to pipe apace.

Sunne of the world, great glory of the sky,
That all the earth doest lighten with thy rayes,
Great *Gloriana*, greatest Maiesty,
Pardon thy shepheard, mongst so many layes,
As he hath sung of thee in all his dayes,
To make one minime of thy poore handmayd,
And vnderneath thy feete to place her prayse,
That when thy glory shall be farre displayd
To future age of her this mention may be made.

xxviii

When thus that shepheard ended had his speach,
Sayd *Calidore*; Now sure it yrketh mee,
That to thy blisse I made this luckelesse breach,
As now the author of thy bale to be,
Thus to bereaue thy loues deare sight from thee:
But gentle Shepheard pardon thou my shame,
Who rashly sought that, which I mote not see.
Thus did the courteous Knight excuse his blame,
And to recomfort him, all comely meanes did frame.

xxix

In such discourses they together spent
Long time, as fit occasion forth them led;
With which the Knight him selfe did much content,
And with delight his greedy fancy fed,
Both of his words, which he with reason red;
And also of the place, whose pleasures rare
With such regard his sences rauished,
That thence, he had no will away to fare,
But wisht, that with that shepheard he mote dwelling share.

xxx

But that enuenimd sting, the which of yore,
His poysnous point deepe fixed in his hart
Had left, now gan afresh to rancle sore,
And to renue the rigour of his smart:
Which to recure, no skill of Leaches art
Mote him auaille, but to returne againe
To his wounds worker, that with louely dart
Dinting his brest, had bred his restlesse paine,
Like as the wounded Whale to shore flies from the maine.

xxxi

xxxii

So taking leaue of that same gentle swaine,
 He backe returned to his rusticke wonne,
 Where his faire *Pastorella* did remaine:
 To whome in sort, as he at first begonne,
 He daily did apply him selfe to donne
 All dewfull seruice voide of thoughts impure:
 Ne any paines ne perill did he shonne,
 By which he might her to his loue allure,
 And liking in her yet vntamed heart procure.

xxxiii

And euermore the shepheard *Coridon*,
 What euer thing he did her to aggrate,
 Did striue to match with strong contention,
 And all his paines did closely emulate;
 Whether it were to caroll, as they sate
 Keeping their sheepe, or games to exercize,
 Or to present her with their labours late;
 Through which if any grace chaunst to arize
 To him, the Shepheard streight with iealousie did frize.

xxxiv

One day as they all three together went
 To the greene wood, to gather strawberries,
 There chaunst to them a dangerous accident;
 A Tigre forth out of the wood did rise,
 That with fell clawes full of fierce gourmandize,
 And greedy mouth, wide gaping like hell gate,
 Did runne at *Pastorell* her to surprize:
 Whom she beholding, now all desolate
 Gan cry to them aloud, to helpe her all too late.

xxxv

Which *Coridon* first hearing, ran in hast
 To reskue her, but when he saw the feend,
 Through cowherd feare he fled away as fast,
 Ne durst abide the daunger of the end;
 His life he steemed dearer then his frend.
 But *Calidore* soone comming to her ayde,
 When he the beast saw ready now to rend
 His loues deare spoile, in which his heart was prayde,
 He ran at him enraged in stead of being frayde.

He had no weapon, but his shepheards hooke,
To serue the vengeaunce of his wrathfull will,
With which so sternely he the monster strooke,
That to the ground astonished he fell;
Whence ere he could recou'r, he did him quell,
And hewing off his head, it presented
Before the feete of the faire *Pastorell*;
Who scarcely yet from former feare exempted,
A thousand times him thank't, that had her death preuented.

xxxvi

From that day forth she gan him to affect,
And daily more her fauour to augment;
But *Coridon* for cowherdize reiect,
Fit to keepe sheepe, vnfit for loues content:
The gentle heart scornes base disparagement.
Yet *Calidore* did not despise him quight,
But vsde him friendly for further intent,
That by his fellowship, he colour might
Both his estate, and loue from skill of any wight.

xxxvii

So well he woo'd her, and so well he wrought her,
With humble seruice, and with daily sute,
That at the last vnto his will he brought her;
Which he so wisely well did prosecute,
That of his loue he reapt the timely frute,
And ioyed long in close felicity:
Till fortune fraught with malice, blinde, and brute,
That enuies louers long prosperity,
Blew vp a bitter storme of foule aduersity.

xxxviii

It fortun'd one day, when *Calidore*
Was hunting in the woods (as was his trade)
A lawlesse people, *Brigants* hight of yore,
That neuer vsde to liue by plough nor spade,
But fed on spoile and booty, which they made
Vpon their neighbours, which did nigh them border,
The dwelling of these shepheards did inuade,
And spoyld their houses, and them selues did murder;
And droue away their flocks, with other much disorder.

xxxix

Amongst the rest, the which they then did pray,
They spoyld old *Melibee* of all he had,
And all his people captiue led away,
Mongst which this lucklesse mayd away was lad,
Faire *Pastorella*, sorrowfull and sad,
Most sorrowfull, most sad, that euer sight,
Now made the spoile of theeues and *Brigants* bad,
Which was the conquest of the gentlest Knight,
That euer liu'd, and th'onely glory of his might.

xl

With them also was taken *Coridon*,
And carried captiue by those theeues away;
Who in the couert of the night, that none
Mote them descry, nor reskue from their pray,
Vnto their dwelling did them close conuay.
Their dwelling in a little Island was,
Couered with shrubby woods, in which no way
Appeard for people in nor out to pas,
Nor any footing fynde for ouergrowen gras.

xli

For vnderneath the ground their way was made,
Through hollow caues, that no man mote discouer
For the thicke shrubs, which did them alwaies shade
From view of liuing wight, and couered ouer:
But darkenesse dred and daily night did houer
Through all the inner parts, wherein they dwelt.
Ne lightned was with window, nor with louer,
But with continuall candlelight, which delt
A doubtfull sense of things, not so well seene, as felt.

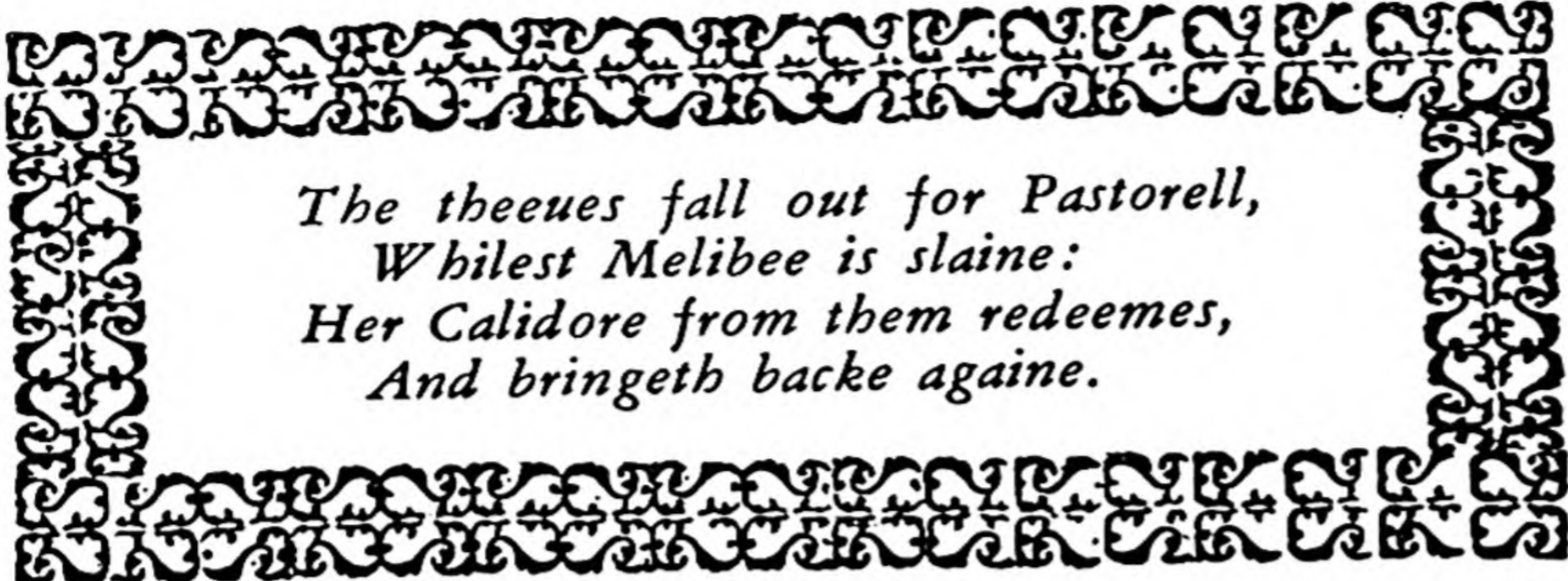
xlii

Hither those *Brigants* brought their present pray,
And kept them with continuall watch and ward,
Meaning so soone, as they conuenient may,
For slaues to sell them, for no small reward,
To merchants, which them kept in bondage hard,
Or sold againe. Now when faire *Pastorell*
Into this place was brought, and kept with gard
Of griesly theeues, she thought her self in hell,
Where with such damned fiends she should in darknesse dwell.

xliii

But for to tell the dolefull dreriment,
And pittifull complaints, which there she made,
Where day and night she nought did but lament
Her wretched life, shut vp in deadly shade,
And waste her goodly beauty, which did fade
Like to a flowre, that feeles no heate of sunne,
Which may her feeble leaues with comfort glade.
But what befell her in that theeuish wonne,
Will in an other Canto better be begonne.

Cant. XI.



*The theeues fall out for Pastorell,
Whilest Melibee is slaine:
Her Calidore from them redeemes,
And bringeth backe againe.*

THe ioyes of loue, if they should euer last,
Without affliction or disquietnesse,
That worldly chaunces doe amongst them cast,
Would be on earth too great a blessednesse,
Liker to heauen, then mortall wretchednesse.
Therefore the winged God, to let men weet,
That here on earth is no sure happinesse,
A thousand sowres hath tempred with one sweet,
To make it seeme more deare and dainty, as is meet.

i

Like as is now befallne to this faire Mayd,
Faire *Pastorell*, of whom is now my song,
Who being now in dreadfull darknesse layd,
Amongst those theeues, which her in bondage strong
Detaynd, yet Fortune not with all this wrong
Contented, greater mischief on her threw,
And sorrowes heapt on her in greater throng;
That who so heares her heauinesse, would rew
And pittie her sad plight, so chang'd from pleasaunt hew.

ii

Whylest thus she in these hellish dens remayned,
Wrapped in wretched cares and hearts vnrest,
It so befell (as Fortune had ordayned)
That he, which was their Capitaine profest,
And had the chiefe commaund of all the rest,
One day as he did all his prisoners vew,
With lustfull eyes, beheld that louely guest,
Faire *Pastorella*, whose sad mournefull hew
Like the faire Morning clad in misty fog did shew.

iii

At sight whereof his barbarous heart was fired,
And inly burnt with flames most raging whot,
That her alone he for his part desired
Of all the other pray, which they had got,
And her in mynde did to him selfe allot.
From that day forth he kyndnesse to her showed,
And sought her loue, by all the meanes he mote;
With looks, with words, with gifts he oft her wowed:
And mixed threats among, and much vnto her vowed.

iv

But all that euer he could doe or say,
Her constant mynd could not a whit remoue,
Nor draw vnto the lure of his lewd lay,
To graunt him fauour, or afford him loue.
Yet ceast he not to sew and all waies proue,
By which he mote accomplish his request,
Saying and doing all that mote behoue;
Ne day nor night he suffred her to rest,
But her all night did watch, and all the day molest.

v

At last when him she so importune saw,
Fearing least he at length the raines would lend
Vnto his lust, and make his will his law,
Sith in his powre she was to foe or frend,
She thought it best, for shadow to pretend
Some shew of fauour, by him gracing small,
That she thereby mote either freely wend,
Or at more ease continue there his thrall:
A little well is lent, that gaineth more withall.

vi

So from thenceforth, when loue he to her made,
With better tearmes she did him entertaine,
Which gaue him hope, and did him halfe perswade,
That he in time her ioyaunce should obtaine.
But when she saw, through that small fauours gaine,
That further, then she willing was, he prest,
She found no meanes to barre him, but to faine
A sodaine sicknesse, which her sore opprest,
And made vnfit to serue his lawlesse mindes behest.

vii

By meanes whereof she would not him permit

Once to approach to her in priuity,
But onely mongst the rest by her to sit,
Mourning the rigour of her malady,
And seeking all things meete for remedy.

But she resolu'd no remedy to fynde,

Nor better cheare to shew in misery,

Till Fortune would her captiue bonds vnbynde,
Her sicknesse was not of the body but the mynde.

ix

During which space that she thus sicke did lie,

It chaunst a sort of merchants, which were wount

To skim those coastes, for bondmen there to buy,

And by such trafficke after gaines to hunt,

Arriued in this Isle though bare and blunt,

T'inquire for slaues; where being readie met

By some of these same theeues at the instant brunt,

Were brought vnto their Captaine, who was set

By his faire patients side with sorrowfull regret.

x

To whom they shewed, how those marchants were

Arriu'd in place, their bondslaues for to buy,

And therefore prayd, that those same captiues there

Mote to them for their most commodity

Be sold, and mongst them shared equally.

This their request the Captaine much appalled;

Yet could he not their iust demaund deny,

And willed streight the slaues should forth be called,

And sold for most aduantage not to be forstalled.

xi

Then forth the good old *Melibæ* was brought,

And *Coridon*, with many other moe,

Whom they before in diuerse spoyles had caught:

All which he to the marchants sale did showe.

Till some, which did the sundry prisoners knowe,

Gan to inquire for that faire shepherdesse,

Which with the rest they tooke not long agoe,

And gan her forme and feature to expresse,

The more t'augment her price, through praise of comlinessse.

To whom the Captaine in full angry wize
Made answere, that the Mayd of whom they spake,
Was his owne purchase and his onely prize,
With which none had to doe, ne ought partake,
But he himselfe, which did that conquest make;
Litle for him to haue one silly lasse:
Besides through sicknesse now so wan and weake,
That nothing meet in marchandise to passe.
So shew'd them her, to proue how pale and weake she was.

xii

The sight of whom, though now decayd and mard,
And eke but hardly seene by candle-light,
Yet like a Diamond of rich regard,
In doubtfull shadow of the darkesome night,
With starrie beames about her shining bright,
These marchants fixed eyes did so amaze,
That what through wonder, and what through delight,
A while on her they greedily did gaze,
And did her greatly like, and did her greatly praize.

xiii

At last when all the rest them offred were,
And prizes to them placed at their pleasure,
They all refused in regard of her,
Ne ought would buy, how euer prisd with measure,
Withouten her, whose worth aboue all threasure
They did esteeme, and offred store of gold.
But then the Captaine fraught with more displeasure,
Bad them be still, his loue should not be sold:
The rest take if they would, he her to him would hold.

xiv

Therewith some other of the chiefest theeues
Boldly him bad such iniurie forbear;
For that same mayd, how euer it him greeues,
Should with the rest be sold before him theare,
To make the prizes of the rest more deare.
That with great rage he stoutly doth denay;
And fiercely drawing forth his blade, doth sweare,
That who so hardie hand on her doth lay,
It dearely shall aby, and death for handsell pay.

xv

Thus as they words amongst them multiply,
They fall to strokes, the frute of too much talke,
And the mad steele about doth fiercely fly,
Not sparing wight, ne leauing any balke,
But making way for death at large to walke:
Who in the horror of the griesly night,
In thousand dreadful shapes doth mongst them stalke,
And makes huge hauocke, whiles the candlelight
Out quenched, leaues no skill nor difference of wight.

xvi

Like as a sort of hungry dogs ymet
About some carcase by the common way,
Doe fall together, stryuing each to get
The greatest portion of the greedie pray;
All on confused heapes themselues assay,
And snatch, and byte, and rend, and tug, and teare;
That who them sees, would wonder at their fray,
And who sees not, would be affrayd to heare.
Such was the conflict of those cruell *Brigants* there.

xvii

But first of all, their captiues they doe kill,
Least they should ioyne against the weaker side,
Or rise against the remnant at their will;
Old *Melibæ* is slaine, and him beside
His aged wife, with many others wide,
But *Coridon* escaping craftily,
Creepes forth of dores, whilst darknes him doth hide,
And flyes away as fast as he can hye,
Ne stayeth leaue to take, before his friends doe dye.

xviii

But *Pastorella*, wofull wretched Elfe,
Was by the Captaine all this while defended,
Who minding more her safety then himselfe,
His target alwayes ouer her pretended;
By meanes whereof, that mote not be amended,
He at the length was slaine, and layd on ground,
Yet holding fast twixt both his armes extended
Fayre *Pastorell*, who with the selfe same wound
Launcht through the arme, fell down with him in drerie swound.

xix

There lay she couered with confused preasse
Of carcasses, which dying on her fell.
Tho when as he was dead, the fray gan cease,
And each to other calling, did compell
To stay their cruell hands from slaughter fell,
Sith they that were the cause of all, were gone.
Thereto they all attonce agreed well,
And lighting candles new, gan search anone,
How many of their friends were slaine, how many fone.

xx

Their Captaine there they cruelly found kild,
And in his armes the dreary dying mayd,
Like a sweet Angell twixt two clouds vphild:
Her louely light was dimmed and decayd,
With cloud of death vpon her eyes displayd;
Yet did the cloud make euen that dimmed light
Seeme much more louely in that darknesse layd,
And twixt the twinckling of her eye-lids bright,
To sparke out litle beames, like starres in foggie night.

xxi

But when they mou'd the carcasses aside,
They found that life did yet in her remaine:
Then all their helps they busily applyde,
To call the soule backe to her home againe;
And wrought so well with labour and long paine,
That they to life recouered her at last.
Who sighing sore, as if her hart in twaine
Had riuen bene, and all her hart strings brast,
With drearie drouping eyne lookt vp like one aghast.

xxii

There she beheld, that sore her grieu'd to see,
Her father and her friends about her lying,
Her selfe sole left, a second spoyle to bee
Of those, that hauing saued her from dying,
Renew'd her death by timely death denying:
What now is left her, but to wayle and weepe,
Wringing her hands, and ruefully loud crying?
Ne cared she her wound in teares to steepe,
Albe with all their might those *Brigants* her did keepe.

xxiii

But when they saw her now reliu'd againe,
They left her so, in charge of one the best
Of many worst, who with vnkind disdaine
And cruell rigour her did much molest;
Scarse yeelding her due food, or timely rest,
And scarcely suffring her infestred wound,
That sore her payn'd, by any to be drest.
So leaue we her in wretched thraldome bound,
And turne we backe to *Calidore*, where we him found.

xxiv

Who when he backe returned from the wood,
And saw his shepheards cottage spoyled quight,
And his loue reft away, he wexed wood,
And halfe enraged at that ruefull sight,
That euen his hart for very fell despight,
And his owne flesh he readie was to teare,
He chauft, he grieu'd, he fretted, and he sight,
And fared like a furious wyld Beare,
Whose whelpes are stolne away, she being elsewhere.

xxv

Ne wight he found, to whom he might complaine,
Ne wight he found, of whom he might inquire;
That more increast the anguish of his paine.
He sought the woods; but no man could see there:
He sought the plaines; but could no tydings heare.
The woods did nought but ecchoes vaine rebound;
The playnes all waste and emptie did appeare:
Where wont the shepheards oft their pypes resound,
And feed an hundred flocks, there now not one he found.

xxvi

At last as there he romed vp and downe,
He chaunst one comming towards him to spy,
That seem'd to be some sorie simple clowne,
With ragged weedes, and lockes vpstaring hye,
As if he did from some late daunger fly,
And yet his feare did follow him behynd:
Who as he vnto him approched nye,
He mote perceiue by signes, which he did fynd,
That *Coridon* it was, the silly shepherds hynd.

xxvii

Tho to him running fast, he did not stay
To greet him first, but askt where were the rest;
Where *Pastorell*? who full of fresh dismay,
And gushing forth in teares, was so opprest,
That he no word could speake, but smit his brest,
And vp to heauen his eyes fast streeming threw.
Whereat the knight amaz'd, yet did not rest,
But askt againe, what ment that rufull hew:
Where was his *Pastorell*? where all the other crew?

Ah well away (sayd he then sighing sore)
That euer I did liue, this day to see,
This dismall day, and was not dead before,
Before I saw faire *Pastorella* dye.
Die? out alas! then *Calidore* did cry:
How could the death dare euer her to quell?
But read thou shepheard, read what destiny,
Or other dyrefull hap from heauen or hell
Hath wrought this wicked deed, doe feare away, and tell.

Tho when the shepheard breathed had a whyle,
He thus began: Where shall I then commence
This wofull tale? or how those *Brigants* vyle,
With cruell rage and dreadfull violence
Spoyld all our cots, and caried vs from hence?
Or how faire *Pastorell* should haue bene sold
To marchants, but was sau'd with strong defence?
Or how those theeues, whilest one sought her to hold,
Fell all at ods, and fought through fury fierce and bold.

In that same conflict (woe is me) befell
This fatall chaunce, this dolefull accident,
Whose heauy tydings now I haue to tell.
First all the captiues, which they here had hent,
Were by them slaine by generall consent;
Old *Melibæ* and his good wife withall
These eyes saw die, and dearely did lament:
But when the lot to *Pastorell* did fall,
Their Captaine long withstood, and did her death forstall.

But what could he gainst all them doe alone?

xxxii

It could not boot; needs mote she die at last:

I onely scapt through great confusione

Of cryes and clamors, which amongst them past,

In dreadfull darknesse dreadfully aghast;

That better were with them to haue bene dead,

Then here to see all desolate and wast,

Despoyled of those ioyes and iollyhead,

Which with those gentle shepherds here I wont to lead.

When *Calidore* these ruefull newes had raught,

xxxiii

His hart quite deaded was with anguish great,

And all his wits with doole were nigh distraught,

That he his face, his head, his brest did beat,

And death it selfe vnto himselfe did threat;

Oft cursing th'heauens, that so cruell were

To her, whose name he often did repeat;

And wishing oft, that he were present there,

When she was slaine, or had bene to her succour nere.

But after grieve awhile had had his course,

xxxiv

And spent it selfe in mourning, he at last

Began to mitigate his swelling sourse,

And in his mind with better reason cast,

How he might saue her life, if life did last;

Or if that dead, how he her death might wreake,

Sith otherwise he could not mend thing past;

Or if it to reuenge he were too weake,

Then for to die with her, and his liues threed to breake.

Tho *Coridon* he prayd, sith he well knew

xxxv

The readie way vnto that theeuish wonne,

To wend with him, and be his conduct trew

Vnto the place, to see what should be donne.

But he, whose hart through feare was late fordonne,

Would not for ought be drawne to former drede,

But by all meanes the daunger knowne did shonne:

Yet *Calidore* so well him wrought with meed,

And faire bespoke with words, that he at last agreed.

So forth they goe together (God before)
Both clad in shepherds weeds agreeably,
And both with shepherds hookes: But *Calidore*
Had vnderneath, him armed priuily.
Tho to the place when they approched nye,
They chaunst, vpon an hill not farre away,
Some flockes of sheepe and shepherds to espy;
To whom they both agreed to take their way,
In hope there newes to learne, how they mote best assay.

xxxvi

There did they find, that which they did not feare,
The selfe same flocks, the which those theeues had reft
From *Melibæ* and from themselues whyleare,
And certaine of the theeues there by them left,
The which for want of heards themselues then kept.
Right well knew *Coridon* his owne late sheepe,
And seeing them, for tender pittie wept:
But when he saw the theeues, which did them keepe,
His hart gan fayle, albe he saw them all asleepe.

xxxvii

But *Calidore* recomforting his grieve,
Though not his feare: for nought may feare disswade;
Him hardly forward drew, whereas the thiefe
Lay sleeping soundly in the bushes shade,
Whom *Coridon* him counseld to inuade
Now all vnwares, and take the spoyle away;
But he, that in his mind had closely made
A further purpose, would not so them slay,
But gently waking them, gaue them the time of day.

xxxviii

Tho sitting downe by them vpon the greene,
Of sundrie things he purpose gan to faine;
That he by them might certaine tydings weene
Of *Pastorell*, were she aliue or slaine.
Mongst which the theeues them questioned againe,
What mister men, and eke from whence they were.
To whom they answer'd, as did appertaine,
That they were poore heardgroomes, the which whylere
Had from their maisters fled, and now sought hyre elsewhere.

xxxix

Whereof right glad they seem'd, and offer made xl
To hyre them well, if they their flockes would keepe:
For they themselues were euill groomes, they sayd,
Vnwont with heards to watch, or pasture sheepe,
But to forray the land, or scoure the deepe.
Thereto they soone agreed, and earnest tooke,
To keepe their flockes for litle hyre and chepe:
For they for better hyre did shortly looke,
So there all day they bode, till light the sky forsooke.

Tho when as towards darksome night it drew, xli
Vnto their hellish dens those theeues them brought,
Where shortly they in great acquaintance grew,
And all the secrets of their entrayles sought.
There did they find, contrarie to their thought,
That *Pastorell* yet liu'd, but all the rest
Were dead, right so as *Coridon* had taught:
Whereof they both full glad and blyth did rest,
But chiefly *Calidore*, whom grieve had most possest.

At length when they occasion fittest found, xlii
In dead of night, when all the theeues did rest
After a late forray, and slept full sound,
Sir *Calidore* him arm'd, as he thought best,
Hauing of late by diligent inquest,
Prouided him a sword of meanest sort:
With which he streight went to the Captaines nest.
But *Coridon* durst not with him consort,
Ne durst abide behind, for dread of worse effort.

When to the Caue they came, they found it fast: xliii
But *Calidore* with huge resistlesse might,
The dores assayled, and the locks vpbrast.
With noyse whereof the theefe awaking light,
Vnto the entrance ran: where the bold knight
Encountring him with small resistance slew;
The whiles faire *Pastorell* through great affright
Was almost dead, misdoubting least of new
Some vprore were like that, which lately she did vew.

But when as *Calidore* was comen in,
And gan aloud for *Pastorell* to call,
Knowing his voice although not heard long sin,
She sudden was reuiued therewithall,
And wondrous ioy felt in her spirits thrall:
Like him that being long in tempest tost,
Looking each houre into deathes mouth to fall,
At length espyes at hand the happie cost,
On which he safety hopes, that earst feard to be lost.

xliv

Her gentle hart, that now long season past
Had neuer ioyance felt, nor chearefull thought,
Began some smacke of comfort new to tast,
Like lyfull heat to nummed senses brought,
And life to feele, that long for death had sought;
Ne lesse in hart reioyced *Calidore*,
When he her found, but like to one distraught
And robd of reason, towards her him bore,
A thousand times embrast, and kist a thousand more.

xlv

But now by this, with noyse of late vprore,
The hue and cry was raysed all about;
And all the *Brigants* flocking in great store,
Vnto the caue gan preasse, nought hauing dout
Of that was doen, and entred in a rout.
But *Calidore* in th'entry close did stand,
And entertayning them with courage stout,
Still slew the formost, that came first to hand,
So long till all the entry was with bodies mand.

xlvi

Tho when no more could nigh to him approch,
He breath'd his sword, and rested him till day:
Which when he spyde vpon the earth t'encroch,
Through the dead carcasses he made his way,
Mongst which he found a sword of better say,
With which he forth went into th'open light:
Where all the rest for him did readie stay,
And fierce assayling him, with all their might
Gan all vpon him lay: there gan a dreadfull fight.

xlvii

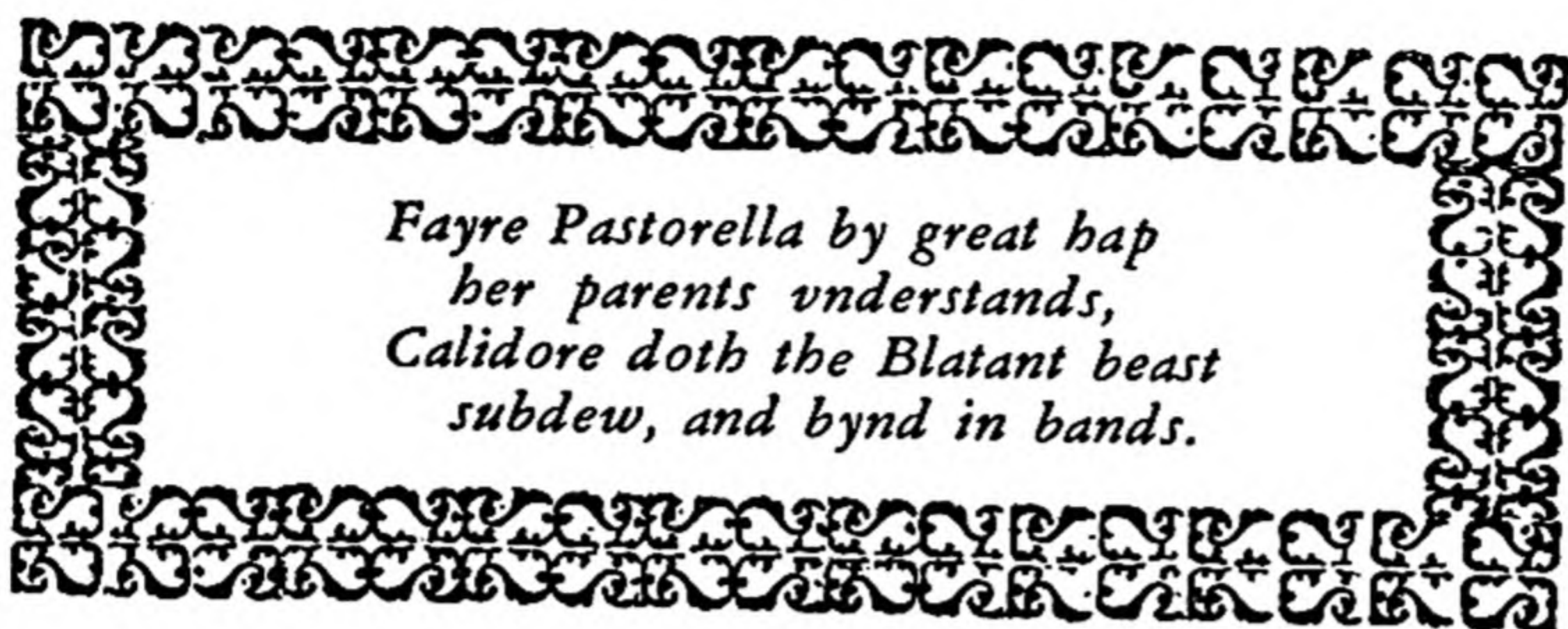
How many flyes in whottest sommers day
Do seize vpon some beast, whose flesh is bare,
That all the place with swarmes do ouerlay,
And with their litle stings right felly fare;
So many theeues about him swarming are,
All which do him assayle on euery side,
And sore oppresse, ne any him doth spare:
But he doth with his raging brond diuide
Their thickest troupes, and round about him scattreth wide.

Like as a Lion mongst an heard of dere,
Disperseth them to catch his choysest pray;
So did he fly amongst them here and there,
And all that nere him came, did hew and slay,
Till he had strowd with bodies all the way;
That none his daunger daring to abide,
Fled from his wrath, and did themselues conuay
Into their caues, their heads from death to hide,
Ne any left, that victorie to him enuide.

Then backe returning to his dearest deare,
He her gan to recomfort, all he might,
With gladfull speaches, and with louely cheare,
And forth her bringing to the ioyous light,
Whereof she long had lackt the wishfull sight,
Deuiz'd all goodly meanes, from her to driue
The sad remembrance of her wretched plight.
So her vneath at last he did reuiue,
That long had lyen dead, and made againe aliue.

This doen, into those theeuish dens he went,
And thence did all the spoyles and treasures take,
Which they from many long had robd and rent,
But fortune now the victors meed did make;
Of which the best he did his loue betake;
And also all those flockes, which they before
Had reft from *Melibæ* and from his make,
He did them all to *Coridon* restore.
So droue them all away, and his loue with him bore.

Cant. XII.



Like as a ship, that through the Ocean wyde
 Directs her course vnto one certaine cost,
 Is met of many a counter winde and tyde,
 With which her winged speed is let and crost,
 And she her selfe in stormie surges tost;
 Yet making many a borde, and many a bay,
 Still winneth way, ne hath her compasse lost:
 Right so it fares with me in this long way,
 Whose course is often stayd, yet neuer is astray.

i

For all that hetherto hath long delayd
 This gentle knight, from sewing his first quest,
 Though out of course, yet hath not bene mis-sayd,
 To shew the courtesie by him profest,
 Euen vnto the lowest and the least.
 But now I come into my course againe,
 To his atchieuement of the *Blatant beast*;
 Who all this while at will did range and raine,
 Whilst none was him to stop, nor none him to restraine.

ii

Sir *Calidore* when thus he now had raught
 Faire *Pastorella* from those *Brigants* powre,
 Vnto the Castle of *Belgard* her brought,
 Whereof was Lord the good Sir *Bellamoure*;
 Who whylome was in his youthes freshest flowre
 A lustie knight, as euer wielded speare,
 And had endured many a dreadfull stoure
 In bloody battell for a Ladie deare,
 The fayrest Ladie then of all that liuing were.

iii

Her name was *Claribell*, whose father hight
The Lord of *Many Ilands*, farre renound
For his great riches and his greater might.
He through the wealth, wherein he did abound,
This daughter thought in wedlocke to haue bound
Vnto the Prince of *Picteland* bordering nere,
But she whose sides before with secret wound
Of loue to *Bellamoure* empierced were,
By all meanes shund to match with any forrein fere.

iv

And *Bellamour* againe so well her pleased,
With dayly seruice and attendance dew,
That of her loue he was entyrelly seized,
And closely did her wed, but knowne to few.
Which when her father vnderstood, he grew
In so great rage, that them in dongeon deepe
Without compassion cruelly he threw;
Yet did so streightly them a sunder keepe,
That neither could to company of th'other creepe.

v

Nathlesse Sir *Bellamour*, whether through grace
Or secret guifts so with his keepers wrought,
That to his loue sometimes he came in place,
Whereof her wombe vnwist to wight was fraught,
And in dew time a mayden child forth brought.
Which she streight way for dread least, if her syre
Should know thereof, to slay he would haue sought,
Deliuered to her handmayd, that for hyre
She should it cause be fostred vnder straunge attyre.

vi

The trustie damzell bearing it abrode
Into the emptie fields, where liuing wight
Mote not bewray the secret of her lode,
She forth gan lay vnto the open light
The litle babe, to take thereof a sight.
Whom whylest she did with watrie eyne behold,
Vpon the litle brest like christall bright,
She mote perceiue a litle purple mold,
That like a rose her silken leaues did faire vnfold.

vii

Well she it markt, and pittied the more,
Yet could not remedie her wretched case,
But closing it againe like as before,
Bedeaw'd with teares there left it in the place:
Yet left not quite, but drew a litle space
Behind the bushes, where she her did hyde,
To weet what mortall hand, or heauens grace
Would for the wretched infants helpe prouyde,
For which it loudly cald, and pittifully cryde.

viii

At length a Shepheard, which there by did keepe
His fleecie flocke vpon the playnes around,
Led with the infants cry, that loud did weepe,
Came to the place, where when he wrapped found
Th'abandon'd spoyle, he softly it vnbound;
And seeing there, that did him pittie sore,
He tooke it vp, and in his mantle wound;
So home vnto his honest wife it bore,
Who as her owne it nurst, and named euermore.

ix

Thus long continu'd *Claribell* a thrall,
And *Bellamour* in bands, till that her syre
Departed life, and left vnto them all.
Then all the stormes of fortunes former yre
Were turnd, and they to freedome did retyre.
Thenceforth they ioy'd in happinesse together,
And liued long in peace and loue entyre,
Without disquiet or dislike of ether,
Till time that *Calidore* brought *Pastorella* thether.

x

Both whom they goodly well did entertaine;
For *Bellamour* knew *Calidore* right well,
And loued for his prowesse, sith they twaine
Long since had fought in field. Als *Claribell*
No lesse did tender the faire *Pastorell*,
Seeing her weake and wan, through durance long.
There they a while together thus did dwell
In much delight, and many ioyes among,
Vntill the damzell gan to wex more sound and strong.

xi

Tho gan Sir *Calidore* him to aduize
Of his first quest, which he had long forlore,
Asham'd to thinke, how he that enterprize,
The which the Faery Queene had long afore
Bequeath'd to him, forslacked had so sore;
That much he feared, least reprochfull blame
With foule dishonour him mote blot therefore;
Besides the losse of so much loos and fame,
As through the world thereby should glorifie his name.

xii

Therefore resolving to returne in hast
Vnto so great atchieuement, he bethought
To leaue his loue, now perill being past,
With *Claribell*, whylest he that monster sought
Throughout the world, and to destruction brought.
So taking leaue of his faire *Pastorell*,
Whom to recomfort, all the meanes he wrought,
With thanks to *Bellamour* and *Claribell*,
He went forth on his quest, and did, that him befell.

xiii

But first, ere I doe his aduentures tell,
In this exploite, me needeth to declare,
What did betide to the faire *Pastorell*,
During his absence left in heauy care,
Through daily mourning, and nightly misfare:
Yet did that auncient matrone all she might,
To cherish her with all things choice and rare;
And her owne handmayd, that *Melissa* hight,
Appointed to attend her dewly day and night.

xiv

Who in a morning, when this Mayden faire
Was dighting her, hauing her snowy brest
As yet not laced, nor her golden haire
Into their comely tresses dewly drest,
Chaunst to espy vpon her yuory chest
The rosie marke, which she remembred well
That litle Infant had, which forth she kest,
The daughter of her Lady *Claribell*,
The which she bore, the whiles in prison she did dwell.

xv

Which well auizing, streight she gan to cast
In her conceiptfull mynd, that this faire Mayd
Was that same infant, which so long sith past
She in the open fields had loosely layd
To fortunes spoile, vnable it to ayd.
So full of ioy, streight forth she ran in hast
Vnto her mistresse, being halfe dismayd,
To tell her, how the heauens had her graste,
To saue her chylde, which in misfortunes mouth was plaste.

xvi

The sober mother seeing such her mood,
Yet knowing not, what meant that sodaine thro,
Askt her, how mote her words be vnderstood,
And what the matter was, that mou'd her so.
My lief (sayd she) ye know, that long ygo,
Whilest ye in durance dwelt, ye to me gaue
A little mayde, the which ye chylded tho;
The same againe if now ye list to haue,
The same is yonder Lady, whom high God did saue.

xvii

Much was the Lady troubled at that speach,
And gan to question streight how she it knew.
Most certaine markes, (sayd she) do me it teach,
For on her brest I with these eyes did vew
The litle purple rose, which thereon grew,
Whereof her name ye then to her did giue.
Besides her countenaunce, and her likely hew,
Matched with equall yeares, do surely priue
That yond same is your daughter sure, which yet doth liue.

xviii

The matrone stayd no lenger to enquire,
But forth in hast ran to the straunger Mayd;
Whom catching greedily for great desire,
Rent vp her brest, and bosome open layd,
In which that rose she plainely saw displayd.
Then her embracing twixt her armes twaine,
She long so held, and softly weeping sayd;
And liuest thou my daughter now againe?
And art thou yet aliue, whom dead I long did faine?

xix

Tho further asking her of sundry things,
And times comparing with their accidents,
She found at last by very certaine signes,
And speaking markes of passed monuments,
That this young Mayd, whom chance to her presents
Is her owne daughter, her owne infant deare.
Tho wondring long at those so straunge euent,
A thousand times she her embraced nere,
With many a ioyfull kisse, and many a melting teare.

xx

Who euer is the mother of one chylde,
Which hauing thought long dead, she fyndes aliue,
Let her by prooffe of that, which she hath fylde
In her owne breast, this mothers ioy descriue:
For other none such passion can contriue
In perfect forme, as this good Lady felt,
When she so faire a daughter saw suruiue,
As *Pastorella* was, that nigh she swelt
For passing ioy, which did all into pittie melt.

xxi

Thence running forth vnto her loued Lord,
She vnto him recounted, all that fell:
Who ioyning ioy with her in one accord,
Acknowledg'd for his owne faire *Pastorell*.
There leaue we them in ioy, and let vs tell
Of *Calidore*, who seeking all this while
That monstrous Beast by finall force to quell,
Through euery place, with restlesse paine and toile
Him follow'd, by the tract of his outrageous spoile.

xxii

Through all estates he found that he had past,
In which he many massacres had left,
And to the Clergy now was come at last;
In which such spoile, such hauocke, and such theft
He wrought, that thence all goodnesse he bereft,
That endlesse were to tell. The Elfin Knight,
Who now no place besides vnsought had left,
At length into a Monastere did light,
Where he him found despoyling all with maine and might.

xxiii

Into their cloysters now he broken had,
Through which the Monckes he chaced here and there,
And them pursu'd into their dortours sad,
And searched all their cels and secrets neare;
In which what filth and ordure did appeare,
Were yrkesome to report; yet that foule Beast
Nought sparing them, the more did tosse and teare,
And ransacke all their dennes from most to least,
Regarding nought religion, nor their holy heast.

xxiv

From thence into the sacred Church he broke,
And robd the Chancell, and the deskes downe threw,
And Altars fouled, and blasphemy spoke,
And th'Images for all their goodly hew,
Did cast to ground, whilst none was them to rew;
So all confounded and disordered there.
But seeing *Calidore*, away he flew,
Knowing his fatall hand by former feare;
But he him fast pursuing, soone approched neare.

xxv

Him in a narrow place he ouertooke,
And fierce assailing forst him turne againe:
Sternely he turnd againe, when he him strooke
With his sharpe steele, and ran at him amaine
With open mouth, that seemed to containe
A full good pecke within the vtmost brim,
All set with yron teeth in raunges twaine,
That terrifide his foes, and armed him,
Appearing like the mouth of *Orcus* griesly grim.

xxvi

And therein were a thousand tongs empight,
Of sundry kindes, and sundry quality,
Some were of dogs, that barked day and night,
And some of cats, that wrawling still did cry,
And some of Beares, that groynd continually,
And some of Tygres, that did seeme to gren,
And snar at all, that euer passed by:
But most of them were tongues of mortall men,
Which spake reprochfully, not caring where nor when.

xxvii

And them amongst were mingled here and there,
The tongues of Serpents with three forked stings,
That spat out poyson and gore bloody gere
At all, that came within his rauenings,
And spake licentious words, and hatefull things
Of good and bad alike, of low and hie;
Ne Kesars spared he a whit, nor Kings,
But either blotted them with infamie,
Or bit them with his banefull teeth of iniury.

xxviii

But *Calidore* thereof no whit afrayd,
Rencountred him with so impetuous might,
That th'outrage of his violence he stayd,
And bet abacke, threatning in vaine to bite,
And spitting forth the poyson of his spight,
That fomed all about his bloody iawes.
Tho rearing vp his former feete on hight,
He rampt vpon him with his rauenous pawes,
As if he would haue rent him with his cruell clawes.

xxix

But he right well aware, his rage to ward,
Did cast his shield atweene, and therewithall
Putting his puissaunce forth, pursu'd so hard,
That backward he enforced him to fall,
And being downe, ere he new helpe could call,
His shield he on him threw, and fast downe held,
Like as a bullocke, that in bloody stall
Of butchers balefull hand to ground is feld,
Is forcibly kept downe, till he be thoroughly queld.

xxx

Full cruelly the Beast did rage and rore,
To be downe held, and maystred so with might,
That he gan fret and fome out bloody gore,
Striuing in vaine to rere him selfe vpright.
For still the more he stroue, the more the Knight
Did him suppress, and forcibly subdew;
That made him almost mad for fell despight.
He grind, hee bit, he scratcht, he venim threw,
And fared like a feend, right horrible in hew.

xxxi

Or like the hell-borne *Hydra*, which they faine
That great *Alcides* whilome ouerthrew,
After that he had labourd long in vaine,
To crop his thousand heads, the which still new
Forth budded, and in greater number grew.
Such was the fury of this hellish Beast,
Whilest *Calidore* him vnder him downe threw;
Who nathemore his heauy load releast,
But aye the more he rag'd, the more his powre increast.

xxxii

Tho when the Beast saw, he mote nought auaile,
By force, he gan his hundred tongues apply,
And sharpely at him to reuile and raile,
With bitter termes of shamefull infamy;
Oft interlacing many a forged lie,
Whose like he neuer once did speake, nor heare,
Nor euer thought thing so vnworthily:
Yet did he nought for all that him forbear,
But strained him so streightly, that he chokt him neare.

xxxiii

At last when as he found his force to shrincke,
And rage to quaile, he tooke a muzzell strong
Of surest yron, made with many a lincke;
Therewith he mured vp his mouth along,
And therein shut vp his blasphemous tong,
For neuer more defaming gentle Knight,
Or vnto louely Lady doing wrong:
And thereunto a great long chaine he tight,
With which he drew him forth, euen in his own despight.

xxxiv

Like as whylome that strong *Tirynthian* swaine,
Brought forth with him the dreadfull dog of hell,
Against his will fast bound in yron chaine,
And roring horribly, did him compell
To see the hatefull sunne, that he might tell
To griesly *Pluto*, what on earth was donne,
And to the other damned ghosts, which dwell
For aye in darkenesse, which day light doth shonne.
So led this Knight his captyue with like conquest wonne.

xxxv

xxxvi

Yet greatly did the Beast repine at those
Straunge bands, whose like till then he neuer bore,
Ne euer any durst till then impose,
And chauffed inly, seeing now no more
Him liberty was left aloud to rore:
Yet durst he not draw backe; nor once withstand
The proued powre of noble *Calidore*,
But trembled vnderneath his mighty hand,
And like a fearefull dog him followed through the land.

xxxvii

Him through all Faery land he follow'd so,
As if he learned had obedience long,
That all the people where so he did go,
Out of their townes did round about him throng,
To see him leade that Beast in bondage strong,
And seeing it, much wondred at the sight;
And all such persons, as he earst did wrong,
Reioyced much to see his captiue plight,
And much admyr'd the Beast, but more admyr'd the Knight.

xxxviii

Thus was this Monster by the maystring might
Of doughty *Calidore*, supprest and tamed,
That neuer more he mote endammadge wight
With his vile tongue, which many had defamed,
And many causelesse caused to be blamed:
So did he eeke long after this remaine,
Vntill that, whether wicked fate so framed,
Or fault of men, he broke his yron chaine,
And got into the world at liberty againe.

xxxix

Thenceforth more mischief and more scath he wrought
To mortall men, then he had done before;
Ne euer could by any more be brought
Into like bands, ne maystred any more:
Albe that long time after *Calidore*,
The good Sir *Pelleas* him tooke in hand,
And after him Sir *Lamoracke* of yore,
And all his brethren borne in Britaine land;
Yet none of them could euer bring him into band.

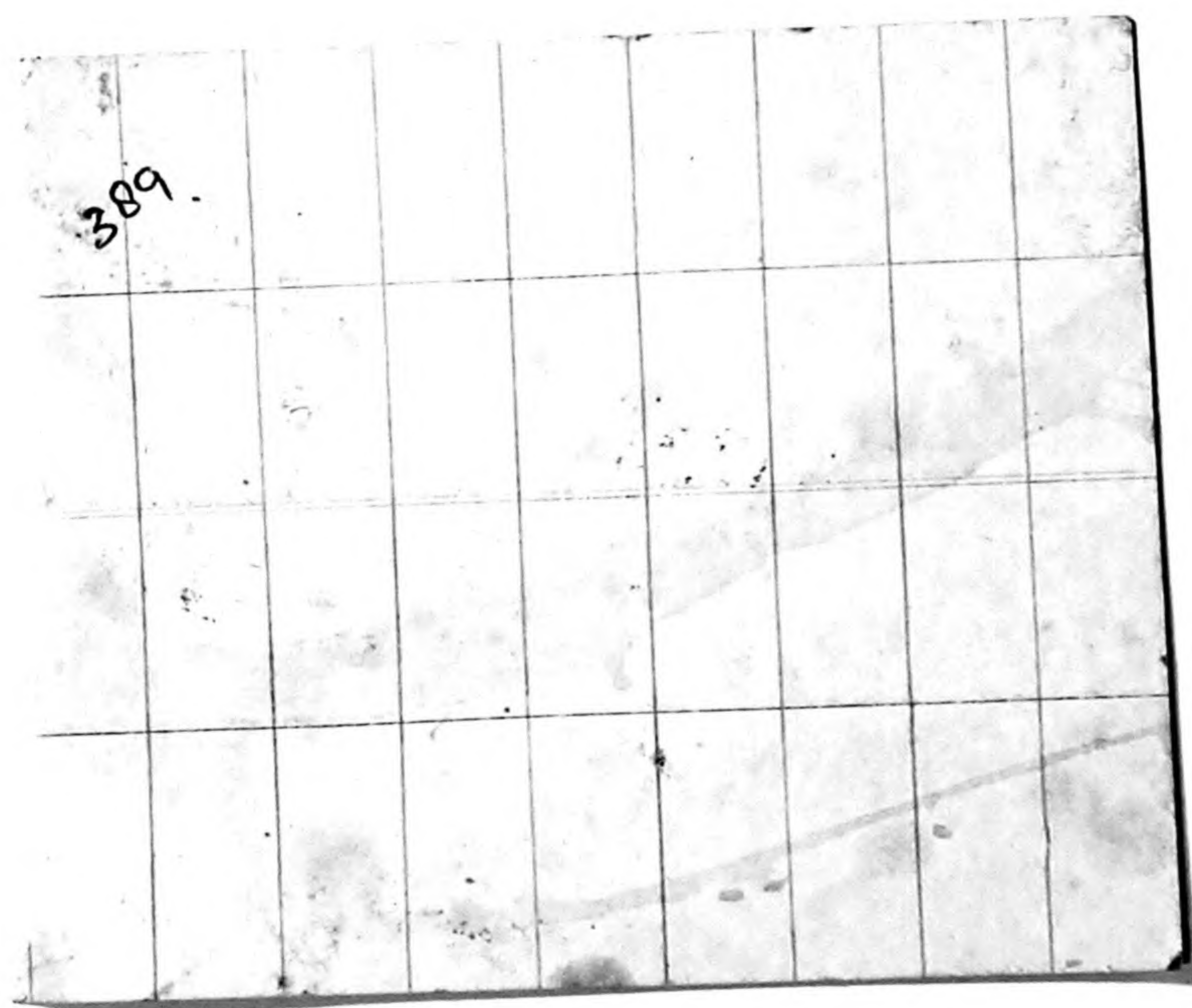
So now he raungeth through the world againe,
And rageth sore in each degree and state;
Ne any is, that may him now restraine,
He growen is so great and strong of late,
Barking and biting all that him doe bate,
Albe they worthy blame, or cleare of crime:
Ne spareth he most learned wits to rate,
Ne spareth he the gentle Poets rime,
But rends without regard of person or of time.

xl

Ne may this homely verse, of many meanest,
Hope to escape his venemous despite,
More then my former writs, all were they cleanest
From blamefull blot, and free from all that wite,
With which some wicked tongues did it backebite,
And bring into a mighty Peres displeasure,
That neuer so deserued to endite.
Therefore do you my rimes keep better measure,
And seeke to please, that now is counted wisemens threasure.

xli

FINIS.



TWO CANTOS OF

MVTABILITIE:

Which, both for Forme and Matter, appeare
to be parcell of some following Booke of the

FAERIE QVEENE,

(. . .)

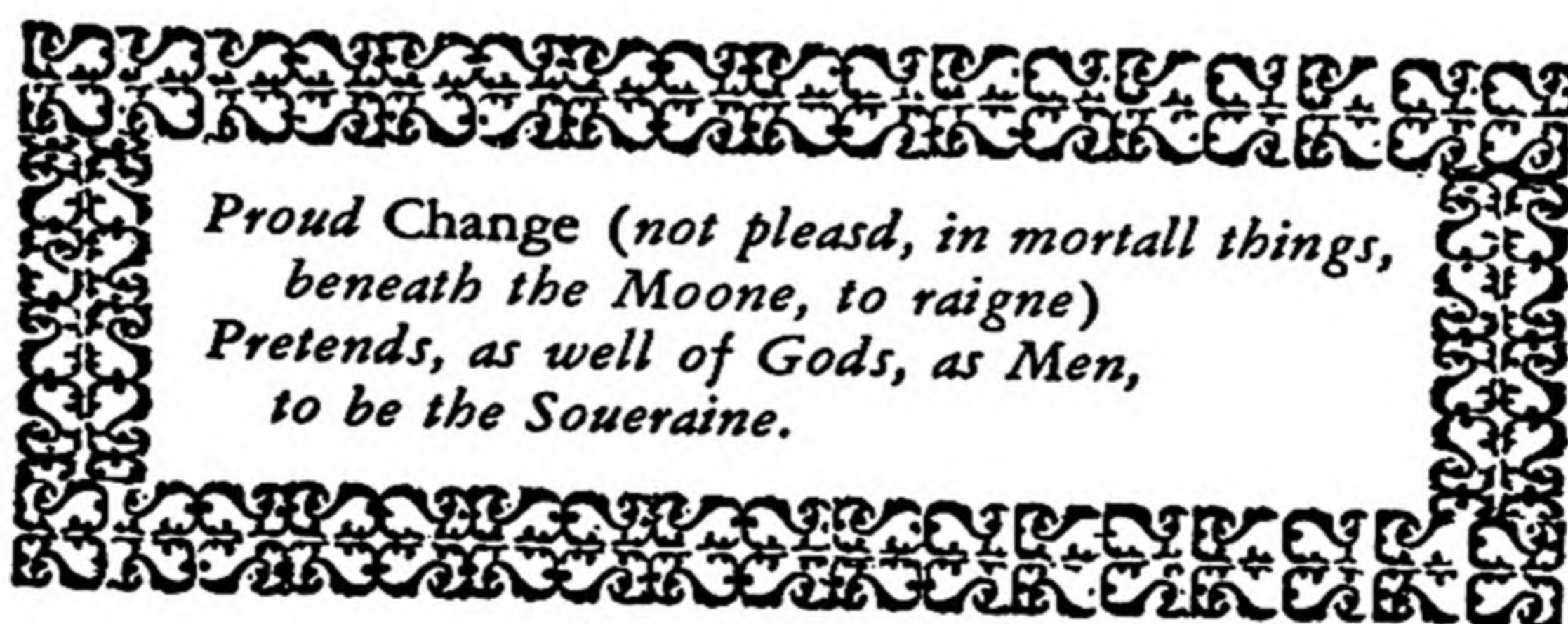
VNDER THE LEGEND

OF

Constancie.

Neuer before imprinted.

Canto VI.



V Hat man that sees the euer-whirling wheele i
Of *Change*, the which all mortall things doth sway,
But that therby doth find, and plainly feele,
How *MVTABILITY* in them doth play
Her cruell sports, to many mens decay?
Which that to all may better yet appeare,
I will rehearse that whylome I heard say,
How she at first her selfe began to reare,
Gainst all the Gods, and th'empire sought from them to beare.

But first, here falleth fittest to vnfold
Her antique race and linage ancient,
As I haue found it registred of old,
In *Faery* Land mongst records permanent:
She was, to weet, a daughter by descent
Of those old *Titans*, that did whylome striue
With *Saturnes* sonne for heauens regiment.
Whom, though high *Ioue* of kingdome did depriue,
Yet many of their stemme long after did suruiue.

ii

And many of them, afterwards obtain'd
Great power of *Ioue*, and high authority;
As *Hecaté*, in whose almighty hand,
He plac't all rule and principality,
To be by her disposed diuersly,
To Gods, and men, as she them list diuide:
And drad *Bellona*, that doth sound on hie
Warres and allarums vnto Nations wide,
That makes both heauen and earth to tremble at her pride.

iii

So likewise did this *Titanesse* aspire,
Rule and dominion to her selfe to gaine;
That as a Goddess, men might her admire,
And heauenly honours yield, as to them twaine.
And first, on earth she sought it to obtaine;
Where she such prooffe and sad examples shewed
Of her great power, to many ones great paine,
That not men onely (whom she soone subdewd)
But eke all other creatures, her bad dooings rewed.

iv

For, she the face of earthly things so changed,
That all which Nature had establisht first
In good estate, and in meet order ranged,
She did pervert, and all their statutes burst:
And all the worlds faire frame (which none yet durst
Of Gods or men to alter or misguide)
She alter'd quite, and made them all accurst
That God had blest; and did at first prouide
In that still happy state for euer to abide.

v

Ne shee the lawes of Nature onely brake,
But eke of Iustice, and of Policie;
And wrong of right, and bad of good did make,
And death for life exchanged foolishlie:
Since which, all liuing wights haue learn'd to die,
And all this world is woxen daily worse.
O pittious worke of *MVTABILITIE*!
By which, we all are subiect to that curse,
And death in stead of life haue sucked from our Nurse.
And now, when all the earth she thus had brought
To her behest, and thrall'd to her might,
She gan to cast in her ambitious thought,
T'attempt th'empire of the heauens hight,
And *Ioue* himselfe to shoulder from his right.
And first, she past the region of the ayre,
And of the fire, whose substance thin and slight,
Made no resistance, ne could her contraire,
But ready passage to her pleasure did prepaire.
Thence, to the Circle of the Moone she clambe,
Where *Cynthia* raignes in euerlasting glory,
To whose bright shining palace straight she came,
All fairely deckt with heauens goodly story;
Whose siluer gates (by which there sate an hory
Old aged Sire, with hower-glasse in hand,
Hight *Tyme*) she entred, were he lief or sory:
Ne staide till she the highest stage had scand,
Where *Cynthia* did sit, that neuer still did stand.
Her sitting on an Iuory throne shee found,
Drawne of two steeds, th'one black, the other white,
Environd with tenne thousand starres around,
That duly her attended day and night;
And by her side, there ran her Page, that hight
Vesper, whom we the Euening-starre intend:
That with his Torche, still twinkling like twylight,
Her lightened all the way where she should wend,
And ioy to weary wandring trauailers did lend:

vi

vii

viii

ix

That when the hardy *Titanesse* beheld
The goodly building of her Palace bright,
Made of the heauens substance, and vp-held
With thousand Crystall pillors of huge hight,
Shee gan to burne in her ambitious spright,
And t'envie her that in such glorie raigned.
Eftsoones she cast by force and tortious might,
Her to displace; and to her selfe to haue gained
The kingdome of the Night, and waters by her wained.

x

Boldly she bid the Goddessse downe descend,
And let her selfe into that Ivory throne;
For, shee her selfe more worthy thereof wend,
And better able it to guide alone:
Whether to men, whose fall she did bemone,
Or vnto Gods, whose state she did maligne,
Or to th'infernall Powers, her need giue lone
Of her faire light, and bounty most benigne,
Her selfe of all that rule shee deemed most condigne.

xi

But shee that had to her that soueraigne seat
By highest *Ioue* assign'd, therein to beare
Nights burning lamp, regarded not her threat,
Ne yielded ought for fauour or for feare;
But with sterne countenaunce and disdainfull cheare,
Bending her horned browes, did put her back:
And boldly blaming her for comming there,
Bade her attonce from heauens coast to pack,
Or at her perill bide the wrathfull Thunders wrack.

xii

Yet nathemore the *Giantesse* forbare:
But boldly preacing-on, raught forth her hand
To pluck her downe perforce from off her chaire;
And there-with lifting vp her golden wand,
Threatned to strike her if she did with-stand.
Where-at the starres, which round about her blazed,
And eke the Moones bright wagon, still did stand,
All beeing with so bold attempt amazed,
And on her vncouth habit and sterne looke still gazed.

xiii

Meane-while, the lower World, which nothing knew
Of all that chaunced here, was darkned quite;
And eke the heauens, and all the heauenly crew
Of happy wights, now vnpurvaide of light,
Were much afraid, and wondred at that sight;
Fearing least *Chaos* broken had his chaine,
And brought againe on them eternall night:
But chiefly *Mercury*, that next doth raigne,
Ran forth in haste, vnto the king of Gods to plaine.

xiv

All ran together with a great out-cry,
To *Ioues* faire Palace, fixt in heauens hight;
And beating at his gates full earnestly,
Gan call to him aloud with all their might,
To know what meant that suddaine lack of light.
The father of the Gods when this he heard,
Was troubled much at their so strange affright,
Doubting least *Typhon* were againe vprear'd,
Or other his old foes, that once him sorely fear'd.

xv

Eftsoones the sonne of *Maia* forth he sent
Downe to the Circle of the Moone, to knowe
The cause of this so strange astonishment,
And why shee did her wonted course forslowe;
And if that any were on earth belowe
That did with charmes or Magick her molest,
Him to attache, and downe to hell to throwe:
But, if from heauen it were, then to arrest
The Author, and him bring before his presence prest.

xvi

The wingd-foot God, so fast his plumes did beat,
That soone he came where-as the *Titanesse*
Was striuing with faire *Cynthia* for her seat:
At whose strange sight, and haughty hardinesse,
He wondred much, and feared her no lesse.
Yet laying feare aside to doe his charge,
At last, he bade her (with bold stedfastnesse)
Ceasse to molest the Moone to walke at large,
Or come before high *Ioue*, her dooings to discharge.

xvii

And there-with-all, he on her shoulder laid
His snaky-wreathed Mace, whose awfull power
Doth make both Gods and hellish fiends affraid:
Where-at the *Titanesse* did sternely lower,
And stoutly answer'd, that in euill hower
He from his *Ioue* such message to her brought,
To bid her leaue faire *Cynthias* siluer bower;
Sith shee his *Ioue* and him esteemed nought,
No more then *Cynthia's* selfe; but all their kingdoms sought.

xix

The Heauens Herald staid not to reply,
But past away, his doings to relate
Vnto his Lord; who now in th'highest sky,
Was placed in his principall Estate,
With all the Gods about him congregated:
To whom when *Hermes* had his message told,
It did them all exceedingly amate,
Saue *Ioue*; who, changing nought his count'nance bold,
Did vnto them at length these speeches wise vnfold;

xx

Harken to mee awhile yee heauenly Powers;
Ye may remember since th'Earths cursed seed
Sought to assaile the heauens eternall towers,
And to vs all exceeding feare did breed:
But how we then defeated all their deed,
Yee all doe knowe, and them destroyed quite;
Yet not so quite, but that there did succeed
An off-spring of their bloud, which did alite
Vpon the fruitfull earth, which doth vs yet despite.

xxi

Of that bad seed is this bold woman bred,
That now with bold presumption doth aspire
To thrust faire *Phœbe* from her siluer bed,
And eke our selues from heauens high Empire,
If that her might were match to her desire:
Wherefore, it now behoues vs to advise
What way is best to driue her to retire;
Whether by open force, or counsell wise,
Areed ye sonnes of God, as best ye can devise.

So hauing said, he ceast; and with his brow
(His black eye-brow, whose doomefull dreaded beck
Is wont to wield the world vnto his vow,
And euen the highest Powers of heauen to check)
Made signe to them in their degrees to speake:
Who straight gan cast their counsell graue and wise.
Meane-while, th'Earths daughter, thogh she nought did reck
Of *Hermes* message; yet gan now advise,
What course were best to take in this hot bold emprize.

xxii

Eftsoones she thus resolv'd; that whil'st the Gods
(After returne of *Hermes* Embassie)
Were troubled, and amongst themselues at ods,
Before they could new counsels re-allie,
To set vpon them in that extasie;
And take what fortune time and place would lend:
So, forth she rose, and through the purest sky
To *Ioues* high Palace straight cast to ascend,
To prosecute her plot: Good on-set boads good end.

xxiii

Shee there arriuing, boldly in did pass;
Where all the Gods she found in counsell close,
All quite vnarm'd, as then their manner was.
At sight of her they suddaine all arose,
In great amaze, ne wist what way to chose.
But *Ioue*, all fearelesse, forc't them to aby;
And in his soueraine throne, gan straight dispose
Himselfe more full of grace and Maiestie,
That mote encheare his friends, and foes mote terrifie.

xxiv

That, when the haughty *Titanesse* beheld,
All were she fraught with pride and impudence,
Yet with the sight thereof was almost queld;
And inly quaking, seem'd as reft of sense,
And voyd of speech in that drad audience;
Vntill that *Ioue* himselfe, her selfe bespake:
Speake thou fraile woman, speake with confidence,
Whence art thou, and what doost thou here now make?
What idle errand hast thou, earths mansion to forsake?

xxv

xxvi

Shee, halfe confused with his great commaund,
Yet gathering spirit of her natures pride,
Him boldly answer'd thus to his demaund:
I am a daughter, by the mothers side,
Of her that is Grand-mother magnifide
Of all the Gods, great *Earth*, great *Chaos* child:
But by the fathers (be it not envide)
I greater am in bloud (whereon I build)
Then all the Gods, though wrongfully from heauen exil'd.

xxvii

For, *Titan* (as ye all acknowledge must)
Was *Saturnes* elder brother by birth-right;
Both, sonnes of *Vranus*: but by vniust
And guilefull meanes, through *Corybantes* slight,
The younger thrust the elder from his right:
Since which, thou *Ioue*, iniuriously hast held
The Heauens rule from *Titans* sonnes by might;
And them to hellish dungeons downe hast feld:
Witnesse ye Heauens the truth of all that I haue teld.

xxviii

Whil'st she thus spake, the Gods that gaue good eare
To her bold words, and marked well her grace,
Beeing of stature tall as any there
Of all the Gods, and beautifull of face,
As any of the Goddesses in place,
Stood all astonied, like a sort of Steeres;
Mongst whom, some beast of strange and forraine race,
Vnwares is chaunc't, far straying from his peeres:
So did their ghastly gaze bewray their hidden feares.

xxix

Till hauing paus'd awhile, *Ioue* thus bespake;
Will neuer mortall thoughts cease to aspire,
In this bold sort, to Heauen claime to make,
And touch celestiall seates with earthly mire?
I would haue thought, that bold *Procrustes* hire,
Or *Typhons* fall, or proud *Ixions* paine,
Or great *Prometheus*, tasting of our ire,
Would haue suffiz'd, the rest for to restraine;
And warn'd all men by their example to refraine:

But now, this off-scum of that cursed fry,
Dare to renew the like bold enterprize,
And challenge th'heritage of this our skie;
Whom what should hinder, but that we likewise
Should handle as the rest of her allies,
And thunder-driue to hell? With that, he shooke
His Nectar-deawed locks, with which the skyes
And all the world beneath for terror quooke,
And eft his burning levin-brond in hand he tooke.

xxx

But, when he looked on her louely face,
In which, faire beames of beauty did appeare,
That could the greatest wrath soone turne to grace
(Such sway doth beauty euen in Heauen beare)
He staide his hand: and hauing chang'd his cheare,
He thus againe in milder wise began;
But ah! if Gods should striue with flesh yfere,
Then shortly should the progeny of Man
Be rooted out, if *Ioue* should doe still what he can:

xxxi

But thee faire *Titans* child, I rather weene,
Through some vaine errour or inducement light,
To see that mortall eyes haue neuer seene;
Or through ensample of thy sisters might,
Bellona; whose great glory thou doost spight,
Since thou hast seene her dreadfull power belowe,
Mongst wretched men (dismaide with her affright)
To bandie Crownes, and Kingdomes to bestowe:
And sure thy worth, no lesse then hers doth seem to showe.

xxxii

But wote thou this, thou hardy *Titanesse*,
That not the worth of any liuing wight
May challenge ought in Heauens interesse;
Much lesse the Title of old *Titans* Right:
For, we by Conquest of our soueraine might,
And by eternall doome of Fates decree,
Haue wonne the Empire of the Heauens bright;
Which to our selues we hold, and to whom wee
Shall worthy deeme partakers of our blisse to bee.

xxxiii

Then ceasse thy idle claime thou foolish gerle,
 And seeke by grace and goodnesse to obtaine
 That place from which by folly *Titan* fell;
 There-to thou maist perhaps, if so thou faine
 Haue *Ioue* thy gracious Lord and Soueraigne.
 So, hauing said, she thus to him replide;
 Ceasse *Saturnes* sonne, to seeke by proffers vaine
 Of idle hopes t'allure mee to thy side,
 For to betray my Right, before I haue it tride.

xxxiv

But thee, O *Ioue*, no equall Iudge I deeme
 Of my desert, or of my dewfull Right;
 That in thine owne behalfe maist partiall seeme:
 But to the highest him, that is behight
 Father of Gods and men by equall might;
 To weet, the God of Nature, I appeale.
 There-at *Ioue* waxed wroth, and in his spright
 Did inly grudge, yet did it well conceale;
 And bade *Dan Phœbus* Scribe her Appellation seale.

xxxv

Eftsoones the time and place appointed were,
 Where all, both heauenly Powers, and earthly wights,
 Before great Natures presence should appeare,
 For triall of their Titles and best Rights:
 That was, to weet, vpon the highest hights
 Of *Arlo-hill* (Who knowes not *Arlo-hill*?)
 That is the highest head (in all mens sights)
 Of my old father *Mole*, whom Shepheards quill
 Renowned hath with hymnes fit for a rurall skill.

xxxvi

And, were it not ill fitting for this file,
 To sing of hilles and woods, mongst warres and Knights,
 I would abate the sternenesse of my stile,
 Mongst these sterne stounds to mingle soft delights;
 And tell how *Arlo* through *Dianaes* spights
 (Beeing of old the best and fairest Hill
 That was in all this holy-Islands hights)
 Was made the most vnpleasant, and most ill.
 Meane while, O *Clio*, lend *Calliope* thy quill.

xxxvii

Whylome, when *IRELAND* florished in fame
 Of wealths and goodnesse, far aboue the rest
 Of all that beare the *British* Islands name,
 The Gods then vs'd (for pleasure and for rest)
 Oft to resort there-to, when seem'd them best:
 But none of all there-in more pleasure found,
 Then *Cynthia*; that is soueraine Queene profest
 Of woods and forrests, which therein abound,
 Sprinkled with wholsom waters, more then most on ground.

xxxviii

But mongst them all, as fittest for her game,
 Either for chace of beasts with hound or boawe,
 Or for to shroude in shade from *Phœbus* flame,
 Or bathe in fountaines that doe freshly flowe,
 Or from high hilles, or from the dales belowe,
 She chose this *Arlo*; where shee did resort
 With all her Nymphes enranged on a rowe,
 With whom the woody Gods did oft consort:
 For, with the Nymphes, the Satyres loue to play and sport.

xxxix

Amongst the which, there was a Nymph that hight
Molanna; daughter of old father *Mole*,
 And sister vnto *Mulla*, faire and bright:
 Vnto whose bed false *Bregog* whylome stole,
 That Shepheard *Colin* dearely did condole,
 And made her lucklesse loues well knowne to be.
 But this *Molanna*, were she not so shole,
 Were no lesse faire and beautifull then shee:
 Yet as she is, a fairer flood may no man see.

xl

For, first, she springs out of two marble Rocks,
 On which, a groue of Oakes high mounted growes,
 That as a girland seemes to deck the locks
 Of som faire Bride, brought forth with pompous showes
 Out of her bowre, that many flowers strowes:
 So, through the flowry Dales she tumbling downe,
 Through many woods, and shady coverts flowes
 (That on each side her siluer channell crowne)
 Till to the Plaine she come, whose Valleyes shee doth drowne.

xli

In her sweet streames, *Diana* vsed oft
(After her sweatie chace and toilesome play)
To bathe her selfe; and after, on the soft
And downy grasse, her dainty limbes to lay
In couert shade, where none behold her may:
For, much she hated sight of liuing eye.
Foolish God *Faunus*, though full many a day
He saw her clad, yet longed foolishly
To see her naked mongst her Nymphes in priuity.

xlii

No way he found to compasse his desire,
But to corrupt *Molanna*, this her maid,
Her to discouer for some secret hire:
So, her with flattering words he first assaid;
And after, pleasing gifts for her purvaid,
Queene-apples, and red Cherries from the tree,
With which he her allured and betraid,
To tell what time he might her Lady see
When she her selfe did bathe, that he might secret bee.

xliii

There-to hee promist, if shee would him pleasure
With this small boone, to quit her with a better;
To weet, that where-as shee had out of measure
Long lov'd the *Fanchin*, who by nought did set her,
That he would vndertake, for this to get her
To be his Loue, and of him liked well:
Besides all which, he vow'd to be her debter
For many moe good turnes then he would tell;
The least of which, this little pleasure should excell.

xliv

The simple maid did yield to him anone;
And eft him placed where he close might view
That neuer any saw, saue onely one;
Who, for his hire to so foole-hardy dew,
Was of his hounds devour'd in Hunters hew.
Tho, as her manner was on sunny day,
Diana, with her Nymphes about her, drew
To this sweet spring; where, doffing her array,
She bath'd her louely limbes, for *Ioue* a likely pray.

xlv

There *Faunus* saw that pleased much his eye,
And made his hart to tickle in his brest,
That for great ioy of some-what he did spy,
He could him not containe in silent rest;
But breaking forth in laughter, loud profest
His foolish thought. A foolish *Faune* indeed,
That couldst not hold thy selfe so hidden blest,
But wouldest needs thine owne conceit areed.
Babblers vnworthy been of so diuine a meed.

xlvi

The Goddesse, all abashed with that noise,
In haste forth started from the guilty brooke;
And running straight where-as she heard his voice,
Enclos'd the bush about, and there him tooke,
Like darred Larke; not daring vp to looke
On her whose sight before so much he sought.
Thence, forth they drew him by the hornes, and shooke
Nigh all to peeces, that they left him nought;
And then into the open light they forth him brought.

xlvii

Like as an huswife, that with busie care
Thinks of her Dairie to make wondrous gaine,
Finding where-as some wicked beast vnware
That breakes into her Dayr'house, there doth draine
Her creaming pannes, and frustrate all her paine;
Hath in some snare or gin set close behind,
Entrapped him, and caught into her traine,
Then thinkes what punishment were best assign'd,
And thousand deathes deuise in her vengefull mind:

xlviiii

So did *Diana* and her maydens all
Vse silly *Faunus*, now within their baile:
They mocke and scorne him, and him foule miscall;
Some by the nose him pluckt, some by the taile,
And by his goatish beard some did him haile:
Yet he (poore soule) with patience all did beare;
For, nought against their wils might countervaile:
Ne ought he said what euer he did heare;
But hanging downe his head, did like a Mome appeare.

xlix

At length, when they had flouted him their fill,
They gan to cast what penaunce him to giue.
Some would haue gelt him, but that same would spill
The Wood-gods breed, which must for euer liue:
Others would through the riuer him haue driue,
And ducked deepe: but that seem'd penaunce light;
But most agreed and did this sentence giue,
Him in Deares skin to clad; and in that plight,
To hunt him with their hounds, him selfe saue how hee might.

But *Cynthia's* selfe, more angry then the rest,
Thought not enough, to punish him in sport,
And of her shame to make a gamesome iest;
But gan examine him in straighter sort,
Which of her Nymphes, or other close consort,
Him thither brought, and her to him betraid?
He, much affeard, to her confessed short,
That 'twas *Molanna* which her so bewraid.
Then all attonce their hands vpon *Molanna* laid.

But him (according as they had decreed)
With a Deeres-skin they couered, and then chast
With all their hounds that after him did speed;
But he more speedy, from them fled more fast
Then any Deere: so sore him dread aghast.
They after follow'd all with shrill out-cry,
Shouting as they the heauens would haue brast:
That all the woods and dales where he did flie,
Did ring againe, and loud reeccho to the skie.

So they him follow'd till they weary were;
When, back returning to *Molann'* againe,
They, by commaund'ment of *Diana*, there
Her whelm'd with stones. Yet *Faunus* (for her paine)
Of her beloued *Fanchin* did obtaine,
That her he would receiue vnto his bed.
So now her waues passe through a pleasant Plaine,
Till with the *Fanchin* she her selfe doe wed,
And (both combin'd) themselues in one faire riuer spred.

Nath'lesse, *Diana*, full of indignation,
Thence-forth abandond her delicious brooke;
In whose sweet streame, before that bad occasion,
So much delight to bathe her limbes she tooke:
Ne onely her, but also quite forsooke
All those faire forrests about *Arlo* hid,
And all that Mountaine, which doth over-looke
The richest champian that may else be rid,
And the faire *Shure*, in which are thousand Salmons bred.

liv

Them all, and all that she so deare did way,
Thence-forth she left; and parting from the place,
There-on an heauy haplesse curse did lay,
To weet, that Wolues, where she was wont to space,
Should harbour'd be, and all those Woods deface,
And Thieues should rob and spoile that Coast around.
Since which, those Woods, and all that goodly Chase,
Doth to this day with Wolues and Thieues abound:
Which too-too true that lands in-dwellers since haue found.

lv

Canto VII.

*Peeling, from Ioue, to Natur's Bar,
bold Alteration pleades
Large Euidence: but Nature soone
her righteous Doome areads.*

AH! whither doost thou now thou greater Muse
Me from these woods and pleasing forrests bring?
And my fraile spirit (that dooth oft refuse
This too high flight, vnfit for her weake wing)
Lift vp aloft, to tell of heauens King
(Thy soueraine Sire) his fortunate successe,
And victory, in bigger noates to sing,
Which he obtain'd against that *Titanesse*,
That him of heauens Empire sought to dispossesse.

Yet sith I needs must follow thy behest,
Doe thou my weaker wit with skill inspire,
Fit for this turne; and in my feeble brest
Kindle fresh sparks of that immortall fire,
Which learned minds inflameth with desire
Of heauenly things: for, who but thou alone,
That art yborne of heauen and heauenly Sire,
Can tell things doen in heauen so long ygone;
So farre past memory of man that may be knowne.

Now, at the time that was before agreed,
The Gods assembled all on *Arlo* hill;
As well those that are sprung of heauenly seed,
As those that all the other world doe fill,
And rule both sea and land vnto their will:
Onely th'infernall Powers might not appeare;
Aswell for horror of their count'naunce ill,
As for th'vnruely fiends which they did feare;
Yet *Pluto* and *Proserpina* were present there.

i

ii

iii

And thither also came all other creatures,
What-euer life or motion doe retaine,
According to their sundry kinds of features;
That *Arlo* scarsly could them all containe;
So full they filled euery hill and Plaine:
And had not *Natures* Sergeant (that is *Order*)
Them well disposed by his busie paine,
And raunged farre abroad in euery border,
They would haue caused much confusion and disorder.

iv

Then forth issewed (great goddesse) great dame *Nature*,
With goodly port and gracious Maiesty;
Being far greater and more tall of stature
Then any of the gods or Powers on hie:
Yet certes by her face and physnomy,
Whether she man or woman inly were,
That could not any creature well descry:
For, with a veile that wimpled euery where,
Her head and face was hid, that mote to none appeare.

v

That some doe say was so by skill deuized,
To hide the terror of her vncouth hew,
From mortall eyes that should be sore agrized;
For that her face did like a Lion shew,
That eye of wight could not indure to view:
But others tell that it so beautious was,
And round about such beames of splendor threw,
That it the Sunne a thousand times did pass,
Ne could be seene, but like an image in a glass.

vi

That well may seemen true: for, well I weene
That this same day, when she on *Arlo* sat,
Her garment was so bright and wondrous sheene,
That my fraile wit cannot deuize to what
It to compare, nor finde like stufte to that,
As those three sacred *Saints*, though else most wise,
Yet on mount *Thabor* quite their wits forgat,
When they their glorious Lord in strange disguise
Transfigur'd sawe; his garments so did daze their eyes.

vii

In a fayre Plaine vpon an equall Hill,
She placed was in a paulion;
Not such as Craftes-men by their idle skill
Are wont for Princes states to fashion:
But th'earth her self of her owne motion,
Out of her fruitfull bosome made to growe
Most dainty trees; that, shooting vp anon,
Did seeme to bow their bloosming heads full lowe,
For homage vnto her, and like a throne did shew.

So hard it is for any liuing wight,
All her array and vestiments to tell,
That old *Dan Geffrey* (in whose gentle spright
The pure well head of Poesie did dwell)
In his *Foules parley* durst not with it mel,
But it transferd to *Alane*, who he thought
Had in his *Plaint of kindes* describ'd it well:
Which who will read set forth so as it ought,
Go seek he out that *Alane* where he may be sought.

And all the earth far vnderneath her feete
Was dight with flowres, that voluntary grew
Out of the ground, and sent forth odours sweet,
Tenne thousand mores of sundry sent and hew,
That might delight the smell, or please the view:
The which, the Nymphes, from all the brooks thereby
Had gathered, which they at her foot-stoole threw;
That richer seem'd then any tapestry,
That Princes bowres adorne with painted imagery.

And *Mole* himselfe, to honour her the more,
Did deck himself in freshest faire attire,
And his high head, that seemeth alwaies hore
With hardned frosts of former winters ire,
He with an Oaken girland now did tire,
As if the loue of some new Nymph late seene,
Had in him kindled youthfull fresh desire,
And made him change his gray attire to greene;
Ah gentle *Mole*! such ioyance hath thee well beseene.

Was neuer so great ioyance since the day,
That all the gods whylome assembled were,
On *Hæmus* hill in their diuine array,
To celebrate the solemne bridall cheare,
Twixt *Peleus*, and dame *Thetis* pointed there;
Where *Phœbus* self, that god of Poets hight,
They say did sing the spousall hymne full cleere,
That all the gods were rauisht with delight
Of his celestiall song, and Musicks wondrous might.

xii

This great Grandmother of all creatures bred
Great *Nature*, euer young yet full of eld,
Still moouing, yet vnmoued from her sted;
Vnseene of any, yet of all beheld;
Thus sitting in her throne as I haue teld,
Before her came dame *Mutabilitie*;
And being lowe before her presence feld,
With meek obaysance and humilitie,
Thus gan her plaintif Plea, with words to amplifie;

xiii

To thee O greatest goddesse, onely great,
An humble suppliant loe, I lowely fly
Seeking for Right, which I of thee entreat;
Who Right to all dost deale indifferently,
Damning all Wrong and tortious Iniurie,
Which any of thy creatures doe to other
(Oppressing them with power, vnequally)
Sith of them all thou art the equall mother,
And knittest each to each, as brother vnto brother.

xiv

To thee therefore of this same *Ioue* I plaine,
And of his fellow gods that faine to be,
That challenge to themselues the whole worlds raign;
Of which, the greatest part is due to me,
And heauen it selfe by heritage in Fee:
For, heauen and earth I both alike do deeme,
Sith heauen and earth are both alike to thee;
And, gods no more then men thou doest esteeme:
For, euen the gods to thee, as men to gods do seeme.

xv

Then weigh, O soueraigne goddess, by what right
 These gods do claime the worlds whole souerainty;
 And that is onely dew vnto thy might
 Arrogate to themselues ambitiously:
 As for the gods owne principality,
 Which *Ioue* vsurpes vniustly; that to be
 My heritage, *Ioue's* self cannot deny,
 From my great Grandsire *Titan*, vnto mee,
 Deriv'd by dew descent; as is well knownen to thee.

xvi

Yet mauger *Ioue*, and all his gods beside,
 I doe possesse the worlds most regiment;
 As, if ye please it into parts diuide,
 And euery parts inholders to conuent,
 Shall to your eyes appeare incontinent.
 And first, the Earth (great mother of vs all)
 That only seems vnmov'd and permanent,
 And vnto *Mutability* not thrall;
 Yet is she chang'd in part, and eeke in generall.

xvii

For, all that from her springs, and is ybredde,
 How-euer fayre it flourish for a time,
 Yet see we soone decay; and, being dead,
 To turne again vnto their earthly slime:
 Yet, out of their decay and mortall crime,
 We daily see new creatures to arize;
 And of their Winter spring another Prime,
 Vnlike in forme, and chang'd by strange disguise:
 So turne they still about, and change in restlesse wise.

xviii

As for her tenants; that is, man and beasts,
 The beasts we daily see massacred dy,
 As thralls and vassalls vnto mens beheasts:
 And men themselues doe change continually,
 From youth to eld, from wealth to pouerty,
 From good to bad, from bad to worst of all.
 Ne doe their bodies only flit and fly:
 But eeke their minds (which they immortall call)
 Still change and vary thoughts, as new occasions fall.

xix

Ne is the water in more constant case;

xx

Whether those same on high, or these belowe.

For, th'Ocean moueth stil, from place to place;

And euery Riuer still doth ebbe and flowe:

Ne any Lake, that seems most still and slowe,

Ne Poole so small, that can his smoothnesse holde,

When any winde doth vnder heauen blowe;

With which, the clouds are also tost and roll'd;

Now like great Hills; and, streight, like sluces, them vnfold.

So likewise are all watry liuing wights

xxi

Still tost, and turned, with continuall change,

Neuer abyding in their stedfast plights.

The fish, still floting, doe at randon range,

And neuer rest; but euermore exchange

Their dwelling places, as the streames them carrie:

Ne haue the watry foules a certaine grange,

Wherein to rest, ne in one stead do tarry;

But flitting still doe flie, and still their places vary.

Next is the Ayre: which who feeles not by sense

xxii

(For, of all sense it is the middle meane)

To flit still? and, with subtill influence

Of his thin spirit, all creatures to maintaine,

In state of life? O weake life! that does leane

On thing so tickle as th'vnsteady ayre;

Which euery howre is chang'd, and altred cleane

With euery blast that bloweth fowle or faire:

The faire doth it prolong; the fowle doth it impaire.

Therein the changes infinite beholde,

xxiii

Which to her creatures euery minute chaunce;

Now, boyling hot: streight, friezing deadly cold:

Now, faire sun-shine, that makes all skip and daunce:

Streight, bitter storms and balefull countenance,

That makes them all to shiuer and to shake:

Rayne, hayle, and snowe do pay them sad penance,

And dreadfull thunder-claps (that make them quake)

With flames and flashing lights that thousand changes make.

Last is the fire: which, though it liue for euer,
 Ne can be quenched quite; yet, euery day,
 Wee see his parts, so soone as they do seuer,
 To lose their heat, and shortly to decay;
 So, makes himself his owne consuming pray.
 Ne any liuing creatures doth he breed:
 But all, that are of others bredd, doth slay;
 And, with their death, his cruell life dooth feed;
 Nought leauing, but their barren ashes, without seede.

xxiv

Thus, all these fower (the which the ground-work bee
 Of all the world, and of all liuing wights)
 To thousand sorts of *Change* we subiect see:
 Yet are they chang'd (by other wondrous slights)
 Into themselues, and lose their natieue might;
 The Fire to Aire, and th'Ayre to Water sheere,
 And Water into Earth: yet Water fights
 With Fire, and Aire with Earth approaching neere:
 Yet all are in one body, and as one appeare.

xxv

So, in them all raignes *Mutabilitie*;
 How-euer these, that Gods themselues do call,
 Of them doe claime the rule and souerainty:
 As, *Vesta*, of the fire æthereall;
Vulcan, of this, with vs so vsuall;
Ops, of the earth; and *Iuno* of the Ayre;
Neptune, of Seas; and Nymphes, of Riuers all.
 For, all those Riuers to me subiect are:
 And all the rest, which they vsurp, be all my share.

xxvi

Which to approuen true, as I haue told,
 Vouchsafe, O goddesse, to thy presence call
 The rest which doe the world in being hold:
 As, times and seasons of the yeare that fall:
 Of all the which, demand in generall,
 Or iudge thy selfe, by verdit of thine eye,
 Whether to me they are not subiect all.
Nature did yeeld thereto; and by-and-by,
 Bade *Order* call them all, before her Maiesty.

xxvii

So, forth issew'd the Seasons of the yeare;
First, lusty *Spring*, all dight in leaues of flowres
That freshly budded and new bloosmes did beare
(In which a thousand birds had built their bowres
That sweetly sung, to call forth Paramours):
And in his hand a iauelin he did beare,
And on his head (as fit for warlike stoures)
A guilt engrauen morion he did weare;
That as some did him loue, so others did him feare.

xxviii

Then came the iolly *Sommer*, being dight
In a thin silken cassock coloured greene,
That was vnlyned all, to be more light:
And on his head a girlond well beseene
He wore, from which as he had chauffed been
The sweat did drop; and in his hand he bore
A boawe and shaftes, as he in forrest greene
Had hunted late the Libbard or the Bore,
And now would bathe his limbes, with labor heated sore.

xxix

Then came the *Autumne* all in yellow clad,
As though he ioyed in his plentious store,
Laden with fruits that made him laugh, full glad
That he had banisht hunger, which to-fore
Had by the belly oft him pinched sore.
Vpon his head a wreath that was enrold
With eares of corne, of euery sort he bore:
And in his hand a sickle he did holde,
To reape the ripened fruits the which the earth had yold.

xxx

Lastly, came *Winter* cloathed all in frize,
Chattering his teeth for cold that did him chill,
Whil'st on his hoary beard his breath did freese;
And the dull drops that from his purpled bill
As from a limbeck did adown distill.
In his right hand a tipped staffe he held,
With which his feeble steps he stayed still:
For, he was faint with cold, and weak with eld;
That scarce his loosed limbes he hable was to weld.

xxxi

These, marching softly, thus in order went,
And after them, the Monthes all riding came;
First, sturdy *March* with brows full sternly bent,
And armed strongly, rode vpon a Ram,
The same which ouer *Hellespontus* swam:
Yet in his hand a spade he also hent,
And in a bag all sorts of seeds ysame,
Which on the earth he strowed as he went,
And fild her womb with fruitfull hope of nourishment.

xxxii

Next came fresh *Aprill* full of lustyhed,
And wanton as a Kid whose horne new buds:
Vpon a Bull he rode, the same which led
Europa floting through th' *Argolick* fluds:
His hornes were gilden all with golden studs
And garnished with garlonds goodly dight
Of all the fairest flowres and freshest buds
Which th'earth brings forth, and wet he seem'd in sight
With waues, through which he waded for his loues delight.

xxxiii

Then came faire *May*, the fayrest mayd on ground,
Deckt all with dainties of her seasons pryde,
And throwing flowres out of her lap around:
Vpon two brethrens shoulders she did ride,
The twinnes of *Leda*; which on eyther side
Supported her like to their soueraine Queene.
Lord! how all creatures laught, when her they spide,
And leapt and daunc't as they had rauisht beene!
And *Cupid* selfe about her fluttred all in greene.

xxxiv

And after her, came iolly *Iune*, arrayd
All in greene leaues, as he a Player were;
Yet in his time, he wrought as well as playd,
That by his plough-yrons mote right well appeare:
Vpon a Crab he rode, that him did beare
With crooked crawling steps an vncouth pase,
And backward yode, as Bargemen wont to fare
Bending their force contrary to their face,
Like that vngracious crew which faines demurest grace.

xxxv

Then came hot *Iuly* boyling like to fire,
That all his garments he had cast away:
Vpon a Lyon raging yet with ire
He boldly rode and made him to obay:
It was the beast that whylome did forray
The Nemæan forrest, till th'*Amphytrionide*
Him slew, and with his hide did him array;
Behinde his back a sithe, and by his side
Vnder his belt he bore a sickle circling wide.

xxxvi

The sixt was *August*, being rich arrayd
In garment all of gold downe to the ground:
Yet rode he not, but led a louely Mayd
Forth by the lilly hand, the which was cround
With eares of corne, and full her hand was found;
That was the righteous Virgin, which of old
Liv'd here on earth, and plenty made abound;
But, after Wrong was lov'd and Iustice solde,
She left th'vnrighteous world and was to heauen extold.

xxxvii

Next him, *September* marched eeke on foote;
Yet was he heauy laden with the spoyle
Of haruests riches, which he made his boot,
And him enricht with bounty of the soyle:
In his one hand, as fit for haruests toyle,
He held a knife-hook; and in th'other hand
A paire of waights, with which he did assoyle
Both more and lesse, where it in doubt did stand,
And equall gaue to each as Iustice duly scann'd.

xxxviii

Then came *October* full of merry glee:
For, yet his noule was totty of the must,
Which he was treading in the wine-fats see,
And of the ioyous oyle, whose gentle gust
Made him so frolick and so full of lust:
Vpon a dreadfull Scorpion he did ride,
The same which by *Dianaes* doom vniust
Slew great *Orion*: and eeke by his side
He had his ploughing share, and coulter ready tyde.

xxxix

Next was *Nouember*, he full grosse and fat, xl
As fed with lard, and that right well might seeme;
For, he had been a fattening hogs of late,
That yet his browes with sweat, did reek and steem,
And yet the season was full sharp and breem;
In planting eeke he took no small delight:
Whereon he rode, not easie was to deeme;
For it a dreadfull *Centaure* was in sight,
The seed of *Saturne*, and faire *Nais*, *Chiron* hight.

And after him, came next the chill *December*: xli
Yet he through merry feasting which he made,
And great bonfires, did not the cold remember;
His Sauours birth his mind so much did glad:
Vpon a shaggy-bearded Goat he rade,
The same wherewith *Dan Ioue* in tender yeares,
They say, was nourisht by th'*Idæan* mayd;
And in his hand a broad deepe boawle he beares;
Of which, he freely drinks an health to all his peeres.

Then came old *Ianuary*, wrapped well xlii
In many weeds to keep the cold away;
Yet did he quake and quiuer like to quell,
And blowe his nayles to warme them if he may:
For, they were numbd with holding all the day
An hatchet keene, with which he felled wood,
And from the trees did lop the needlesse spray:
Vpon an huge great Earth-pot steane he stood;
From whose wide mouth, there flowed forth the Romane floud.

And lastly, came cold *February*, sitting xliii
In an old wagon, for he could not ride;
Drawne of two fishes for the season fitting,
Which through the flood before did softly slyde
And swim away: yet had he by his side
His plough and harnesse fit to till the ground,
And tooles to prune the trees, before the pride
Of hasting Prime did make them burgein round:
So past the twelue Months forth, and their dew places found.

And after these, there came the *Day*, and *Night*,
Riding together both with equall pase,
Th'one on a Palfrey blacke, the other white;
But *Night* had couered her vncomely face
With a blacke veile, and held in hand a mace,
On top whereof the moon and stars were pight,
And sleep and darknesse round about did trace:
But *Day* did beare, vpon his scepters hight,
The goodly Sun, encompass all with beames bright.

xliv

Then came the *Howres*, faire daughters of high *Ioue*,
And timely *Night*, the which were all endewed
With wondrous beauty fit to kindle loue;
But they were Virgins all, and loue eschewed,
That might forslack the charge to them fore-shewed
By mighty *Ioue*; who did them Porters make
Of heauens gate (whence all the gods issued)
Which they did dayly watch, and nightly wake
By euen turnes, ne euer did their charge forsake.

xlv

And after all came *Life*, and lastly *Death*;
Death with most grim and griesly visage seene,
Yet is he nought but parting of the breath;
Ne ought to see, but like a shade to weene,
Vnbodied, vnsoul'd, vnheard, vnseene.
But *Life* was like a faire young lusty boy,
Such as they faine *Dan Cupid* to haue beene,
Full of delightfull health and liuely ioy,
Deckt all with flowres, and wings of gold fit to employ.

xlvi

When these were past, thus gan the *Titanesse*;
Lo, mighty mother, now be iudge and say,
Whether in all thy creatures more or lesse
CHANGE doth not raign and beare the greatest sway:
For, who sees not, that *Time* on all doth pray?
But *Times* do change and moue continually.
So nothing here long standeth in one stay:
Wherefore, this lower world who can deny
But to be subiect still to *Mutabilitie*?

xlvii

Then thus gan *Ioue*; Right true it is, that these
 And all things else that vnder heauen dwell
 Are chaung'd of *Time*, who doth them all disseise
 Of being: But, who is it (to me tell)
 That *Time* himselfe doth moue and still compell
 To keepe his course? Is not that namely wee
 Which poure that vertue from our heauenly cell,
 That moues them all, and makes them changed be?
 So them we gods doe rule, and in them also thee.

xlix

To whom, thus *Mutability*: The things
 Which we see not how they are mov'd and swayd,
 Ye may attribute to your selues as Kings,
 And say they by your secret powre are made:
 But what we see not, who shall vs perswade?
 But were they so, as ye them faine to be,
 Mov'd by your might, and ordred by your ayde;
 Yet what if I can proue, that euen yee
 Your selues are likewise chang'd, and subiect vnto mee?

l

And first, concerning her that is the first,
 Euen you faire *Cynthia*, whom so much ye make
Ioues dearest darling, she was bred and nurst
 On *Cynthus* hill, whence she her name did take:
 Then is she mortall borne, how-so ye crake;
 Besides, her face and countenance euery day
 We changed see, and sundry forms partake,
 Now hornd, now round, now bright, now brown and gray:
 So that *as changefull as the Moone* men vse to say.

li

Next, *Mercury*, who though he lesse appeare
 To change his hew, and alwayes seeme as one;
 Yet, he his course doth altar euery yeare,
 And is of late far out of order gone:
 So *Venus* eeke, that goodly Paragone,
 Though faire all night, yet is she darke all day;
 And *Phœbus* self, who lightsome is alone,
 Yet is he oft eclipsed by the way,
 And fills the darkned world with terror and dismay.

Now *Mars* that valiant man is changed most:

lii

For, he some times so far runs out of square,
That he his way doth seem quite to haue lost,
And cleane without his vsuall sphere to fare;
That euen these Star-gazers stonisht are
At sight thereof, and damne their lying bookes:

So likewise, grim Sir *Saturne* oft doth spare
His sterne aspect, and calme his crabbed lookes:
So many turning cranks these haue, so many crookes.

But you *Dan Ioue*, that only constant are,

liii

And King of all the rest, as ye do clame,
Are you not subiect eeke to this misfare?
Then let me aske you this withouten blame,
Where were ye borne? some say in *Crete* by name,
Others in *Thebes*, and others other-where;
But wheresoeuer they comment the same,
They all consent that ye begotten were,
And borne here in this world, ne other can appeare.

Then are ye mortall borne, and thrall to me,

liv

Vnlesse the kingdome of the sky yee make
Immortall, and vnchangeable to be;
Besides, that power and vertue which ye spake,
That ye here worke, doth many changes take,
And your owne natures change: for, each of you
That vertue haue, or this, or that to make,
Is checkt and changed from his nature trew,
By others opposition or obliquid view.

Besides, the sundry motions of your Spheares,

lv

So sundry waies and fashions as clerkes faine,
Some in short space, and some in longer yeares;
What is the same but alteration plaine?
Onely the starrie skie doth still remaine:
Yet do the Starres and Signes therein still moue,
And euen it self is mov'd, as wizards saine.
But all that moueth, doth mutation loue:
Therefore both you and them to me I subiect proue.

Then since within this wide great *Vniuerse*
Nothing doth firme and permanent appeare,
But all things tost and turned by transuerse:
What then should let, but I aloft should reare
My Trophée, and from all, the triumph beare?
Now iudge then (O thou greatest goddesse trew!)
According as thy selfe doest see and heare,
And vnto me addoom that is my dew;
That is the rule of all, all being rul'd by you.

lvi

So hauing ended, silence long ensewed,
Ne *Nature* to or fro spake for a space,
But with firme eyes affixt, the ground still viewed.
Meane while, all creatures, looking in her face,
Expecting th'end of this so doubtfull case,
Did hang in long suspence what would ensew,
To whether side should fall the soueraigne place:
At length, she looking vp with chearefull view,
The silence brake, and gaue her doome in speeches few.

lvii

I well consider all that ye haue sayd,
And find that all things stedfastnes doe hate
And changed be: yet being rightly wayd
They are not changed from their first estate;
But by their change their being doe dilate:
And turning to themselues at length againe,
Doe worke their owne perfection so by fate:
Then ouer them Change doth not rule and raigne;
But they raigne ouer change, and doe their states maintaine.

lviii

Cease therefore daughter further to aspire,
And thee content thus to be rul'd by me:
For thy decay thou seekst by thy desire;
But time shall come that all shall changed bee,
And from thenceforth, none no more change shall see.
So was the *Titaness* put downe and whist,
And *Ioue* confirm'd in his imperiall see.
Then was that whole assembly quite dismiss,
And *Natur's* selfe did vanish, whither no man wist.

lix

The VIII. Canto, vnperfite.

Hen I bethinke me on that speech whyleare,
 Of *Mutability*, and well it way:
 Me seemes, that though she all vnworthy were
 Of the Heav'ns Rule; yet very sooth to say,
 In all things else she beares the greatest sway.
 Which makes me loath this state of life so tickle,
 And loue of things so vaine to cast away;
 Whose flowring pride, so fading and so fickle,
 Short *Time* shall soon cut down with his consuming sickle.

i

Then gin I thinke on that which Nature sayd,
 Of that same time when no more *Change* shall be,
 But stedfast rest of all things firmly stayd
 Vpon the pillours of Eternity,
 That is contrayr to *Mutalibitie*:
 For, all that moueth, doth in *Change* delight:
 But thence-forth all shall rest eternally
 With Him that is the God of Sabbaoth hight:
 O! that great Sabbaoth God, grant me that Sabaoths sight.

ii

FINIS.

389.

COMMENTARY

Guide references are to stanza and line.

Notes not otherwise assigned are by the Editor. Editorial comment upon notes is either included in square brackets or designated EDITOR.

In quotations from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the translations of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, and of Butcher and Lang have been followed. References to Malory in the notes from Miss Walther are to page and line in the reprint of Caxton's edition by H. O. Sommer, 3 vols., London, 1889-1891.

Editions, books, and periodicals frequently cited will be referred to under the following abbreviations:

EDITORS AND COMMENTATORS

HUGHES.	Works of Spenser, ed. John Hughes. 1715.
JORTIN.	Remarks on Spenser's Poems [by John Jortin]. 1734.
WARTON.	Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser, by Thomas Warton. 2nd ed., 1762. [1st ed., 1754.]
UPTON.	Spenser's Faerie Queene, ed. John Upton. 1758.
CHURCH.	The Faerie Queene, ed. Ralph Church. 1758.
TODD.	Works of Spenser, ed. H. J. Todd. 1805.
COLLIER.	Works of Spenser, ed. J. P. Collier. 1862.
WALTHER.	Malorys Einfluss auf Spensers Faerie Queene, by Marie Walther. c. 1895.
SAWTELLE.	Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology, by A. E. Sawtelle. 1896.
DODGE.	Spenser's Imitations from Ariosto. <i>PMLA</i> (1897, 1920).
HEISE.	Die Gleichnisse in Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene und ihre Vorbilder, by Wilhelm Heise. 1902.
RIEDNER.	Spensers Belesenheit. 1 Theil: Die Bibel und das klassische Altertum, by Wilhelm Riedner. 1908.
LOTSPEICH.	Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser, by Henry G. Lotspeich. 1932.

For references to authors not in this list, consult the Bibliography.

PERIODICALS

Abbreviation	Title
<i>ELH</i>	ELH: A Journal of English Literary History
<i>Engl. St.</i>	Englische Studien
<i>JEGP</i>	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
<i>MLN</i>	Modern Language Notes
<i>MLQ</i>	Modern Language Quarterly
<i>MP</i>	Modern Philology
<i>MLR</i>	Modern Language Review
<i>NQ</i>	Notes and Queries
<i>PMLA</i>	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
<i>PQ</i>	Philological Quarterly
<i>RES</i>	Review of English Studies
<i>SP</i>	Studies in Philology

Poems

<i>Aen.</i>	Aeneid
<i>F. Q.</i>	Faerie Queene
<i>Ger. Lib.</i>	Gerusalemme Liberata
<i>Il.</i>	Iliad
<i>Inf.</i>	Inferno
<i>Met.</i>	Metamorphoses
<i>Od.</i>	Odyssey
<i>Orl. Fur.</i>	Orlando Furioso
<i>Orl. Inn.</i>	Orlando Innamorato
<i>P. L.</i>	Paradise Lost
<i>P. R.</i>	Paradise Regained
<i>Par.</i>	Paradiso
<i>Purg.</i>	Purgatorio
<i>Rin.</i>	Rinaldo
<i>Sh. Cal.</i>	Shepheardes Calendar
<i>Theb.</i>	Thebaid

PROEM

WARTON (*History of Eng. Poetry*, 2nd ed., 1. 212) mentions "an old English romance entitled the *Knight of Courtesy*."

i. 1-7. C. G. OSGOOD ("Spenser and the Enchanted Glass," *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine* 19. 9). Of the obvious and oft noted glories of his work Spenser seems to have been quite aware. [Passage quoted.] Here he notes in effect the splendors of pageantry, of spectacle and music, that delight all readers of the great poem, its scope and range, its variety, its wealth of antiquities, its other-world enchantment; he is aware, too, of the dazzling coruscation of grand ideas inwoven with the poem's fabric and subtly suggested throughout.

EDITOR. Cf. *Amoretti* 80.

- ii. LOTSPEICH (p. 97). Cf. *Sh. Cal.*, June 70 and July 47; *Ded. Son.* 6, 7. In phrasing, this [passage] echoes Chaucer, *House of Fame* 2. 13. [521-2]:

Helpeth that on Parnasse dwelle
By Elicon the clere welle.

- 5-7. See VAN WINKLE'S note on 6. 8-9 below.

6. UPTON. Cicero, *de Divin.* 1. 37: "Negat enim sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse." Ovid, *Met.* 2. 640: "Ergo ubi fatcidos concepit mente furores Incalcuitque Deo."

EDITOR. See WINSTANLEY'S note on *Hymne of Love* 28.

- 7-9. JORTIN cites Lucretius 1. 925-6:

Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante
Trita solo.

EDITOR. Cf. *F. Q.* 4. 2. 34. 6-9 and notes in Book IV, p. 180.

- 8-9. Echoed in *P. L.* 3. 19.

8. UPTON. Nothing is so common as this boast of the poets; they all walk in paths untrodden before; Lucretius, Virgil, Manilius, etc., with a thousand others, scorn to tread in any man's steps. But of all commend me to Ariosto, who in the very entrance of his work, says he sings "Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme" [*Orl. Fur.* 1. 2; *P. L.* 1. 16]: "Cosa non detta in prosa mai nè in rima." But the *Orlando Furioso* is founded upon the story of the *Orlando Innamorato*; and this very verse is imitated from Boyardo 2. 29. 1 and 2. 30. 1.

La piu stupenda guerra, e la maggiore
Che raccontasse mai prosa nè verso
Vengo a contarvi.

- iii. 3. Spenser is partial to the silver bower, usually as the retreat of Love. It appears at *Ruines of Time* 384; *Teares of the Muses* 362; *Mother Hubberds Tale* 4; *F. Q.* 2. 8. 2. 1; 7. 6. 18. 7; *Hymne of Love* 23.

5-7. UPTON. The virtues are transplanted from heaven; these are flowers that grow with difficulty in this lower and wicked world. From heaven is derived "every good and perfect gift": as the apostle tells us. Compare *F. Q.* 3. 5. 52 and 4. 8. 33.

- iv-v. See Appendix, pp. 321-348.

iv. 7-9. Cf. 5. Pr. 2 ff. and notes in Book V, pp. 155-7. This is one of the passages which show Spenser's historical primitivism.

9. Cf. the false Florimel in Books III-V, especially 5. 3. 17. 9, where Spenser shows a similar distrust of most men's judgment in higher matters.

- v. 4-5. WARTON (2. 223). St. Paul to the Corinthians (1 Ep. 13. 12), "For now we see through a glass; darkly."

8-9. EDITOR (F. M. P.). Cf. Robert Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), *Harleian Miscellany* 2. 221: "Is auncient honour tied to outward brauery? Or not rather true nobility, a mind excellently qualified with rare vertues?"

vi. 5. This mirror so much used by Spenser is partly scriptural, but chiefly Platonic. See notes on 3. 2. 18-21, in Book III, pp. 216-7; also LANDRUM's note on *Hymne of Love* 195-6; WINSTANLEY on *Hymne of Beauty* 221-4. Sometimes Elizabeth is the mirror of virtues (*Teares of the Muses* 572; 1. Pr. 4. 2; cf. *Colin Clouts* 513); sometimes Gloriana, Belphebe, Britomart are mirrors of Elizabeth (2. Pr. 4. 7; 2. 3. 25. 6; 3. Pr. 5. 6).

8-9. JORTIN objects to this identical rhyme and suggests "fame" for the last line. He cites *F. Q.* 3. 3. 22. 6, 9 as another instance.

WARTON (MS. note in copy of 1617 ed. in British Museum, C. 28. m. 7). But this fault is not so common in Spenser, and is the more excusable in him, as he has such a repetition of the same rhymes. Harington is full of this fault.

CHURCH. The following instances are nearer to the point: 3. 11. 47. 8, 9; and 4. 2. 41. 4, 5. . . . A parallel instance is . . . 6. 3. 21. 8, 9. But as they are all triplets, the poet (as I have already observed) seems to have been less solicitous about the rhyme than the words, which, particularly in the present instance, are, I think, aptly chosen. By "name" in the eighth line, is meant "appellation";—the last line it signifies "character." Spenser had more exalted notions of courtesy than what were usually affixed to the court-like or courteous behaviour of a court. Comely courtesie (says he, st. 4. 3)

though it on a lonely stalke doe bowre,
Yet brancheth forth in brave nobilitie,
And spreads itselfe through all civilitie.

Alluding to this, he afterwards pays the highest compliment to his Princess:

Curtesie (says he)
. . . meriteth indeede an higher Name:
Yet so, from low to high, uplifted is your Name.

As if he had said—I would willingly find out some higher name or appellation than that of courtesie, whereby to express that humble, affable, obliging disposition which so eminently distinguishes your name or character from all the amiable characters in all antiquity.

C. VAN WINKLE (*Epithalamion*, p. 131) notes, nearly 200 identical rhymes in Spenser, of which over 130 are in *F. Q.* A number of these occur, as here, in lines 8-9 of the stanza. In this book he overlooked 2. 5-7 above; cf. his note on *Epithalamion* 30, 4.

vii. Cf. 5. Pr. 11.

6-7. UPTON. As all rivers come from the sea (*Ecclesiastes* 1. 7), so from you, O queen, all goodly virtues do originally pour themselves (doe well) into the rest of the nobility, which do ring (or make a ring) round about you; i. e. which surround your throne: "qui te coronâ factâ circumstant: qui te coronant." So perhaps 'tis to be understood, rather than, which doe ring, or make a wide report round

about you. However, let the reader please himself, and make some allowance for jingling rhymes.

HEISE (p. 130) cites Chaucer, *House of Fame* 3. 892-4; Shakespeare, *Lucrece* 652.

7. CHURCH. Alluding to the Ring at Court.

CANTO I

Arg. 4. PAULINE HENLEY (*Spenser in Ireland*, p. 127) thinks the name Briana is from the Irish Brian. [Cf. Brianor, 4. 4. 40. 9.]

i. R. HURD (*Letters on Chivalry and Romance*, p. 207). For Faery Court means the reign of Chivalry; which, it seems, had undergone a fatal revolution before the age of Milton, who tells us that Courtesy [*Comus* 322-5]

. . . is sooner found in lonely [lowly] sheds
With smoaky rafters, than in tap'stry halls
And courts of princes, where it first was nam'd,
And yet is most pretended.

1-2. See Appendix, pp. 329, 338, 340.

1. UPTON. To this etymology of courtesy he alludes in *F. Q.* 3. 6. 1. [6] where he calls the court "The great schoole mistresse of all curtesy." And Milton has the same allusion in his *Mask* [321-6 quoted]. . . . See Junius in "Courtesie."

6. EDITOR (F. M. P.). That Spenser was intimately acquainted with Stefano Guazzo's *La Civile Conversatione* (translated by George Pettie and Bartholomew Young, 1581, 1586), and indeed that there is far more affinity between Spenser and Guazzo than between Spenser and Castiglione, a dissertation recently completed at the University of Washington by Dr. J. Leon Lievsay makes abundantly clear. In this line may there be a reminiscence of Guazzo's book? By "ciuill conversation" Spenser, like Guazzo, doubtless has in mind correct conduct in all man's relationships with his fellows.

ii-iii. UPTON (2. 657). Methinks by no far-fetcht allusions, we might discover pictured out to us that truly courteous knight Sir Philip Sidney, in the character of Sir Calidore; whose name Καλλιόδωρος leads us to consider the many graceful and goodly endowments that heaven peculiarly gave him. This is that "brave courtier" mentioned by our poet in another poem [*Mother Hubberds Tale* 717-793]. With this hint given, who can help thinking of Sidney's *Arcadia*, when he finds Sir Calidore misspending his time among the Shepherds. [See Appendix, pp. 327, 349-50.]

ii. TODD. It is not improbable that Calidore, so much celebrated for his courtesy, was painted by Spenser not without an eye on the hero of Alamanni's poem, *Gyrone Il Cortese*.

SIR F. MADDEN (*Syr Gawayne*, p. xli). Indeed there can be little doubt that Gawayne was the prototype which furnished to Spenser the character of his Sir Calidore. [St. quoted.]

5-7. UPTON. 2 Samuel 15. 6: "So Absalom stole the hearts of the men of Israel." See *F. Q.* [6.] 2. 3. [4.] See likewise his elegy called *Astrophel* [21-2], by whom he means Sir P. Sidney.

That all mens harts with secret ravishment
He stole away.

This is a beauty that Homer and Virgil ascribe to their heroes. [C. G. O. The image is a favorite with Spenser.]

[See Appendix, pp. 330-1, 351, 355, 361, 388.]

iii. 8. Cf. *Mother Hubberds Tale* 733: "He hates fowle leasings, and vile flatterie."

iv. 4-5. See Appendix, p. 319.

9. "breathe." KURT BOEHM (*Spensers Verbalflexion*, p. 14) cites only thirteen other instances of this archaic pres. 3rd pers. pl. form in the *F. Q.*, of which five are in Book I. It is common, however, in *Sh. Cal.*, especially in the "moral" eclogues where it outnumbers the usual form five to one.

vi. 2. EDITOR (F. M. P.). The adjective "endlesse" had a peculiar fascination for Spenser and he employs it no less than seventy-two times. See the *Concordance*.

7. UPTON. Compare 6. 2. 37.

vii-x. See Appendix, pp. 326, 351.

vii-viii. UPTON. See note on *F. Q.* 5. 12. 37. [7 in Book V, p. 267] and 6. 12. 39. Scandal and calumny under the similitude of a beast is agreeable to the stile of Daniel and St. John; where we find ravenous and tyrannical power thus frequently imaged. But is Sir Calidore here mistaken, or the Hermit in 6. 6. 9, etc.? The former says this beast was begotten of Cerberus and Chimaera; the latter of Typhaon and Echidna. [See notes below by JORTIN, UPTON, and others on canto 6, stanzas 9 to 11, and Appendix, p. 388.]

vii. WARTON (MS. note in ed. of 1617 in British Museum, C. 28. m. 7). In *Morte Arthur*. [See his note below on 12. 27 ff. See Appendix, pp. 326, 382.]

2. TODD. This pursuit occurs in the *Hist. of K. Arthur*, and also in the old romance of *le Cheualier aux armes dorée*. . . . [See notes on 12. 27 ff. below.]

viii. 1-2. LOTSPEICH (p. 46). Although elsewhere (6. 6. 9) Typhaon and Echidna are its parents, the inconsistency is only one of detail, for Cerberus and Chimaera were themselves born of Typhaon and Echidna (*Theog.* 308 f.) and either pair, as hellish monsters of the Stygian fen, would serve Spenser's purpose.

4. See notes on 2. 5. 22. 7 in Book II, p. 237.

9. EDITORS. This accumulation of terms, or synathrismus, as the rhetoricians call it, occurs at least twenty times in Book VI, and often throughout Spenser. For a more striking example see below (12. 31. 8).

Like Chaucer and the other poets of his day, Spenser and his contemporaries knew the value of rhetoric to their art. In the course of his education Spenser was well disciplined in both the doctrine and the use of rhetoric as they were inherited from the medieval schools; and from his earliest experiments "our new Poete" fortified his technique with rhetorical tropes and schemes. As his creative power grew and his technique became more expert we should expect him to dispense with such artifices; but in work as late as Book VI the rhetorical habit is still strong upon him.

Among many other rhetorical "schemes" or arrangements of words in Book VI are the following: anaphora, or repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of successive clauses or lines, 12. 27. 2-5 (about 30 times in Book VI); anadiplosis, or repetition of the last word of one clause at the beginning of the next, 3. 4. 4-5; 5. 16. 9-17. 1 (about 20 times); chiasmus, 9. 1. 2-3; epanalepsis, or the same word at the beginning and end of a sentence, 9. 21. 4; antanaclasis, or repetition of a word in a different sense, 4. 32. 7; synathrismus, or congeries, enumerating various particulars or items of like nature, 12. 31. 8 (about 20 times); gradatio, or climax, repetition from clause to successive clause with progress in meaning, 9. 3. 6-9; epanorthosis, or correction of preceding statement, 1. 25. 1. A study of Spenser's knowledge and use of rhetoric and its value in his poetry is being completed by Mr. Herbert David Rix.

ix. 1. UPTON. In which island he rescued Irene. [Cf. 5. 11. 39. 3; 5. 12. 37.] How plainly does the poet point at Ireland in the historical view of this poem, and alludes to the calumny and false accusations flung on Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton?

xi ff. UPTON. The first adventure that Sir Calidore meets with is exactly like the first adventure of Don Quixote. I believe both Spenser and Cervantes had some old romance in their view.

xi-xlvii. For the antecedents of this episode in history and romance, see Appendix, pp. 365-371.

xii. 5-6. W. L. RENWICK (*Edmund Spenser*, p. 160, n. 3) cites Seneca, *Epist.* 35. The reference seems to be wrong, but the thought is Senecan.

xiii ff. A. H. GILBERT (*PMLA* 34. 232). The "custome lewd and ill" of Briana bears some resemblance to the "costuma ria" of Marganor. She disgraces knights by shaving off their beards, and ladies by cutting off their hair; he disgraces ladies by cutting off their garments (*Orl. Fur.* 37. 42). Cf. 2 Samuel 10. 4.

xiii. WARTON (1. 24-6). This romance [*Morte d'Arthur*] supplied our author with the story of the mantle made of the beards of knights, and locks of ladies. (Immense Beards seem to have had a wonderful influence in the proper œconomy of an enchantment. Thus we see the barber, who was to personate the Squire of the Princess of Micomicona has "una gran barba . . .," *Don Quixote* 1. 3. 26.) The last circumstance is added by Spenser. Thus in *Morte Arthur* 1. 24: "Came a messenger—saying, that king Ryence had discomfited, and overcomen eleaven knights, and everiche of them did him homage; and that was this; they gave him their beards cleane flayne of as much as there was: wherefore the mes-

senger came for king Arthur's berd: for king Ryence had purfeled a mantell with king's beards, and there lacked for one place of the mantell. Wherefore he sent for his berd; or else hee would enter into his lands, and brenn and sley, and never leave, till he have thy head and beard." After this passage we have an antient ballad (this is also printed in P. Enderbury's *Cambria Triumphans*, Lond., p. 197), the subject of which is this insolent demand of king Ryence. Drayton, in his *Polyolbion* (Song 4), speaks of a coat composed of the beards of kings. He is celebrating king Arthur [ed. 1613, p. 62]:

As how great Rithout's [Rythou's] self, he slew in his repair
And ravisht Howel's niece, young Helena the fair.
And for a trophie brought the giant's coat away,
Made of the beards of kings.

But Drayton, in these lines, manifestly alludes to a passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth (10. 13); who informs us, that a Spanish giant, named Ritho, having forcibly conveyed away from her guard Helena the niece of duke Hoel, possessed himself of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, from whence he made frequent sallies, and committed various outrages; that, at last, king Arthur conquered this giant, and took from him a certain coat, which he had been composing of the beards of kings, a vacant place being left for king Arthur's beard. [Cf. below note on 6. 35. 3-9.]

WARTON (2. 223-4). I have observed above [1. 24-6], that an old song is printed in *Morte Arthur*, on which this fiction was partly founded. But this is a mistake, arising from my finding that song written upon an inserted leaf, before the twenty-fourth chapter of the first book of the Bodleian copy of that romance. (And also from the ambiguous expressions of the passage cited, p. 32, v. 1: "A minstrell cam forth with a solemn song, warranted for story out of king *Arthur's Acts*; the first book, 24 [leg. 23], etc." i. e. the story, not the song, was in king *Arthur's Acts*. However, the doctrine I endeavour to prove from that quotation, is equally illustrated by this sense.) This I looked upon as a manuscript supplement of a leaf torn out. It is there entitled, "In Imitation of old Rhyme." At the end is this note. "This was found pasted on the inside of the cover of a great bible, in the earl of Shrewsbury's study, some years since. But it is likewise printed in P. Enderbie's (Enderbury's) *British and Welch Antiquities*; though not well."

2. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Such "streights," like the pass of Dunloe near Killarney or the pass of Keimaneigh west of Cork, must have been familiar to the poet.

xv. 1. J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 101). Crudor is from the Latin *crudus*, rough or cruel.

xxi. 1-5. HEISE (p. 132) cites Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 219 ff.; *Aen.* 2. 496 ff.

xxiii. 6-8. As at 5. 10. 36-7.

xxiv. 4. Cf. note on 7. 6. 28. 6-9 below.

xxv-xxviii. EDITOR (F. M. P.). The harsh, staccato utterances of Briana and the gentle, flowing speech of Calidore furnish a most effective contrast and serve to throw the characters into sharp relief.

xxvi. One is tempted to see here the gentle Spenser's defense of himself for approving the stern policies of Lord Grey.

xxvii-xxviii. Calidore is ever the courteous knight and in this trying situation obeys his own injunction (2. 14. 8-9):

For knights and all men this by nature haue,
Towards all womenkind them kindly to behaue.

xxix. 2. See also 5. 5. 34. 2 for the ring as a token.

xxx. 1, 3. C. VAN WINKLE (*Spenser's Epithalamion*, p. 131) cites sixteen instances of this rhyme in *F. Q.*, of which five are in this book and five in Book I.

4. EDITOR (F. M. P.). In the earlier books Spenser had conceived of pride as (1) the self-absorbed pride of pomp and luxury, and (2) malevolent pride. The first is illustrated by the "pompous" pride of Persia, its nurse (1. 4. 7. 6), of Philotime (2. 7. 44. 9), and of Cybele (4. 11. 28. 4), the "wastfull" pride of the covetous (1. 5. 46. 5), the "wicked" pride of the profligate (1. 5. 51. 4); the second by the arrogant and presumptuous pride of Orgoglio (1. 7. 10. 1-3), the "indignant" (insulting) pride of Sanglier (5. 1. 23. 5), and the "sdeignfull" pride of Radigund (5. 4. 43. 3). It is this second type of pride that Spenser has so constantly in mind in Book VI, since it is the very antithesis of courtesy. So there is the "scornfull" pride of Briana (1. 30. 4) and of Turpine (3. 47. 5), the "despiteous" pride of the knight who abuses his lady (2. 40. 6) and of Mirabella (7. 38. 7), the "forward" pride of the two young knights who sell their services to Turpine (7. 6. 5), and the "ouerweening" pride of Disdain (7. 42. 4).

5. See notes on 4. 6. 17. 1, in Book IV, p. 200, where "metaphysical" should read "metaphorical."

7-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). A point of coincidence between Calidore and Guyon, and of assertion that Courtesy is a virtue, and partakes much of the other virtues. Cf. above Pr. 3. 2; 7. 2; 1. 1. 4; below 2. 1. 1.

xxxi. 1. See VAN WINKLE's note on *Epithalamion* 19; UPTON's on 3. 10. 1. 1-2, in Book III, p. 283.

4-5. UPTON. 2 Samuel 3. 35: "So do God to me, and more also, if I taste bread, or ought else, till the sun be down."

xxxii. 5. EDITOR (C. G. O.). In this episode, as in other parts of the Book (cf. 5. 4-6; 11. 25-32, below), Spenser illustrates such characteristics of the courteous man as self-possession and infectious cheerfulness and good manners; and of the boor such characteristics as the habit of voluble, noisy abuse and complaint, and the lack of feeling.

xxxvii. 7-8. As in 3. 4. 2. 5-6; 5. 12. 20. 7; 6. 7. 15. 5; 6. 7. 17. 5-6. Cf. also 6. 5. 5. 3. Spenser showed unwearying delight in this form of hyperbole, so akin to the childlike naïveté of the old romances, or, for that matter, to the gross imagery of the sports column.

xxxviii. C. VAN WINKLE, in his edition of *Epithalamion*, p. 132, notes forty-

seven stanzas in the *F. Q.* which contain only two rhymes. Others in Book VI: 1. 38; 2. 39; 3. 16; and two in Book VII: 7. 28; 7. 44.

xxxix. 5-6. See UPTON's note on 1. 3. 37. 1 in Book I, p. 211, and cf. 5. 5. 11. 9.

xli-xlii. See Appendix, p. 328.

xli. UPTON. Cf. *F. Q.* 2. 5. 15[. 6-9].

5-6. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 541). Cf. Matthew 7. 5.

7-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Both thought and phrase occur also in *Amoretti* 58.

xlii. 1-2. TODD. See James 2. 13: "For he shall have judgement without mercy that hath shewed no mercy; and mercy rejoiceth against judgement." [And Matthew 5. 7.]

xliii. 6. Cf. *View of Ireland*, Globe ed., p. 634. See notes on 5. 8. 14. 7 in Book V, p. 225, where Gough's reference to the *View of Ireland*, Globe ed., p. 634 incorrectly reads p. 674.

xlvi. 1-2. EDITOR (F. M. P.). For other expressions of the chivalric sentiment that good deeds are their own reward, see 2. 3. 10; 2. 8. 56; 3. 1. 13. 6; 3. 10. 31. 7-9; 3. 12. 39; 5. 11. 17. 7-9, and notes in Book V, p. 256. The theme is a favorite with Spenser; he elaborates it particularly in the Mammon episode in 2. 7 (cf. especially stanzas 9, 10, 17, 33), and in the case of Munera in 15. 2 (cf. stanza 23); also see below 9. 33. Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation* 3. 94, observes that gentlemen do not undertake services "upon constraunt or necessity, as the baser sort do, but are naturally given that way, not pitching their marke at vyle gayne, as the others doe, but at honour and renowne."

CANTO II

i. Cf. Guazzo (*The Civile Conversation* 2. 114): "For if in conversation all of us shoulde behave our selves in one sorte towards all, we shoulde soone come to the chiefe point of our purpose. It is very true, there are some generall thinges which every one ought to observe towards every one indifferently . . . but my desire is chiefly, that wee come to consider the divers meanes which wee ought to use, in using companie, according to the diversitie of persons. . . . And thereby wee shall perceive, that as a man of good judgement, such as your selfe, writeth not in one selfe manner and wordes to his betters, equals, and inferiours, so wee in our conversation ought to proceed with the same judgement, to put difference betwene causes and parties which are not equall."—Note supplied by J. Leon Lievsay.

See Appendix, pp. 335, 341, 345.

4. UPTON. So in 1. 10. 7. 5: "And knew his good to all of each degree." [Cf. also 4. 3. 2. 6-7; 4. 10. 51. 4; 6. 10. 23. 7.]

ii. Cf. 8. 20. 3-4 below; also 6. 43. 1-3 and note, and Appendix, p. 331.

2-4. JORTIN. What is here said with great simplicity and homeliness of style by Spenser, is politely and elegantly expressed in these lines, in a poem printed amongst those of Tibullus 4. 2. 7:

Illam quicquid agit, quoque vestigia movit,
Componit furtim subsequiturque decor.

9. UPTON. Morals and manners acquired by practice and habit.

iv. 7-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Cf. 5. 3. 8. 8-9. Such paralyzing wonder Spenser frequently records. Usually it freezes the action momentarily into a tableau, which is often reinforced with an extended simile.

v. 6-7. WARTON (2. 21). It would be difficult to prove that a manufacture of green cloth subsisted at Lincoln, in the fairy reign of Arthur. By the way, Skelton mentions this colour in *Elinor Ruming*. It is also found in Drayton's *Polyolbion* [26th song, ed. 1623, pt. 2, p. 122]. It is the same sort of absurdity to describe the walls of Castle Joyeous (3. 1. 34) as adorned with costly tapestry made at the cities of Arras and Toure.

CHURCH. Shakespear (*1 Henry IV* [2. 4. 246, 257]) speaks of "doublets of Kendal greene." And I should suppose either colour was distinguish'd by its particular shades, as is our modern Saxon green.

TODD. Drayton, in his *Pastorals*, has also drawn the shepherd's mistress Daffadil in a dress of this kind [ed. 1619, p. 469]:

She's in a frock of Lincoln green,
Which colour likes her sight.

See also this garb noticed in Ritson's edition of *Robin Hood* 1. xxxviii ff. I doubt whether the following expression, in the old Scottish poem of *Christs Kirk on the Green*, may be admitted to mean the green cloth in question. The damsels are making ready for the dance, and are thus dressed, st. 2:

Thir gluvis war of the raffal right,
Thir shoon war o' the straits.
Thir kirtles were of Lincome light,
Weel prest wi' mony plaits.

Mr. Callander, the editor of the poem in 1782, suspects "Lincome" to be not rightly copied from the manuscript. May we suppose it, then, a corruption of "Lincolne"? Lincolne light, a light green.

vii. 4-5. UPTON. Calidore saw by his accoutrements he was no knight: 'twas contrary therefore to the law of arms for him to fight any knight, or to undertake any chivalrous adventure. Cervantes has made Don Quixote to disturb himself much on this reflection, namely, that he who was no knight should presume to commence knight-errant: he therefore gets himself dubbed a knight, before he sallies forth to fight giants, knights, or wind-mills.

viii. 8. See note on 36. 3 below.

ix. EDITOR (C. G. O.). How often in Spenser people of quality are bred, born, or reared in primitive or wild conditions. Such are the Red Cross Knight, Satyrane, Amoret and Belphebe, the Savage Man, and, here, Tristram—instances to be remembered in reaching any conclusions about Spenser's social ideas.

xi. 9. TODD. He also uses the accent on the first syllable of "chastize," *F. Q.* 5. 12. 43. 3. [See note on 5. 6. 14 in Book V, p. 209.]

xvi-xxiii. J. W. MACKAIL (*The Springs of Helicon*, pp. 125-6) cites this as one of "Spenser's strange lapses into bald prose" and says "it is all as bad as bad can be; . . . [quotes 22. 1-6.] Doll Tearsheet might talk so: did talk so in fact, the very next year, in the squalid but powerful scene where she makes her last appearance on Shakespeare's stage."

xxiii. 7-9. W. RIEDNER (*Spensers Belesenheit*, p. 13) cites Proverbs 26. 27; Psalms 7. 16; 9. 16; 57. 7 [6].

EDITOR. The lines echo a theme from Book V; cf. the episode of the Sultan and Adicia in canto 8; also 5. 9. 1.

8. TODD. "Proud and hault." Shakespeare and Milton have used the same reduplication. See *Rich. III* 2. 3. [28]:

And the queen's sons and brothers, haught and proud.

And Milton's Transl. of Psalm 80. 35:

And drov'st out nations proud and haut.

EDITOR. Cf. also Sir Thomas Elyot's *Governour*, 1531, 2. 5: "A proude and haulte countenaunce."

xxiv. See Appendix, p. 329.

xxv. 4. SAWTELLE (p. 20). Apollo. Such was the commonly accepted belief among the ancients, in support of which may be cited *Theog.* 918.

4-5. EDITOR (C. G. O.). See notes on 2. 12. 13 in Book II, p. 357. This seems to be a reminiscence of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 140-164, where Apollo is represented as delighting to roam craggy Mount Cynthus in the island of Delos, and rejoicing in "the girls of Delos, hand-maidens of the Far-shooter," though in the hymn these are the maidens who celebrate him there in later times.

xxviii-xxxii. WARTON (1. 19-21). As to Sir Tristram, he has copied from this book [*Morte d'Arthur*] the circumstances of his birth and education with much exactness. Spenser informs us that Sir Tristram was born in Cornwall. . . .

These particulars are drawn from the romance above mentioned [8. 1]. "There was a knight Meliodas (Meliogras), and he was lord and king of the country of Lyones—and he wedded king Markes sister of Cornewale." The issue of which marriage, as we are afterwards told, was Sir Tristram. Mention is then made in our romance, of Sir Tristram's banishment from Lyones into a distant country, by the advice, and under the conduct, of a wise and learned counsellor named Governale. A circumstance alluded to by Spenser in these verses [st. 30 quoted]. Sir Tristram's education is thus described below [stanzas 31-2 quoted].

All this is agreeable to what is related in the romance. After mention being made of Tristram's having learned the language of France, courtly behaviour, and skill in chivalry, we read the following passage [8. 3]: "As he growed in might and strength, he laboured ever in hunting and hawking; so that we never read of no gentleman, more, that so used himselfe therein.—And he began good measures of blowing of blasts of venery (hunting) and chase, and of all manner of vermeins; and all these termes have we yet of hawking and hunting, and therefore the booke of venery, of hawking and hunting, is called *The Book of Sir Tristram*." And in another place King Arthur thus addresses Sir Tristram [10. 6]: "For of all manner of hunting thou bearest the prise; and of all measures of blowing thou art the beginner; and of all the termes of hunting and hawking ye are the beginner." [See also 10. 5.]

UPTON. There is scarce a romance but mentions Sir Tristram de Lyones, one of the knights of the round table. From *Amadis de Gaul* we learn the name of the uncourteous knight here slain, and of the lady rescued: in 4. 34 'tis mentioned that Bravor le Brun was slain by Sir Tristram, as he conducted fayre Yseult, wife of K. Marke, into Cornwall. Compare the *History of Prince Arthur* [Malory 8. 25-6]. She is called Beale Isoud. And to the story told in the *History of Prince Arthur* (viz. in [8.] 24) Gower alludes, fol. 30. 2 [6. 470-475]:

In everie mans mouth it is,
How Tristram was of love dronke
With Bele Isold, when thei dronke
The drinke, which Bragweine hem betoke,
Or that king Marke his eme hir toke
To wife, as it was after knowe.

xxix. 2. UPTON. Our poet varies from the history of Prince Arthur: for he has a story to tell of his own. [In Malory (8. 1) Tristram's mother is named Elizabeth.]

8-9. R. E. N. DODGE (Cambridge edition). "where as no need, etc.": where I should not necessarily give him occasion to feed his suspicious ("doubtfull") humor on fears of danger.

xxx. 4. COLLIER. The following, from R. Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, 1602 [p. 3], supported by the authority of Camden, will make clear this part of Spenser's poem: ["Lastly, the encroaching Sea hath rauined from it, the whole countrie of *Lionnesse*, together with diuers other parcels of no little circuite, and that such a *Lionnesse* there was, these proofes are yet remaining. The space between the lands end, and the Iles of *Scilley*, being about thirtie miles, to this day retaineth that name, in Cornish *Lethowsow*."] It is said that ruins are still to be seen below the waters which separate the Scilly Isles.

9. That is, nearly seven years; cf. above 5. 4.

xxxii. 1-4. PAULINE HENLEY (*Spenser in Ireland*, pp. 95-6). The aristocratic pastime of hawking may have provided relaxation for his [Spenser's] leisured moments, for Ireland at the period was famous for its hawks, which were valued so highly that they were sent as gifts to princes and nobles. ("The hawks of

Ireland, called Goshawks, are much esteemed in England, and they are sought out by many and all means to be transported thither." — Fynes Morison.) [See HENLEY's note on 7. 9 below.]

EDITOR. For Spenser's interest in falconry, cf. below 4. 19. 7-9; 8. 28. 4-5 and note; 49. 9; note on 9. 23 below; 10. 6. 8-9 and note; 7. 7. 21 and note; see notes on 5. 5. 15 in Book V, p. 202, and notes on 3. 4. 49. 4-9 in Book III, p. 243; on 3. 10. 35. 7-8 in Book III, p. 286; also 4. 19. 7-9; and on 5. 2. 54 in Book V, p. 181.

xxxiii. 4. TODD. When the youths, in the days of chivalry, emerged from the state of childhood, they were first employed as pages; a name sometimes given to the squires. But, properly speaking, the situations of page and squire were not the same. For, from the employment of pages, they were advanced to that of squires; and, before they were advanced to the latter, "religion had introduced a sort of ceremony, the design of which was to teach him the use he was to make of the sword, which for the first time was put into his hands. The young man, on his quitting the place of page, was presented to the altar by his father and mother, who, each holding a lighted taper in their hands, attended the solemnity. The officiating priest took from the altar a sword and a girdle, on which he bestowed several benedictions, and then fastened it to the side of the young man, who from that time constantly wore it." See Mrs. Dobson's translation of De St. Palaye's *Mem. of Anc. Chivalry*, p. 10. Hence appears the propriety of Tristram's expressions, "That from henceforth I may beare armes"; and "the use of armes I have not tasted yet, yet am past the age and condition of a boy," that is, of a page.

xxxiv. 4. See note on 36. 3 below.

xxxv. 1-5. UPTON. There were various ways of dubbing a knight. One was to arm him from head to foot: but this being too tedious, a more expeditious way was thought of, e. g. by girding on the sword, by putting on the spurs, by embracing, by striking flattling with a sword, etc.

7-9. As if continuing the image of Pr. 3-4 above.

xxxvi. 3. CHURCH calls attention to "Child Rowland to the dark tower came" in Shakespeare's *King Lear* 3. 4. 187. He cites also "Chylde Thopas" in *F. Q.* 3. 7. 48. 4, but there is no mention of Thopas there or elsewhere in the *Faerie Queene*, though there is probably a reference to *Sir Thopas* in the second line of the stanza (see note in Book III, p. 266). Church was probably remembering Chaucer's "Child Thopas" in *Sir Thopas* 2020.

See 4. 8. 44. 8; 5. 11. 8. 8; 6. 2. 8. 8; 6. 2. 34. 4; and 6. 8. 15. 7. NED gives one definition of "child": "A youth of gentle birth: used in ballads and the like, as a kind of title." It also cites Freeman's *Norman Conquest* (1. 5. 374 note) to the effect that "cild" in Old English was a title of dignity, and continues: "In the 13th and 14th centuries 'child' appears to have been applied to a young noble awaiting knighthood: e. g. in the romances of Ipomydon, Sir Tryamour, Torrent of Portugal, etc." Cf. COLLIER's note on 5. 11. 8. 8 in Book V, p. 255.

"Infant" is used similarly at 2. 8. 56. 1 (see notes in Book II, p. 278); 2. 11. 25. 7; 6. 8. 25. 1 and notes.

xxxvii. 2. See notes on 5. 9. 19. 7 in Book V, p. 236.

xxxix. See note on 1. 38 above.

3-5. JORTIN. Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 618.

Ille Deae donis et tanto laetus honore,
Expleri nequit, atque oculos per singula volvit,
Miraturque, interque manus et bracchia versat
Terribilem cristis galeam. . . .

Which also is copied from Homer.

3-5. UPTON. As Sir Tristram feeds his greedy eyes with the bright spoils and goodly armour of this knight, handling and turning them a thousand ways; so Mandricardo pleased his fancy in viewing the radiant arms of Hector, *Orl. Inn.* 3. 2. 33 [28]:

Forbite eran quell' armi e luminose,
Che l'occhio appena soffre di vederle,
Fregiate d'oro, e pietre preziose,
De rubini, e smeraldi, e grosse perle:
Mandricardo le voglie avea bramose,
E mill' anni gli pare indosso averle,
Se le volge per man, si maraviglia.

It seems to me that Mr. Pope, when he translated that beautiful passage in Homer, where Thetis brings to her son his arms, just as they came from the forge of Vulcan, had his eye on this passage of Spenser; for he uses his words: the verses are very harmonious, and well worth transcribing (*Iliad* 19. 15):

Then drops the radiant burthen on the ground;
Clang the strong arms, and ring the shores around.
Back shrink the Myrmidons with dread surprize,
And from the broad effulgence turn their eyes.
Unmov'd the hero kindles at the show,
And feels with rage divine his bosom glow;
From his fierce eye-balls living flames expire,
And flash incessant like a stream of fire.
He turns the radiant gift; and feeds his mind
On all th'immortal artist had design'd.

3. See notes on 3. 9. 27. 8 in Book III, p. 279.

xl. 6. See note on 1. 30. 4 above.

xli-xliv. The details of st. 41 are like those in 2. 1. 56; st. 42 resembles 2. 1. 14, and st. 44 is like 2. 1. 18.

xli. 1. Priscilla had, it seems, returned from her flight in st. 20.

xlvi. 1-6. See 1. 3. 30. 6-8; 1. 9. 52-3 for the same idea.

xlvi. 1-7. UPTON. The heroes of antiquity used their shields oftentimes to carry off the wounded, or dead, from battle. There are instances of this custom

both in Homer and Virgil: in Milton likewise, *P. L.* 6. 337, Satan when wounded is borne on the shields of his party from off the files of war. Sir Calidore puts his buckler to this ancient and no ignoble use. Take notice too of that balm which he had long provided himself with, according to the good custom of ancient knight-errants. This custom is mentioned in a note on *F. Q.* 1. 9. 18 [see note in Book I, p. 268]. . . . The simplicity of the stile seems an imitation of the scriptural language. . . .

3. UPTON. See Luke 11. 34.

9. A. H. GILBERT (*PMLA* 34. 232) notes this as a conclusion in Ariosto's manner; also in this Book conclusions of cantos 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10. These are common in the last three books: IV has ten; V has five; but Book I has only one, Book II none, Book III two.

CANTO III

i. UPTON. Compare this beginning with *F. Q.* 6. 7. 1. But what good poet does he mean? Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Tale* 1113-8:

Lo! who that is most vertuous alway
Privy and apert, and most tendith aye
To do the gentle dedis that he can,
Takith him for the gretist gentleman,
Crist woll we claim of him of our gentilness,
Not of our elders for their old richness.

Ibid. 1168-1170:

Redith Seneca, and redith eke Boece,
These shall ye sene express, that it no drede is,
He is gentil which that doth gentil dedis.

EDITOR. Sir Gurney Benham in his *Book of Quotations*, p. 367a, identifies the "good poet" as Chaucer and cites the quotations given by Upton.

6-9. UPTON. 'Tis very plain he has Horace in view . . . *Odes* 4. 4. [29-32]:

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis,
Est in juvencis, est in equis patrum
Virtus; nec imbellem feroces
Progenerant aquilae columbam.

As he says here, that the gentle heart is seen in doing gentle deeds: so in the beginning of Canto 7[. 1], he says the baser heart is seen in discourteous deeds. *Orl. Fur.* 36. 1:

Convien, ch' ovunque sia, sempre cortese
Sia un cor gentil, ch' esser non può altramente,
Che per natura, e per habito prese
Quel, che di mutar poi non è possente.
Convien, ch' ovunque sia sempre palese
Un cor villan si mostri similmente.
Natura inchina al male; e vienne a farsi
L'habito poi difficile à mutarsi.

[See Appendix, pp. 327-330.]

HEISE (p. 97) cites *Orl. Fur.* 31. 33; Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women* 8. 2; *Monk's Prologue* 67-8.

iii. 1-2. See Appendix, p. 337.

4. UPTON. Reason, or the reasoning faculty, is called in scripture, the candle of the Lord: 'tis that light which inwardly is given to every man to conduct him through life; and is often dimmed with weak age, and bodily infirmities. [See Proverbs 20. 27; and *NED.*]

8. UPTON. I. e. on his back, by a figure called Synecdoche.

9. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 220). Aladino in Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 1. 83, is an aged king of Jerusalem, suspicious and cruel under the crisis of the Christian attack. [Cf. below note on 15. 1.]

iv. 6-9. WARTON (2. 224). In like manner Evander mourns over his son Pallas (*Aen.* 11. 149): "Feretrum Pallanta repostum." But these exclamations are somewhat similar to those which Aeneas, in the same book, utters over Pallas (11. 54):

Hi nostri reditus, expectatique triumphi,
Haec mea magna fides. . . .

UPTON cites also *Aen.* 9. 481.

v. 7. See WARTON's note on 5. 9. 29. 9 in Book V, p. 241.

xi. 1-2. Cf. 1. 3. 21. 2 and note in Book I, p. 208.

3. Cf. 1. 2. 5. 1; 5. 3. 18. 2-7, and see note on 4. 2. 17. 1-2 in Book IV, p. 175.

xiii. 5. A favorite word-order in Spenser, as VAN WINKLE observes. See his note on *Epithalamion* 19 for twelve instances.

7. See notes on 4. 6. 17. 1 in Book IV, p. 200; also 5. 4. 2. 7.

xv. 1. UPTON (MS. note in copy of his ed. in British Museum). "Aldine." A name in Tasso 7. 51.

xvi. See note on 1. 38 above.

8. UPTON. Courtesy and good manners require us oftentimes to keep back some part of a story and to gloss over some other parts: so Ulysses vindicates the behaviour of Nausicaa in Homer, *Od.* 7. [302-7]. Horace [*Carm.* 3. 11. 35] calls Hypermetra, "splendide mendax." Truth in words may be right; Truth in benevolence must be so. Maximus Tyrius [*Dissertation* 29]: "The Physician may lye to his patient; the general to his soldiers, provided it be for their good: Truth has been injurious, and even falsehood a benefit to mankind."

EDITOR. But see 5. 11. 56. 6-9. See also 4. 38. 3-9 and note below, and Appendix, pp. 340-1.

xvii. 6. See 5. 1. 26-8, where Sangliere is ordered by Artegall to bear "in his breast" the head of the lady he had wrongfully slain. St. 28, lines 8-9:

And with it beare the burden of defame;
Your owne dead Ladies head, to tell abroad your shame.

Cf. notes on 5. 1. 26. 6-9 in Book V, p. 168.

xviii. See Appendix, pp. 340-41.

4. Cf. 5. 8. 14. 7 and WARTON'S note, Book V, p. 225.

xxiii. 5. CHILD. Flowers of such variety (perhaps of such diversity of colors) as to afford rare pleasure.

xxvi. 8. EDITOR (F. M. P.). Spenser is rather conservative in the use of assonance. In Book VI, I have noticed only this line and 7. 41. 3.

9. Exit Calidore till 9. 2.

xxviii. 6. Cf. 6. 7. 6. 2 and note below.

xxix. 2. TODD. "This inne." Browne has adopted the same expression, *Brit. Past.* 1. 49, ed. 1616:

Now had the glorious Sunne tane up his Inne

Mr. Warton has remarked, that "inne" for "habitation," "seat," or "recess," is much used by Spenser; and that, in the poet's age, this word had not acquired the vulgar idea which it bears in modern language. In Chaucer, I may add, it is repeatedly used for "habitation." So likewise after Spenser's time, in *Partheneia Sacra*, 8vo. 1633, p. 151: "As they [the palm-tree and phoenix] sympathize much, the phenix will lightly take up his inne no where els." [Spenser uses the word nine times. See the *Concordance*.]

6. Same cadence at 1. 1. 34. 2.

xxx ff. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 203). Turpine is modelled on Pinabello, and Blandina, though of different character from Pinabello's *meretrice*, might be set beside her in vice. This episode might be compared with *Orl. Fur.* 20. 110 ff.

xxxi. 7. TODD. The word "peasant" appears to have been formerly used to express the most sovereign contempt of a person. Thus, in *Arden of Feversham*, 1599, Sign. A4^v: "Base peasant, get thee gone." Again, Sign. B2^v:

Why what art thou now but a velvet drudge,
A cheating steward, and base-minded peasant.

Shakespeare uses it in the same way.

EDITOR. The *NED* gives four examples to 1601 of "peasant" used as a term of abuse, two from Shakespeare. Neither Spenser nor *Arden of Feversham* is cited.

It is a nice observation on Spenser's part that the pretender to breeding should be first to call the thoroughbred a carl, and assert his own pretense, in the moment of bewraying his turpitude.

xxxii. 9-xxxiii. 1. See note on 7. 26. 9-27. 1 below.

xxxiv. 1. Between stanzas 33 and 34 Turpine and Blandina have forded the stream, apparently in advance of Calepine. Perhaps a stanza is missing.

xxxviii. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 203). Cf. *Orl. Fur.* 32. 83 ff.

xxxviii. 2. UPTON. This is a Greek phrase. *Anthol.*, p. 456 [5. 256]: Δικλίδας ἀμφετίναξεν ἐμοῖς Γαλάτεια προσώποις.

xlii. 6. J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 100) derives "Blandina" as a diminutive from "blandus," enticing, tempting, one using "all her arts" (5. 33. 5 below).

xlvi. 5. See note on 1. 30. 4 above.

xlvi-liv. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Editors refrain from comment on the lame and impotent conclusion of this canto. Why did not Calepine fight? He was armed (46. 1). And why in courtesy's name did he hide behind his lady? The Savage Man's entrance required no such ignoble cue.

xlix. COLLIER. There is much confusion of persons in this stanza: "he," in the first instance, of course, means the assailing knight, and "him," in the second line, Sir Calepine, who endeavoured to avoid his adversary's "bloudy will"; but when the lady speaks and "to him cryde," she addresses, not Sir Calepine, who had been last mentioned, but his enemy, whom she besought, as he ever was affianced to lady, to spare "her knight," Sir Calepine.

3. Cf. 5. 8. 50. 7 and BLANCHARD'S note in Book V, p. 232.

1. 8-9. HEISE (p. 132) cites *Met.* 4. 122 ff.; *Orl. Inn.* 1. 3. 6; Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women* 2. 851. Cf. 1. 3. 35. 9.

li. 9. See note above on 2. 48. 9.

CANTO IV

i. HEISE (p. 78) cites 3. 4. 8-10. [See JANET SCOTT'S note in Book III, pp. 238-9; 5. 2. 50 and note in Book V, p. 181; and 5. 11. 29. 1-5 and note on p. 258.]

ii ff. UPTON (2. 658) thinks that "this salvage perhaps represents by way of type the heir of Lord Savage mentioned by Spenser in his *View of Ireland* [Globe ed., p. 616]: 'now a poor gentleman of very mean condition, yet dwelling in the Ardes.'"

TODD. This wild man resembles, in some respects, the celebrated Orson of romance. See particularly st. 6. However, romance is fond of exhibiting heroes of this kind. In *Palmerin of England*, "the salvage man, with the skin of a beast made close to his body," makes a very conspicuous figure, part 1, chap. 31. And afterward we meet with "the Knight of the Savage Man," ch. 33 ff. [See LOIS WHITNEY'S note on 4. 7. 5. 7 in Book IV, pp. 203-4.]

EDITOR (C. G. O.). This fine Elizabethan specimen of the "Noble

Savage" has provoked almost no comment or study, nor have we yet any proper account of earlier exoticism in England such as Professor Chinard's for France. Professor Fairchild's *The Noble Savage* considers later aspects of the matter. Spenser's savage is on or near the stage as long as Prince Arthur remains, till canto 8, st. 30. In that time we gain a full-length view of him. He is naked (4. 4. 4), but not especially hideous, soft of tread (7. 6. 2), swift of foot, (4. 8. 3), fierce as a tiger (4. 6. 1) or lion (6. 22), fights with his fist (5. 26) or powerful grip or teeth and nails (6. 22; 8. 28) or an oaken club (7. 24), or with weapons seized from his opponents (6. 28; 38. 8); he speaks a "natural" language in soft tones, but uses even more primitive sign language (4. 11, 14; 5. 4). He, like his kind, despises fear (4. 6. 6), but is moved at the sight of blood (4. 12), though invulnerable by magic (4. 4); his actions are all prompted by feelings not reason, especially rage, and pity, which he never felt until he saw Calepine in trouble (4. 4, 11; 6. 22, 40); he is instinctively loyal and chivalrous (5. 9) and adores as his master Prince Arthur (5. 41). He is a vegetarian nourished on Nature's food (4. 14; 7. 24). Savage, as he is, his blood must be gentle, for he is of "mild humanity and perfect gentle mynd," and though born in savagery, must have derived in some part from higher antecedents (5. 1, 2; 29. 9). Spenser's conception was of course composite in its origins—accounts by travelers, oral and written, speculations on ideal commonwealths ancient and modern, masques and pageants, observations of primitive life in Ireland, legends of the Earthly Paradise and the blessed islands and Cockaigne. But it is only fair to recall that again and again he exhibits unglorified and wholly bestial savages. He could hardly have been under illusions. Cf. the Indians with poisoned, gaily decked, flint arrows at 11. 21 of Book II, and the savages below in canto 8.

See Appendix, p. 334.

iv. 3. UPTON. Milton has the same expression [*P. L.* 6. 635-6], "rage lent them arms" ["rage . . . found them arms"]. Virgil [*Aen.* 1. 150], "furor arma ministrat."

9. UPTON. This is agreeable to romances: Orlando was invulnerable except in the soles of his feet; Ferrau, except in his navel. Who does not see that Orlando's story is imitated from what is told of Achilles, and Ferrau's, from what is told of Ajax?

vi. 2. The tiger image, rare in his predecessors, is not uncommon in Spenser. Cf. 2. 2. 22; 2. 5. 8. 9; 2. 9. 14; 2. 11. 20 ff.; 5. 7. 30 (HEISE, p. 106, cites *Knights Tale* 1768 ff.) 5. 9. 1. 1; *Amoretti* 56. 2.

ix. 9. EDITOR (F. M. P.). The word "rankling," used only three times in the preceding books of the *F. Q.*, is employed four times in Book VI: 4. 9. 9; 6. 2. 9; 6. 5. 3; 6. 9. 3. It is one of many instances that might be cited of the poet's propensity to "work" a word that gets into the forefront of his mind. Yet he had used the word as early as in the *Axiochus* (p. 50): "but haue they [husbandmen] not a continuall ranckling gall," a loose translation of "sed nonne perpetuum est ulcus."

xi. 2. See note on 5. 8. 49. 1-5 in Book V, p. 232.

xii. 9. TODD. The ingenious editor of Jonson's *Sad Shepherd* [F. G. Waldron] here refers, by way of comparison, to the Satyr in Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*.

xvi. 8-9. Serena was wounded by the Blatant Beast, or Scandal; Calepine's wounds were given him by Turpine, and have no allegorical significance.

xvii-xxiii. TODD. We meet with a similar incident in the romance, entitled *The pleasant historie of Palladine of England*, ed. 1588, ch. xi: "Having contented themselves [Palladine and Manteleo] with the sight of Holland, they passed the Rheine, and entred Almayne, where arriuing on the frontires of Bohemia, they beheld a lion comming toward them, carying a yong Infant (wrapped in swadling clothes) in his mouth, and a yong Woman running after the beast, with verie pitifull cries and acclamations. Behold (quoth Palladine) how a sauadge beast hath gotten a yong Infant; let us alight, to see if we can force him to forgoe his pray. The poore woman, seeing how readie they were to helpe her, cryed aloude to them, that they should get between the lion and his caue. . . .

"When the lion saw he could not enter his denne, he let fal the Infant, and furiously assaulted the Prince Manteleo, who gave the beast such a wound on the head, as made him cry and rore very dreadfully. At which noyse, a lionesse came forth of the Caue [from her yong ones] and she like wise ranne on the noble Manteleo, but Palladine and his Squires so valiantly assisted him, that the beastes were in a short time ouercome and slaine. Then came the poore woman, and took vp her child, which when she beheld had escaped all danger, on her knees she humbly thanked the Princes. . . ."

EDITOR. Cf. Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* 3. 3. 64-5, where Antigonus is chased by a bear, and 101-8, where the clown narrates how the bear killed Antigonus. There is no bear in Greene's *Pandosto* (*Dorastus and Fawnia*), nor in the version in E. Ford's *Famous . . . History of Parismus*, 1597. The bear seems to be present only in Spenser and Shakespeare. There is a bear also in the play *Mucedorus*, attributed to Shakespeare. See note on 31 ff. and 12. 3-22 below; Appendix III.

xvii. 3. J. W. MACKAIL (*The Springs of Helicon*, p. 115). Calepine, when he is recovered of his wounds, goes out as Palamon or Arcite might go, "to take the air and hear the thrushes' song." [Cf. MACKAIL's note on *F. Q.* 5. 6. 7 in Book V, p. 209.]

xix. 8-9. R. E. N. DODGE (Cambridge edition). "Jesses" were short straps, one on each leg of the hawk, to which was attached the leash that held her in restraint on the fist. The bells were also attached to the legs. Both jesses and bells were left on the hawk when the leash was slipped, as part of her constant harness. Hence the appropriateness of the comparison: she ordinarily flies with this weight on her.

[Cf. above 2. 32. 1-4 and note, and see note on 5. 5. 15 in Book V, p. 202.]

xxi. B. E. C. DAVIS (*Edmund Spenser, A Critical Study*, p. 152). Such pieces carry more than a suggestion of Miltonic might, untempered by Milton's discrimination and secured chiefly through the massing of vivid and powerful

imagery. And since might implies movement, where the action demands brevity the pace quickens [stanza quoted].

9. This seems to be one of Spenser's few consciously humorous passages.

xxii-xxiii. Occasionally Spenser interlocks his stanzas by making the c rhyme of one stanza the a rhyme of the following. So 9. 25-26. See note on 5. 10. 32. 2 in Book V, p. 254.

xxv. 1. This is the second time a Spenserian hero has found himself "encombred" with a baby. Cf. 2. 2. 1-12; 3. 2.

xxix. 3. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 220). Matilda in Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 1. 55, is the nurse and instructor of Rinaldo during his earliest years. Here the parallel extends beyond the mere name itself.

xxxi ff. The wife of the Shepherd in *Dorastus and Fawnia* was childless, and although she at first suspected her husband of having brought home one of his own illegitimate children, she relented when she heard his story—and saw the gold; "she began to simper something sweetly . . . saying that she hoped God had seene their want, and now ment to relieve their poverty, and seeing they could get no children, had sent them this little babe to be their heire" (reprinted in Furness's Variorum edition of the *Winters Tale*, p. 336).

xxxi. 5. CHILD. To inherit our unsuccessful labor, the fruits of exertions which have been to no purpose since we are without children.

xxxii. 7. See Appendix, p. 377.

xxxiii. 1-3. UPTON. I believe Spenser in this episode has an allusion to the fabulous stories told of the MacMahons, a name signifying in Irish the sons of a bear: they were descended originally from the Fitzursula's, a noble family in England, as Spenser writes in his *View of the State of Ireland* [Globe ed., p. 637].

xxxvi. UPTON. We read not only of famous knights in wild romances, but heroes in grave histories, whose "linage was unknowne," and whose lives were preserved by wild beasts. Cyrus is said to have been suckled by a bitch, Romulus and Remus by a wolf. See Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 12. 42; Justin. 44. 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 252.

EDITOR (C. G. O.). Obscurity of origin, at least for a time, overshadowed the Red Cross Knight and Artegall. Spenser, often an explicit genealogist, does not mention the parentage of his other protagonists, except Arthur and Britomart.

1-6. Cf. Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation* 2. 175: "And truly I knowe many men of meane calling, who in Gentlemanlike and courteous conditions, in good bringing up, and all their talke and behaviour excell many Gentlemen. And contrariwise, I am sure you know many Gentlemen more uncivill then the Clownes themselves."—Note supplied by J. Leon Lievsay.

xxxvii. 8-9. E. DE SELINCOURT (Oxford one-vol. ed., p. lx). No amount of psychological analysis could reveal her strange conflict of emotions as fully as does

Spenser's simple dramatic touch. . . . The romantic, often impossible, situations in which his characters are found only throw into stronger relief the exquisite delicacy of the sentiment and its essential truth to human nature. [See the EDITOR's note on sts. 31 ff. above.]

xxxviii. 3-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). This is the second deception by presumably courteous people in this Book. Cf. 3. 16. 8 and note. Essentially a third occurs at 6. 20, and a fourth at 7. 16. Cicero writes: "Quaeque pertinent ad veritatem et ad fidem, ea migrare interdum et non servare sit justum. Referri enim decet ad ea, quae posui principio, fundamenta justitiæ, primum ut ne cui noceatur, deinde ut communi utilitati serviatur" (*De Officiis* 1. 10. 31). See Appendix, p. 340.

9. UPTON. They could not be shown in this poem: Spenser promised another epic poem. . . . In this perhaps they might be shown: or, in the historical view, in the annals of Ireland.

TODD. The poet intended to show them, perhaps in another Faery Poem; or, as Mr. Upton thinks, in some projected Annals of Ireland. However, see the poet's own assertion, *F. Q.* 1. 11. 7, in respect to another poem. See also *F. Q.* 5. 12. 43, where he intimates a continuation of what the reader will unfortunately never find.

CANTO V

i-ii. See Appendix, pp. 334-5, and FOWLER's note on 10. 37 below. Cf. note on 3. 1 above.

ii. 9. UPTON. In some Book or Canto hereafter intended to be written by me: for my intent is to open things to you by little and little.

iv-vi. Here she is anything but "Serena"; cf. below 8. 33.

iv. 4. Cf. *Teares of the Muses* 169-170, *F. Q.* 2. 1. 13. 7, and *Axiochus*, pp. 26-7.

v. 3. See note on 1. 37. 7 above.

ix. 2-3. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Spenser is inclined to such "uncouth" juxtaposition: Una and the Lion (1. 3. 10-11); Florimel with the fisherman and Proteus (3. 8); Amoret with Busirane (3. 12. 31 ff.); Samient with Malengin (5. 9. 1-14).

xi. 8. They parted at 4. 7. 47 (cf. 4. 8. 18), before Timias "recured the favour" of Belphebe (4. 8. 1-18).

xii ff. UPTON (2. 658) sees in the wounding of Timias and Serena by the Blatant Beast a reference to the scandal caused by Raleigh's affair with Elizabeth Throckmorton. DE SELINCOURT (Oxford one vol. ed., p. liii) agrees with him.

EDITOR. Both UPTON and DE SELINCOURT overlook the fact that Serena is not the lady of Timias, but of Calepine. If Timias is Raleigh, then Serena cannot be his wife.

Spenser may intend a reference to Raleigh's affair, but I doubt it. Although Essex and Raleigh made a great show of friendship in 1597, they were constant

enemies (see Essex's letter to Dyer in Devereux, *Lives of the Earls of Essex* 1. 186-9, in which he refers to "that knave Raleigh"). It does not seem likely, however, that Spenser would hazard the displeasure of Essex by characterizing his opposition to Raleigh as the attack of the Blatant Beast. The intent is probably more general, and the reference is to scandal in general.

There were, of course, plenty of other scandals involving misconduct between the sexes, though it is not necessary to assume that Serena's difficulty arose from such, nor even Timias's. I have referred elsewhere (see Appendix, p. 363) to the affair between Elizabeth Vernon and Lord Southampton. Essex, himself, was the object of much talk of this kind. On Dec. 1, 1596, he received a letter from Lady Bacon, saying that "she had heard that since his return, God had wrought a change in his mind, before inclined to work carnal dalliance." But it has come to her ears, she says, that there "is of late a backsliding" and that he has "infamed" a Nobleman's wife. Essex in his reply denied the charge, saying, "Since my departure from England towards Spain, I have been free from taxation of incontinency with any woman that lives. . . . But I live in a place where I am hourly conspired against, and practised upon. What they cannot make the world believe, that they persuade themselves unto; and what they cannot make probable to the Queen, that they give out to the world. . . ." (Devereux 1. 406-9.) After his return from Ireland, he wrote to the Queen:

Now, I do not only feel the weight of your Majesty's indignation, and am subject to their malicious insinuations that first envied me for my happiness in your favor, and now hate me out of custom; but as if I were thrown into a corner like a dead carcase, I am gnawed on and torn by the vilest and basest creatures upon earth. The prating tavern haunter speaks of me what he lists; the frantic libeller writes of me what he lists; already they print me and make me speak to the world, and shortly they will play me in what forms they list upon the stage. (Devereux 2. 98-9.)

I do not mean to identify Timias with Essex; but such were the attacks of the Blatant Beast.

Mr. G. B. Harrison, in the essay appended to his edition of *Willobie His Avis* (Bodley Head Quartos 15, London and New York, 1926) contends that the *Avisa* was written by some member of the Raleigh group, possibly Roydon, as an answer to an attack on Raleigh by the Essex-Southampton group. He identifies this attack as Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* (pp. 230-1):

Shakespeare in all probability had no intention of making his Tarquin a portrait of any living person; but his readers, incurable in their search for hidden meanings, saw in this poem, written for the Essex-Southampton group, a very considerable likeness between Tarquin the Ravisher and their enemy, Raleigh the Proud. Raleigh, too, had sinned against chastity, and, like Tarquin, he seemed to have paid for his sin by everlasting banishment.

And so, in the summer of 1594, the followers of Sir Walter Raleigh, who were living with him at Sherbourne, stung beyond endurance by these incessant attacks composed this poem of *Willobie His Avis*, seeking to hold his enemies up to ridicule. . . . *Willobie His Avis* is the sequel to Shakespeare's *Lucrece*.

Mr. Harrison himself speaks of the "incompleteness" of his "proofs." "Conjectures" would to my mind be a better word, for, properly speaking, there are no

proofs in the essay. The identification of Southampton and Shakespeare as the "H. W." and "W. S." of the *Avisa* is based almost exclusively on the initials. If Mr. Harrison is correct as to the relationship of *Willobie His Avisa* and *Lucrece*, one would be inclined to think that Spenser is referring to the *Lucrece* of Shakespeare as one of the bites of the Blatant Beast. But this I doubt, for I think it unlikely that, even if such a poetic war were going on, Spenser would have risked the displeasure of Essex by taking sides so violently with Raleigh.

If one were skilled in the game of finding hidden allusions, he might torture the Mirabella episode into an answer to *Willobie His Avisa*, for Spenser there clearly shows what should happen to a person of "mean birth" who became famous, and who refused the love of so many noblemen. (See 7. 27 ff. below and notes.) In writing that answer to the *Avisa* Spenser would, then, be defending Essex and attacking Raleigh. But if one kept up such speculation long, he would soon be discovering ciphers. So, "let us hence depart whilest wether serves and winde."

xii. 1-2. UPTON. When Sir Walter Rawleigh had recovered again the favour of Q. Elizabeth. See *F. Q.* 4. 8. 17. [See note in Book IV, p. 211.] But defamation and scandal he could not yet get rid of. [See notes on 4. 7. 24 ff. in Book IV, pp. 205-7, and *Colin Clouts* 164-171.]

xiii. 6-9. CHILD. These three enemies are Malice, Deceit, and Detraction. [See Appendix, p. 345.]

6-7. EDITOR (F. M. P.). "Despight" is personified eight times in the *F. Q.* Despite follows in the train of Wrath, 1. 4. 35. 4; is the mother of Cymochles and Pyrochles by Acrates, 2. 4. 41. 6; is one of the malign company who sit beside the gate of Pluto, 2. 7. 22. 2; pursues Malbecco, 3. 10. 55. 5; is one of the two "grysie villeins" who lead Amoret in the Mask of Cupid, 3. 12. 19. 2; lies in ambush at Danger's cave, 4. 10. 20. 5; testifies against Mirabella at the Court of Cupid, 6. 7. 34. 7; and is here one of the three villains who attack Timias. Whether Timias be Raleigh or Essex or neither one of them, Spenser here shows how he recoiled from all that the word implies. See UPTON's note on 2. 4. 41. 6-9 in Book II, pp. 231-2.

xv. 8-9. UPTON. Observe the change from the singular to the plural number.

xvi. 9-xvii. 1. On the *concatenatio* see note on 5. 1. 8. 9-9. 1 in Book V, p. 164.

xix. HEISE (p. 14) cites 6. 6. 27 and (p. 102) *Orl. Fur.* 18. 19; 39. 52 ff.; *Met.* 12. 102 ff.; *Aen.* 12. 101 ff.; *Ger. Lib.* 7. 55; *Rin.* 12. 55. [Cf. also 2. 8. 42 and notes in Book II, p. 277; note on 5. 8. 49. 1-5 in Book V, p. 232; and 6. 7. 47 and BLANCHARD's note below.]

xxiii. See note on 8. 27. 5-9 below.

xxiv. UPTON. Observe in this Stanza the silence of the gentle squire: the same silence the Christian knight keeps, too conscious of his being misled by the scarlet-whore, see *F. Q.* 1. 8. 43. [Cf. 1. 9. 53.] So likewise Sir Arthegal, *F. Q.* 5. 7. 41. The disdainful silence of Ajax upon seeing his enemy Ulysses in the

shades below [*Od.* 11. 544 ff.], and of Dido [*Aen.* 6. 469 ff.], when she saw her false Aeneas, are brought as instances of a sublime, without a word spoken. Timias knew no apology could be made, and therefore no apology should be made: his silence proceeds from self-conviction, too conscious of having offended his royal mistress.

[Timias is also silent at 4. 7. 44, too overcome with grief and shame to make himself known to Arthur. And at 8. 5. 1-7; 8. 27. 3-4 below he, as a captive, is "much ashamed" and "unwilling to be knowne, or seene at all"; see note. Cf. also 5. 6. 9. 4-9; 7. 7. 57.]

8. CHURCH. It appears, from the 18th stanza, that Timias was on foot when the Prince came to his rescue; how then does he come by a horse? But see notes 4. 9. 38. 1 [Book IV, p. 215], and 5. 12. 23. 2 [Book V, pp. 264-5]. [See also EDITOR'S note on 4. 2. 25. 7-9 in Book IV, pp. 175-6.]

xxv. 9. UPTON. Our poet has frequently this sporting with jingling words.

[See notes on 5. 5. 17. 1 and 5. 9. 19. 7 in Book V, pp. 202, 236.]

xxvi. 1-2. EDITOR (F. M. P.). Spenser never overlooks an opportunity like this for securing an onomatopoeic effect.

xxxiv. 8.-xxxv. Cf. 1. 1. 34.

xxxv ff. C. S. LEWIS (*The Allegory of Love*, pp. 321-4). He [Spenser] has been represented as a man who preached Protestantism while his imagination remained on the side of Rome. . . . It is quite true that Una is dressed (in her exile) like a nun, that the House of Holinesse is like a conventual house, that Penance dwells there with a whip, and that Contemplation, like the hermit of Book Six, resembles a Catholic recluse. It is equally true that we can find similarly Catholic imagery in Bunyan. . . . It would appear that all allegories whatever are likely to seem Catholic to the general reader, and this phenomenon is worth investigation. In part, no doubt, it is to be explained by the fact that the visible and tangible aspects of Catholicism are medieval, and therefore steeped in literary suggestion. But is this all? Do Protestant allegorists continue as in a dream to use imagery so likely to mislead their readers without noticing the danger or without better motive than laziness for incurring it? By no means. The truth is not that allegory is Catholic, but that Catholicism is allegorical. Allegory consists in giving an imagined body to the immaterial; but if, in each case, Catholicism claims already to have given it a material body, then the allegorist's symbol will naturally resemble that material body. The whip of Penance is an excellent example. No Christian ever doubted that repentance involved "penance" and "whips" on the spiritual plane: it is when you come to material whips—to Tartuffe's *discipline* in his closet—that the controversy begins. It is the same with the "House" of Holinesse. No Christian doubts that those who have offered themselves to God are cut off *as if* by a wall from the World, are placed under a *regula vitae*, and "laid in easy bed," by "meek Obedience"; but when the wall becomes one of real bricks and mortar, and the Rule one in real ink, superintended by disciplinary officials and reinforced (at times) by the power of the State, then we have reached that sort of actuality which Catholics aim at and Protestants deliberately avoid. Indeed, this

difference is the root out of which all other differences between the two religions grow. The one suspects that all spiritual gifts are falsely claimed if they cannot be embodied in bricks and mortar, or official positions, or institutions: the other, that nothing retains its spirituality if incarnation is pushed to that degree and in that way. The difference about Papal infallibility is simply a form of this. The proper corruptions of each Church tell the same tale. When Catholicism goes bad it becomes the world-old, world-wide *religio* of amulets and holy places and priest-craft: Protestantism, in its corresponding decay, becomes a vague mist of ethical platitudes. Catholicism is accused of being much too like all the other religions; Protestantism of being insufficiently like a religion at all. Hence Plato, with his transcendent Forms, is the doctor of Protestants; Aristotle, with his immanent Forms, the doctor of Catholics. Now allegory exists, so to speak, in that region of the mind where the bifurcation has not yet occurred; for it occurs only when we reach the material world. In the world of matter, Catholics and Protestants disagree as to the kind and degree of incarnation or embodiment which we can safely try to give to the spiritual; but in the world of imagination, where allegory exists, unlimited embodiment is equally approved by both. Imagined buildings and institutions which have a strong resemblance to the actual buildings and institutions of the Church of Rome, will therefore appear, and ought to appear, in any Protestant allegory. If the allegorist knows his business their prevalence will rather mean that the allegory is not Catholic than that it is. For allegory is *idem in alio*. Only a bungler, like Deguileville, would introduce a monastery into his poem if he were really writing about monasticism. When Spenser writes about Protestant sanctity he gives us something like a convent: when he is really talking about the conventual life he gives us Abessa and Corceca. If I might, without irreverence, twist the words of an important (and very relevant) Protestant article, I would say that a Catholic interpretation of the *Faerie Queene*, "overthroweth the nature of an allegory."

EDITOR. Not even Miss Emily Hickey in her article, "Catholicity in Spenser," *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 22 (1907). 490-502, contends that Spenser's allegory is Catholic, but she points out, as does Mr. Lewis, that in part his poetry expresses Catholic ideas. I know of no serious attempt to give the *Faerie Queene* a "Catholic interpretation." The allegory and imagery of the *Faerie Queene* is a part of Spenser's literary heritage, especially the Morality play, from which he took the structure of the first two books of the *Faerie Queene*. We forget too often that when Spenser was born, England was Catholic, and that many of the ideas and forms of the Church remained current through his life. Mr. Lewis neglects to mention the despoiling of the monastery by the Blatant Beast in canto 12 (see notes on 12. 23 ff. below) and the possibility that the fable of the Oak and the Briar in the February Eclogue of the *Sb. Cal.* refers to the Catholic Church, and that Spenser there, although he says that the Oak was brought to misery by "foolerie," such as "priestes crewe" and "holy water dewe," says of the Oak:

For it had beene an auncient tree
Sacred with many a mysteree.

EDITOR (F. M. P.). As a matter of fact the accepted idiom of allegory was employed by the divines of the Established Church in their sermons,

and symbols were used in ecclesiastical discipline. If, for example, it was merely a rhetorical figure to describe the life of penance as taming the flesh and crucifying the members, penance was given a very material symbol when Archbishop Grindal (*Remains* 455, Parker Society) issued the following directions for the penitent: "Let the offender be set directly over against the pulpit during the sermon or homily, and then stand bareheaded with the sheet, or other accustomed note of difference; and that upon some board raised a foot and a half, at least, above the church floor; that they may be *in loco editiore, et eminentiores omni populo*." As for hermits, although Bullinger (*Decades* 1. 280, Parker Society) condemns them, Fulke (*Answers* 2. 239, Parker Society) commends the godliness of the early Christian hermits, Jewel (*Works* 3. 435, Parker Society) defends such hermits as Antonius, Paulus and Hilarion against the charge of ignorance of the Scriptures, and Becon (*Works* 3. 103-4, Parker Society) commends the holiness of a hermit who rejoiced in sickness as a manifestation of God's good will. Hermits as such enjoyed the approval of the Elizabethan divines because of the favorable attitude of the early Church Fathers.

xxxv. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Less than a mile from Kilcolman Castle, just off the road, Mr. Peter Harold-Barry showed me the ruin of a tiny ancient Irish chapel, said to date from the eighth or ninth century. It is much dilapidated and heavily overgrown with ivy, which would have shadowed the rood if one were left. The ruin even now would furnish a fine illustration for this stanza.

xxxvii. See 6. 4 and notes by WARTON and UPTON below.

5-9. UPTON. The custom of old veterans hanging up their arms when they quitted service, is frequently mentioned. Horace, *Epist.* 1. [1. 4-5]:

Veianius, armis
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Carm. 3. 26. [3-4]:

Nunc arma, defunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit.

So Godfrey, having conquered Jerusalem: See the last Stanza in Tasso. [See 6. 4. 1 below and WARTON'S note.]

xxxviii. 7-9. See 7. 7. 35. 9 and note below.

xl. 9. UPTON. The picturesque and slow broken verse . . . is masterly contrived.

xli. Spenser may have been thinking of Arthur's search for Gloriana, but in 6. 18 his immediate business is punishment of Turpine.

9. See notes on 2. 48. 9 above.

CANTO VI

Arg. 3. CHURCH. "He." Not the Hermit (as the construction seems to imply) but P. Arthur mentioned at the close of the last Canto.

i. 7-8. UPTON. I. e. the immortal Podalirius himself, who was a son of the famous physician Aesculapius. This manner of expression is frequent in the poets. Horace, *Odes* 3. 5. 13: "Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli," i. e. ipse providus Regulus. *Odes* 3. 21. 11-12:

Narratur et prisci Catonis
Saepe mero caluisse virtus.

Epistles 2. 1. 72: "Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli." So Homer frequently, Πριάμοιο βίη, i. e. ipse Priamus. Βίη Ἡρακλήειη, ipse Hercules. Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ, ipse Pylaemenes, *Il.* 2. 851. Ἑκτορος μένος, Hector, *Il.* 14. 418. σθένος Ἰδομενῆος, Idomeneus, *Il.* 13. 248. Ἑλένου ψυχὴ, i. e. Helenus, Euripides, *Hecuba* 87. δέμας Ἀγαμέμνονος, i. e. Agamemnon, *ibid.* 728. "Cor jubet hoc Enni," i. e. ipse Ennius, Persius 6. 10. [UPTON cites also 1. 6. 1. 8.]

COLLIER. Podaleirius, the brother of Machaon, who was the physician of the Greeks before Troy. His brother was equally skilled in surgery and medicine: Homer, *Il.* 11. 832.

SAWTELLE (p. 101). Homer, *Il.* 2. 732, says that Podalirius and Machaon were two excellent physicians, sons of Aesculapius. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 2. 735, says: "As great as was Podalirius among the Greeks in the art of healing, . . . so great a lover am I."

LOTSPEICH (p. 102) adds Diodorus Siculus 4. 71; Natalis Comes 4. 11.

ii. 7. EDITOR. "medicines." Throughout Spenser this word is variously a trisyllable or dissyllable, sometimes with an apostrophe. Cf. 13. 1 below.

iv. WARTON (2. 15-6) cites this stanza as an example of Spenser's "tautology, or repetition of the same circumstances." He remarks: "All this we were told a few lines before." [St. 37 of canto 5 quoted.]

UPTON. Compare this stanza with *F. Q.* 6. 5. 37. And here 'twill be not improper once for all to take notice of our poet's repetition of the same circumstances in pretty near the same expressions. And this is according to the great masters of antiquity; and the greatest master of all, Homer. But let us hear one of the best judges of good writing, and a contemporary with Spenser. Ascham's *Schole-master*, p. 115 [ed. Arber. pp. 97-8]:

The old and best authors, that ever wrote, were content, if occasion required, to speak twice of one matter, not to change the words, but ῥητῶς, that is, word for word to express it again. For they thought that a matter well expressed with fit words and apt composition, was not to be altered, but liking it well their selves, they thought it would also be well allowed of others. A schole-master, such a one as I require, knoweth that I say true. He readeth in Homer almost in every book, and especially in the second and ninth *Iliad*, not only some verses, but whole leaves, not to be altered with new, but to be uttered with the old self same words. He knoweth that Xenophon, writing twice of Agesilaus, once in his life, again in the history of the Greeks, in one matter, keepeth always the self-same words. He doth the like speaking of Socrates both in the beginning of his *Apology*, and in the last end of Ἀπομνημονευμάτων. Demosthenes also, in the fourth *Philippic*, doth borrow his own words, uttered before in his oration *De Chersoneso*. He doth

the like, and that more at large, in his oration against Andration and Timocrates. In Latin also, Cicero, in some places, and Virgil in more, do repeat one matter with the self-same words. These excellent authors did thus not for lack of words, but by judgment and skill, whatsoever others more curious and less skilful, do think, write, and do.

UPTON quotes examples from Milton, *P. L.* 10. 1086 ff.; and Virgil, *Georgics* 4. 537-553.

1. WARTON (2. 225). That is the hermit had been, &c. Many of the hermits in romance are represented to have been very valorous knights in their youth. Hence it is that Don Quixote is introduced gravely debating with Sancho, whether he shall turn saint or archbishop. [See UPTON's note on 5. 37. 5-9 above.]

9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Could *Lear* 5. 3. 9, "We two alone will sing like birds i' th' cage," be an echo, in a not wholly unlike situation, of this line?

v. TODD (*Milton Variorum*, 1809, 5. 395) thinks the imagery of *Samson Agonistes* 620 ff. may be suggested by this stanza or 3. 2. 39. He cites also Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 879-881.

vi ff. W. L. RENWICK (*Edmund Spenser*, p. 160, n. 3) cites Seneca, *Epist.* 8. 50, 68.

vii. The concupiscible appetite must be restrained, and a careful watch kept on the five senses (lines 6-8), for it is through these that the perturbations war on the rational soul. See Appendix IX to Book II, pp. 458-464. Cf. notes on 6. 14 below.

See Appendix, pp. 341-2, 384.

1-3. TODD. So Shakespeare, with equal force and propriety, describes the only cure of a "mind diseased," *Macbeth* 5. 3. [45-6]:

Therein the patient
Must minister to himself.

EDITOR. Cf. Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation* 1. 18: "the medicine is in your owne handes, whereby in short time you may bee restored to your health. And to speake heereof more plainely, I must needes tell you, that to exempt your selfe out of this evill [the ills attendant upon the solitary life], you must first give your selfe to cut of the cause and originall thereof."—Note supplied by J. Leon Lievsay.

6-8. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 541). Cf. 1 Peter 3. 10.

ix. 7-xii. JORTIN. Taken from Hesiod, *Theog.* 295-305: ["And she (Kal-lirrhoe) bare yet another birth, huge, monstrous, no wise like to mortal men or to the deathless gods, within a hollow cave, even the divine Echidna, stubborn-hearted: half a fair-cheeked nymph of glancing eyes, and half a monstrous serpent terrible and great, spotted, ravenous, beneath the coverts of the holy earth. And there is her cave beneath, under a hollow rock, afar from deathless gods and mortal men, where the gods appointed her a glorious habitation wherein to dwell: and

under earth she hath Einarima in her keeping—dread Echidna, a nymph deathless and ageless for evermore." (Tr. A. W. Mair.)]

SAWTELLE (p. 51). He [Hesiod] says that Echidna and Typhaon were the parents of various monsters, among them Orthrus, the dog of Geryon. This, of course, served as a suggestion to our poet for making them the parents of the Blatant Beast. Elsewhere, *F. Q.* 5. 10. 10, Spenser says that Echidna and Typhaon were the parents of Orthrus. [See 11. 7 and note below, also 5. 11. 23 and notes in Book V, p. 257.]

LOTSPEICH (p. 56). But Spenser makes the impression more horrible by adding suggestions of his own personal feeling, the like of which are not in Hesiod. Spenser's Echidna is the mother of the Blatant Beast, Orthrus, and Geryoneo's monster.

[See also 1. 7-8 above, and notes of UPTON and LOTSPEICH.]

ix. 7-9. UPTON. There did Typhaon "company with" Echidna; this is expressed according to the Greek *συνελθεῖν, συνεῖναι*. These two monsters with their monstrous brood, are mentioned by Hyginus in his Preface and in *Fab.* 151. See what I have cited from Hesiod concerning this Echidna, from which Spenser imaged his monster Errour, in the notes on *F. Q.* 1. 1. 13. [See note in Book I, pp. 182-3.] See likewise above, the notes on [sts. 7-8]. . . . Concerning this cruell Typhaon, or Typhon, consult Hyginus, *Fab.* 152 and Virgil 9. 716.

9. UPTON. What bookes are these? Not the bookes of Hesiod concerning the generation of gods and monsters, for he departs in many circumstances from Hesiod, and has a mythology of his own, or rather a mythology, which the Muse taught him, from those sacred and secret volumes mentioned already in a note on *F. Q.* 3. 2. 18. [Book III, p. 217.]

xi. 7-9. SAWTELLE (p. 118) cites Hesiod, *Theog.* 306 ff. ["With her they say Typhaon met in loving union, a dread and blustering Wind with a bright-eyed maid. And she conceived, and bare stout-hearted children. First Orthos she bare to be the dog of Geryoneus: and next again she bare a monster unspeakable, even the ravenous Kerberos, the brazen-tongued hound of Hades, with fifty heads, shameless and strong. And third she bare the baleful Lernaean Hydra, which the goddess Hera of the white arms nurtured, in wrath insatiable against mighty Herakles. And her did the Son of Zeus, even Herakles of the house of Amphitryon, slay with the pitiless bronze, aided by Iolaos dear to Ares, by the devising of Athene, driver of the spoil." (Tr. A. W. Mair.)]

LOTSPEICH (p. 113). Typhaon's "tempestuous rage" may be a recollection of Natalis Comes 6. 22, where he is interpreted as standing for wind.

xii. 4. WARTON (1. 192-3). "most and least." This is the language of Chaucer. . . . Cf. *Monk's Tale* 367 [Skeat's ed. 3443]; *Knight's Tale* 2200 [Skeat's ed. 2198]; *Clerk of Oxenford's Tale* 1900 [Skeat's ed. 940]; *Frankelin's Tale* 2600 [Skeat's ed. 1064]; *Prologue* 494. . . . And to this day "much" is prefixed to some villages in England, as a mark of greatness. The ingenious author of *Miscellaneous Observations on Macbeth* ([Johnson, *Works*, 1825, 5. 90] note 43), remarks, that in the interpolated Mandeville, a book printed in the age of

Queen Elizabeth, there is a chapter, "Of India, The More and the Less." [Warton cites the use of this expression in Spenser in 5. 2. 34. 5; 5. 2. 39. 5-6; 5. 8. 34. 4; 7. 7. 17. 2; Sonnet 53; and in "many other passages."]

xiv. W. L. RENWICK (*Edmund Spenser*, p. 160, n. 3) cites Seneca, *Epist.* 9, 25, 63.

EDITOR. Points in the episode here concluded remind one of Book II, especially the parts in it concerning the senses, the passions, and physical disability, such as cantos 6-8, 11, 12. Cf. note on 6. 7 above.

3-4. UPTON. According to the actium in the Schools, "sublata causa tollitur effectus."

EDITOR. A common sentiment. Cf., for example, R. Greene, *Carde of Fancie*, Everyman ed., 167: "take away the cause and the effect faileth"; Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation* 1. 18: "to exempt your selfe out of this evill, you must first give your selfe to cut of the cause and originall therof."—Note supplied by J. Leon Lievsay.

6. EDITOR (F. M. P.). "loose delight." How far Spenser's attitude was removed from the austerity of the Puritan or the coldness of the Stoic is reflected in his use of the word "delight(s)," which occurs 246 times in his poetry, 27 times as a verb, and 219 as a substantive. It is a word that he employed far more often than any of its synonyms, such as "pleasure" or "happiness," which were too low-keyed to satisfy his ardent nature. Cf. LEWIS'S note on 10. 10 ff. below.

7. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 541). Cf. 1 Corinthians 7. 5.

EDITOR. Burton, in common with other writers on psychology, placed great emphasis on diet.

xvi. 7. TODD. Mr. Upton thinks that the cruel Rosalind is here characterized in *Mirabella*; her pride and disdain being repeatedly hinted at by the poet. Compare the Argument to the next canto, and the 27th stanza of that canto; and Sonnets 5, 6, 19, 70. [See notes on 7. 27 ff. below.]

xvii. UPTON. This is exactly after the manner of Boyardo and Ariosto: they just mention the heads of a story and then pass on to another, keeping the first mentioned for some other canto.

xviii. See close of canto 3, and 5. 28, 41.

xx. See Appendix, p. 340 and note on 4. 38. 3-9 above.

xxii 4. Same phrase at 7. 25. 5; cf. 11. 49. 1-2; 7. 7. 6. 4. The lion simile is habitual in Spenser. HEISE (pp. 16-8; cf. pp. 105-7) cites twenty-two. For the most important of these see 1. 11. 37 and note in Book I, p. 303; 3. 3. 30. 1-2 and note in Book III, p. 229; 4. 4. 32. 5-7 and note in Book IV, p. 191; 5. 7. 30; 5. 8. 35. 5-9 and notes in Book V, pp. 222, 228. The others are short like the one before us.

xxv. 1. TODD. This spirited speech probably suggested to Milton the opening of Death's to Satan, *P. L.* 2. 689-690:

Art thou that traitor-angel, art thou He,
Who first broke peace in Heaven. . . .

xxvi ff. WALTHER (pp. 40-1) finds parallels to Turpin in the cowardly King Mark of Malory.

xxvi. 3. UPTON. He seems to have in his eye the description of Aeneas, when assailed by Lausus and his friends. See Virgil, *Aen.* 10. 802 ff.

EDITOR. Cf. 2. 11. 19. 1; 4. 3. 25. 5 and HEISE's note in Book IV, p. 185; 4. 6. 16. 5; 6. 5. 18. 3.

6. COLLIER. Todd has a long legal note upon the word "craven"; but the whole gist of it is contained in the following brief extract from Lord Campbell's Letter on *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements*, 8^v. 1859, p. 55 [66-7]. "All lawyers know 'craven' to be the word spoken by a champion who acknowledged that he was beaten, and declared that he would fight no more:—whereupon judgment was immediately given against the side which he supported, and he bore the infamous name of 'craven' for the rest of his days." Tooke plausibly contended that a craven was so called because he had craved, or craven, the life of his antagonist. [*Diversions of Purley*, 1860, p. 353.]

xxvii. 4-9. Cf. 2. 8. 42 and notes in Book II, p. 277; also 5. 8. 49. 1-5 in Book V, p. 232; 6. 5. 19, and HEISE's note above.

xxix. 9. Though Spenser calls Turpine a coward, he has not hitherto acted like one—certainly not so much as Calepine at the close of canto 3—nor have his men.

xxx. 9. WARTON (2. 225). Brain-pan was a common phrase for head. Thus Skelton (*E. Ruming*, ed. 1736, p. 125):

With a whim wham,
Knit with a trim tram,
Upon her brayne-panne,
Like an edypian.

And in the bible of Henry VIII (Judges 9. 53). "And a certain woman cast a piece of milstone on Abimeleck, and all to brake his brayne-panne."

xxxii. 1. UPTON. The measure is thus,

Hēr weēd | shē then | wīthdrāwīng | dīd hīm | dīscōvēr.

These words "withdrawing" and "discover," each of them in the verse, take up the time of one long and one short syllable. The reader will be pleased to remember this in some other verses, though not particularly taken notice of.

CHURCH. The verse has a foot too much. See note on 3. 12. 41. 7 [in Book III, p. 427].

TODD. The verse is free from the fault which Mr. Church has ascribed to it. The words "withdrawing" and "discover," as Mr. Upton has observed, each of them take up the time, in pronunciation, of one long and one short syllable: and of such verses other examples occur in this poem.

EDITOR (F. M. P.). Spenser is here using amphibrachus, as he frequently does elsewhere; cf. 28. 1, 3 above and 41. 1, 3 below.

8. As often in Spenser. Cf. 2. 11. 20. 9; 3. 7. 14. 7; 4. 7. 41. 4; 4. 8. 12. 7; 4. 12. 20. 9; and 4. 2. 17. 1-2 with note in Book IV, p. 175.

xxxiii. 4. See 2. 3. 7. 6 and UPTON's note in Book II, p. 209; also 2. 8. 15. 9.

xxxiv. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 188). Pinabello's shamefull custom (*Orl. Fur.* 22. 48) is reproduced as the "wicked custome" of Turpine.

xxxv. 3-9. UPTON. Romances are made up of such kind of exploits; founded on false notions of love, gallantry, and mock-honour; and in a word no better than downright madness or Quixotism. 'Tis ground sufficient for a quarrel, if you love, or do not love a knight's mistress: Another knight defends a pass, and swears no one shall pass that way without trial of his manhood: A third wants a sword or helmet, and swears he will wear none till he gets one in combat. Such are the histories of the Paladins, the Palmerins, the Knights of the round table, and the Don Quixots. [Cf. above 1. 15, 26 and note on 1. 13.]

xxxviii. Cf. Talus in 5. 2. 26-8, and 5. 7. 35-6.

6. COLLIER. "Safety" is one of the words which our old poets sometimes, as here, employed as three syllables, and at other times as two. Of this circumstances we have had previous examples in Spenser.

EDITOR. The same simile at 2. 9. 14. 7; 4. 4. 35. 6-8; 5. 4. 44. 7; 5. 6. 30. 6; 6. 8. 36. 8. HEISE (pp. 11-2) cites a dozen instances of frightened or stray sheep in Spenser's similes and (p. 99) finds precedents in *Il.* 11. 172 ff.; 15. 323 ff.; Ovid, *Ars Amatoria* 1. 118 ff.; *Fasti* 2. 799; *Tristia* 3. 11, 12; *Met.* 1. 505; 6. 527 f.; also see *I Henry VI* 1. 5. 30 ff. He does not, however, point to the obvious precedents in Psalms 119. 176; Isaiah 53. 6; Jeremiah 50. 17; and repeatedly in the Prophets and the New Testament.

xli-xliii. Cf. Phaedria's calming of Cymochles and Guyon in 2. 6. 36-7.

xlii. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 203). Compare or contrast the *meretrice*, *Orl. Fur.* 22. 76-9.

xliii. 1-3. EDITOR (C. G. O.). That is, in false courtesy, particularly in women, the poet has found it hard to distinguish nature from art as its origin. Contrast canto 2, stanza 2; 8. 20. 3-4 below. The full-length portrait of Blandina is worth some consideration, particularly for its verisimilitude. Clearly Spenser had met and studied one or more Blandinas. Cf. note on 2. 3. 20 ff. in Book II, pp. 210-1; OSGOOD's note on 1. 6. 20 ff. in Book I, p. 245.

xliv. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 204). Compare Pinabello treacherously seizing Aquilante and his companions in their beds: *Orl. Fur.* 20. 104, 105; 22. 53.

CANTO VII

i-ii. See Appendix, pp. 336-347.

i. 1. UPTON. Ariosto 36. 1, "un cor gentil." See the note on 3. 1. [6-9, above.] "Gentle hart," is Chaucer's expression. See note below on stanza 18 [line 5].

[See Appendix, p. 336.]

6. WARTON (2. 226). So, 3. 10. 15: "The dearest to his dunghill mind." So in *An Hymne of Love* [183-4]:

His dunghill thoughts which do themselves enure
To durtie drosse.

And in *Tears of the Muses* [393]: "Ne ever dare their dunghill thoughts aspire." And Chaucer (*Parl. of Foules* [596-7]):

Now fie churle (quoth the gentle Tercelet)
Out of the dung-hill came that word aright.

[Cf. also 2. 12. 87. 6: "The donghill kind delights in filth"; and, *View of Ireland*, Globe ed., p. 660, where it is said of Feugh MacHugh, "that being of late growen out of the dounghill [he] beginneth nowe to overcroe soe high mountaynes."]

iii ff. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 204). Cf. Pinabello deceitfully obtaining the assistance of Aquilante and his companions in maintaining his wicked custom, *Orl. Fur.* 22. 53 ff.

iv. 9. EDITOR (F. M. P.). In selling their services for material reward, the two youthful knights violated the ethics of knighthood. This justifies the death of one of them at the hands of the Prince, st. 8. The Prince comments on this unknighly conduct in 13. 2.

Cf. note on 1. 47. 1-2 above.

vi. 2. Cf. 1. 3. 10. 8: "slow footing her before"; 6. 3. 28. 6: "soft footing her beside."

5. See note on 1. 30. 4.

vii. 6. "Th'one" is Sir Enias (below 8. 4. 3), who is really courteous and "manly," and bitterly repents his venality.

8-9. UPTON. The simile is elegant, and borrowed from Homer, who compares Minerva's descent from heaven to a shooting star or glancing meteor, *Il.* 4. 75. Ovid [*Met.* 2. 342] compares the fall of Phaeton to a shooting star: and Milton the descent of Uriel, *P. L.* 4. 556:

Swift as a shooting star
In autumn thwarts the night. . . .

HEISE (p. 126) cites *Aen.* 3. 199; *Met.* 6. 695; 8. 339; 11. 435 ff.; *Theb.* 1. 92 ff.; 3. 317 ff.; 6. 386; 7. 582 ff.; 9. 218; 11. 483; *Inf.* 22. 24; *Purg.* 9. 28 ff.; 32. 109 ff.; *Par.* 18. 34; *Morg. Mag.* 25; 167; *Orl. Inn.* 1. 13. 17; 2. 3. 5; 2. 6. 42; 2. 7. 4; 3. 4. 21; 3. 6. 30; *Orl. Fur.* 6. 18; 9. 29; 11. 6; 18. 11; *Rin.* 12. 56; *Ger. Lib.* 22. 93; *House of Fame* 2. 26 ff.; *Tempest* 1. 2. 201 ff.

HEISE takes the "heauenly sparke" for lightning; UPTON and C. H. WHITMAN (*A Subject Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser*, p. 158) as a meteor; and more probably, as Spenser mentions thunder or damage in speaking of lightning. On the other hand, his lightning and thunder similes abound (more than fifteen), whereas this meteor is unique.

ix. PAULINE HENLEY (*Spenser in Ireland*, p. 110). These old [Irish] epics and romances are full of picturesque details and forceful similes, and there is a strong probability that Spenser borrowed something of both. The Poet's fondness for similes taken from the ways of hawks has been often remarked. He shared it with the bards, as he does the frequent images that he draws from angry bulls. [See notes on 2. 32. 1-4 above.]

B. E. C. DAVIS (*Edmund Spenser, A Critical Study*, p. 175). Only a poet with his eye on his object could have written [this stanza].

1-2: UPTON. Sydney [*Arcadia*, ed. 1655], p. 108: "A cast of Merlins—But the sport which for that day Basilius would principally shew Zelmane was the mounty of a hearne. . . ."

EDITOR (F. M. P.). Another instance of the heron's defensive strategy is to be found in 4. 3. 19.

xi. 3. So Britomart in 3. 4. 16. 7.

7. That is, cut off his head as usual. See 1. 3. 36-38, and notes on 36, 37, 38 in Book I, pp. 210-1.

xii. EDITOR (F. M. P.). The success which attended the Prince in the conflict was *prima facie* evidence that he had been maligned. This justifies the right-about face of Sir Enias.

xiii. 8. Cf. *F. Q.* 5. 8. 14. 7 and notes in Book V, p. 225 (where GOUGH's reference to the Globe ed. of the *View of Ireland* should read p. 634, instead of p. 674).

xv. 1. "in evill hour." TODD (*Milton Variorum*, 1809, 4. 77) notes Milton's use of the phrase at *P. L.* 9. 280, 1067, and says, "It is Spenserian. See 4. 3. 20. 5; 6. 7. 15. 1." [Also *Sh. Cal.* July 37; 1. 6. 42. 2; 7. 6. 18. 5.]

5. See note on 1. 37. 7 above.

xvi. See Appendix, p. 340.

1-4. Turpine's point is well taken as Enias has not really "yearned" the reward according to contract, somewhat vaguery stated, to be sure, in stanza 4.

8-9. Here (cf. 20. 7) for the fourth time in this book a courteous person tells a lie. Cf. above 3. 16. 8; 4. 38 and notes; 6. 20.

xvii. 5-6. See note on 1. 37. 7 above.

8. HEISE (p. 64) notes the same simile at 2. 11. 22. 1 (of Maleger); 3. 12. 12. 6 (of Fear). Though the image is a commonplace, Spenser's use of it sometimes sounds like Chaucer's; e. g. compare 3. 12. 12. 6 and *Knight's Tale* 1364.

xviii-xix. The Prince seems to have forgotten that he sent away the knight to fetch Turpine. He placed himself in great danger by thus carelessly going to sleep. See st. 22 below.

xviii. H. H. BLANCHARD (SP 22. 219). In like manner, Erminia (*Ger. Lib. 7. 18*):

Non copre abito vil la nobil luce,
E quanto è in lei d' altero e di gentile;
E fuor la maestà regia traluce
Per gli atti ancor dell' esercizio umile.
Guida la greggia ai paschi, e la riduce
Con la povera verga al chiuso ovile;
E dall' irsute mamme il latte preme,
E'n giro accolto poi lo stringe insieme.

5. UPTON. This is Chaucer's frequent observation, *Knight's Tale* 1763 [cf. Skeat's ed. 1761], "For pite rennith sone in gentil hert." *Squier's Tale* 499 [cf. Skeat's ed. 471], "That pite rennith sone in gentil hert." *Merchant's Tale* 1502 [cf. Skeat's ed. 1986], "Lo! pite rennith sone in gentil hert."

xix. 7. Cf. 24. 3-5 below.

8-9. HEISE (p. 55) cites nearly twenty star similes in Spenser. Nearest to this is *Prothalamion* 163-5 (see notes on that passage). Cf. 1. 7. 30. 3-5; 1. 12. 21. 5-9 and notes on these passages in Book I, pp. 251, 307; 2. 12. 65. 1-2 (with note in Book II, p. 384); *Astrophel* 55 ff.; *Epithalamion* 93 ff. The morning star is a natural favorite with poets, but here the evening star is obviously more appropriate.

8. UPTON. The verse is prettily melted and softened down by the repetition of the letter *l*. As to the expression we have it again in *F. Q.* 6. 9. 22. 8: "But all the night in silver sleep I spend." Silver refined is an emblem of purity: So "silver sleep" means sleep purged of gross vapours, pure and unmixed; "aery-light from pure digestion bred." [Cf. "silver voyces," *Teares of the Muses* 21; "silver song," *Sh. Cal.*, April 46; etc. See notes on 9. 22. 8 and 10. 7. 2 below.]

xxvi. 4. TODD. The ancient custom shewn towards the conquered by conquerors. See 8. 10. See also Joshua 10. 24: "Put your feet on the necks of these kings." [Cf. also 3. 9. 45. 3; 5. 4. 40. 2; *Amoretti* 20. 3.]

xxvi. 9-xxvii. 1. This echo is a more subtle form of *concatenatio* not mentioned by BROOKE (*MLN* 37. 223-7).

xxvii ff. UPTON (1. xiv). If the *Fairy Queen* is a moral allegory with historical allusions to our poet's times, one might be apt to think, that in a poem written with so extensive a plan, the cruel Rosalinde is some way or other typically introduced. And methinks I see her, plainly characterized in *Mirabella* (see 6. 6. 16-7). Perhaps too her expressions were the same that are given to *Mirabella*, "The free lady" . . . "She was born free." And her pride and insolence is often hinted at in the Sonnets (compare st. 29 with the 5th and 6th sonnets). [See the EDITOR's note on 8. 1-2 below.]

EDITOR. Upton assumes that these sonnets were written to Rosalinde. Some of the sonnets, however, apply to Elizabeth Boyle and appear to have been written after 1590; see numbers 32, 60, 80, etc. But at any rate, sonnet mistresses are always cruel.

xxvii. 1-2. Cf. 5. 3. 37. 8 and notes in Book V, pp. 192-3.

7. UPTON. "Mai torniamo," as Boiardo and Ariosto say, when they resume a story just mentioned before. The same expression frequently occurs in the history of Prince Arthur. [Cf. 5. 3. 40. 6; 5. 9. 2. 6; 5. 11. 36. 1; 6. 2. 40. 2; 6. 9. 1. 1; 6. 11. 24. 9.] This tale is begun, and left above, *F. Q.* 6. 6. 16. "Free" is a perpetual epithet of this lady: see below, stanza 30, "She was born free." Stanza 31, "The lady of her liberty."

xxviii ff. [C. G. HALPINE] (*Atlantic Monthly* 2. 679-685) accepts UPTON's identification of Mirabella with Rosalind, and identifies the latter with Rose Daniel, sister of Samuel Daniel and wife of John Florio.

EDITOR. It seems that Halpine was misled by the name of Florio's second wife, Rose Spicer. There appears to be no evidence that his first wife was named Rose, even if she were Daniel's sister. See Grosart's ed. 3. c-cii; Clara Longworth de Chambrun's *Giovanni Florio*, Paris, 1921, pp. 31-2; and Frances A. Yates' *John Florio*, Cambridge, 1934, pp. 49-50.

G. L. CRAIK (*Spenser and his Poetry* 3. 51-2). What makes this episode especially interesting is the conjecture which has been thrown out, and which seems extremely probable, that the lady is Spenser's own Rosalind, by whom he had been jilted, or at least rejected, more than a quarter of a century before his unforgetting resentment is supposed to have taken this revenge. It is pretty evident, at any rate, that the picture is drawn from the life; some of the circumstances that are mentioned can hardly have been introduced except with the design of indicating a particular individual. There is a gusto in the writing, too, which is very like the inspiration of a strong personal feeling. And, as has been already remarked, the description will answer very well for what we know of Rosalind, who was certainly a person moving in a superior class, and educated and accomplished as well as beautiful, but most probably of humble birth. Spenser himself in the *Shepherd's Calendar* [Apr. 26] calls her "the widow's daughter of the glen"; and, although his annotator E. K. asserts that this is "rather said to colour and conceal the person than simply spoken," and adds that she was well known to be "a gentlewoman of no mean house," his expressions may very well refer to some family of rank to which she had become allied, and not to her birth or descent. Aubrey, the antiquary, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth century, states, on the authority of Dryden, the poet, that Rosalind was a kinswoman of the lady of Sir Erasmus Dryden, of Canons Ashby, in Northamptonshire, the poet's grandfather. (See *Letters Written to Eminent Persons*, &c. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1813, 2. 541.) The pedigree, or family history, of the Drydens, if closely examined, might perhaps furnish a clue to the mystery. [See the notes on *Sh. Cal.*, April 26; and DE SELINCOURT's note below.]

EDITOR. Mr. W. H. Welply (*Notes and Queries* 162. 167) has shown that Spenser's wife, Elizabeth Boyle, was a daughter of Stephen Boyle and Joan Cope, whose sister, Elizabeth, married John Dryden, great-grandfather of the poet Dryden. Elizabeth Boyle, then, was a first cousin of Sir Erasmus Dryden. Aubrey's statement that Rosalind was a kinswoman of Sir Erasmus' lady may be simply a confusion on his part of what Dryden the poet told him, a confusion of Rosalind with Spenser's wife, though she was a kinswoman of Sir Erasmus, not

of his lady. Mr. Welply suggests that a Dora Leveson (Leuson, Lison), a relative of Frances Wilkes, the wife of Sir Erasmus Dryden, may be discovered. He assumes the name Rosalind to be an anagram. I am inclined to think that Aubrey was confused, as he frequently was. See the "Life" in the last volume.

CHILD. See the sixteenth stanza of the preceding canto. There can hardly be a doubt that in *Mirabella* reappears the Rosalind of Spenser's earlier poems. This passage seems to be meant as a satire on her married life and some ridiculous foibles in her husband. The point is most cleverly argued in the *Atlantic Magazine*. [See HALPINE's note above.]

E. DE SELINCOURT (Oxford ed., p. 1, n.). The statement is absolutely unfounded, and there is nothing in Spenser's character to justify it. Moreover, the circumstances do not fit. Rosalind had preferred the love of Menalcas to Colin's, which Colin naturally enough regretted but could not regard as *dis-courteous*; *Mirabella* was a heartless coquette (8. 20). If Spenser had wished to insult Rosalind, he would not have chosen to do it in his book "of Courtesy." His true feelings with regard to her are more accurately expressed in his autobiographical poem (*Colin Clouts* 926-51) written only a year or two before this.

EDITOR. One has only to read a few lines of this tribute to Rosalind to realize the impossibility of UPTON's conjecture; for example, *Colin Clouts* 935-942:

Not then to her that scorned thing so base,
But to my selfe the blame that lookt so hie.

Yet so much grace let her vouchsafe to grant
To simple swaine, sith her I may not loue:
Yet that I may her honour paravant,
And praise her worth, though far my wit aboue.

See the EDITOR's note on 5. 12 ff. above.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 204). *Mirabella's* story and the lesson thereby conveyed might be compared to Lidia's story: *Orl. Fur.* 34. 11-43. [See FOWLER's note on sts. 32-7 below.]

xxviii. 8-9. See FOWLER's note on *F. Q.* 5. 5. 53. 7-8 in Book V, p. 206. The process is elaborated in the *Hymnes*, especially *Hymne of Love* 120-133; *Hymne of Beautie* 48-60; 239-245.

xxix. 7-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). This thought is rather implied in the *Hymnes* than expressed in so many words. Cf. *Hymne of Love* 190-6; *Hymne of Beautie* 176-189; 211-224; and notes.

xxx. 9. See note on 8. 21. 1-4 below.

xxxi. 1-4. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the System of Courtly Love*, p. 42). Deprived of his lady's grace the lover has left only one avenue of relief—death. This is the final effect of love [in courtly convention]. (Schrötter, *Ovid und die Troubadours*, p. 76, remarks: "Die Beteuerung, dass man vor Sehnsucht sterbe, wird von Ovid vorgeschrieben und gilt bei ihm wie bei den Troubadours als Ausdruck der höchsten, grenzenlosen Liebe." The lover in Caulier's *L'Hospital d'Amours* visits the cemetery, *Oeuvres de Chartier*, ed. by Du Chesne, p. 732:

En ce cimitiere gisoient
 Les vrais et loyaulx amoureux,
 Leurs epitaphes devoient
 Leurs noms. Si recongneuz entre eulx
 Tristan le Chevalier trespreux,
 Le quel mourut de desconfort,
 Lancelot du Lac, et tous ceulx
 Qui aymerent iusqu'a la mort.)

Cf. *Sb. Cal.*, August 169-171; December 95-6; *Colin Clouts* 947-950; *Amoretti* 2; *Hymne of Love* 153-4; *F. Q.* 3. 2. 39, 44; 3. 4. 6. 26; 3. 10. 7. 8-9.

xxxii ff. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, pp. 61-2). The God of Love is the object of supreme worship in the House of Busirane (*F. Q.* 3. 11-12) and his absolute authority is recognized by all in the Court of Cupid. Evidences of his sovereignty in the former case are found in the character of the painting on the walls, in the altar of the god, and in the masque which he directs in review before Britomart. In making Cupid the presiding deity in two of his court of love situations or episodes Spenser has abundant warrant in mediaeval allegory. The god is thus represented in the *De Phillide et Flora*, in the *De Venus la Deesse d'Amor*, in the *Dit du Vergier* of Guillaume de Machaut, in the *Paradys d'Amour* of Froissart, in the *Parlement d'Amour* of Chartier, in the *Reson and Sensuallyte* of Lydgate, and in the *Temple de Cupido* of Marot. He is pictured as seated in his pavilion in a garden or meadow, as enthroned in his palace, or as represented in his temple by his altar and image. [See FOWLER's note on 7. 7. 3-59 below.]

xxxii-xxxvii. UPTON. It happened that when the records or rolls were red, in which the names of the lovers were kept and filed up. . . . We read presently after that Cupid had his eyes to be unblindfolded: he is blind or not, as occasion serves, see *F. Q.* 3. 12. 23 [see FOWLER's note on 3. 12. 22-3 in Book III, p. 303], and now as he keeps his court on St. Valentine's day, 'tis requisite he should reconnoitre his servants. Chaucer has a poem entitled *The Court of Love*; (see Urry's ed., p. 560). And this poem perhaps gave Spenser the hint of Cupid's court on St. Valentine's day. In Chaucer's *Court of Love*, there are many shadowed persons, and poetical beings, introduced; as here Infamy and Despight, and a bayliff-errant named Portamoure, so named from carrying the messages and orders of Love.

COLLIER. Before the time of Spenser, viz. in 1557, a work was printed called *The Court of Venus*, a fragment of which, in a later edition, has been preserved. It was so popular that, to counteract its bad effects, a person of the name of Hall published *The Court of Virtue* in 1564, while, two years afterwards, Thomas Bryce put forth what he called *The Court of Venus Moralized*. These have not survived, and all we know of them is from entries in the Registers of the Stationers' Company. See *Extracts*, etc. printed by the Shakespeare Society in 1848, 1. 13, 103, 165. What resemblance any of them bore to Spenser's "Court of Cupid," of course, we have no means of ascertaining.

E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, p. 14) uses this episode as an example of the court of love "setting in a temple or castle."

E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, pp. 103-106). The typical instance in Spenser of the Court of Cupid judicially constituted for the trial of crimes against the God of Love is the tribunal before which Mirabella is haled in the sixth book of the *Faerie Queene*. (The epitomized form of this scene makes it probable that if the supposedly lost *Court of Cupide* mentioned by E. K. in his epistle dedicatory to the *Shepheardes Calendar* is preserved anywhere in Spenser's works, it is here. Cf. H. Sandison, *PMLA*, 1910, pp. 145 ff.) Court is held on Saint Valentine's day (cf. Chaucer, *Parlement of Foules* 309). The god sits in judgment to hear reports of lovers' successes and, as it appears by the sequel, to redress grievances. (In Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*, Percy Society, 18. 142, Venus and Cupid hold parliament "To redresse lovers of their payne and wo.") . . . One of the most interesting things about this rapid sketch of a trial scene is Spenser's palpable intention to employ legal phraseology throughout as a literary device.

From a number of mediaeval courtly poems in which the same idea is basic, one—Chartier's *Le Parlement d'Amour* (*Oeuvres*, ed. Du Chesne, pp. 695 ff.)—is chosen for particular discussion in this connection because it affords a fairly close parallel to Spenser's episode. In this poem the court convenes in a garden adorned with flowers. Love calls the parliament (p. 697)

pour raison
Faire de ceulx, qui desraison
Aroient fait en son service.

There are twelve presidents, the chief of whom, Franc Vouloir, presides as judge. Espoir is the "procureur"; Desir, the "avocat"; Souvenir, the "greffier"; and Doulx Pensier, the "huissier," who corresponds to Spenser's bailiff Portamore. The process-server is ordered by the clerk to call (p. 697)

Celle, qui outre la deffence
D'amours, avoit cueur endurcy,
Qu'on appella en ma presence
La belle Dame sans mercy.

As prosecutor, Desir, addressing Love, presents a lengthy indictment of the defendant, charging that she had repelled the advances of her lover contrary to Love's law; that she had falsely charged him with deception; that she had assured him his illness was not mortal; that she had told him he need not hope; that she had called him a villain; and that she had said that one does not in youth fool away time with love (p. 709):

Pourquoy, Amours, conclure vueil
Avec Espoir vo procureur,
Que ceste femme soit en deuil
Enclose, et par paine et douleur
Gardee en tres-griefue langueur.

The president of the court then advises the lady that if she can not excuse herself he will be forced to impose sentence. She requests counsel, but no one volunteers. She then asks for stay of judgment, which is granted. At this point the poet awakes from his vision.

Obviously the situation here is fundamentally parallel to that in Spenser. In

both cases a heartless beauty is tried before the court of the God of Love for cruelty to a lover or lovers; in both she is convicted, and in both the extreme penalty is not enforced, being in the one case modified to a severe penance and in the other withheld. The twelve presidents in Chartier's poem may be said to correspond roughly to the jury impanelled in the Court of Cupid. Charges are preferred in the one by Desir with the concurrence of Espoir, and in the other by Infamie and Despight. The indictment in each is substantially the same. La belle Dame is the prototype of Mirabella. Spenser has appropriated the cruel beauty of Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans Merci*, or Sir Richard Ros's version of the same (With *F. Q.* 6. 7. 30 and 6. 8. 21, for example, compare the Middle English translation of *La belle Dame sans Merci* 309-316 and 325-332, and note the emphasis placed upon personal freedom by both ladies. The text of Ros's translation may be found in *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, ed. Furnivall, *EETS*, pp. 80 ff.), but his treatment of the theme is less vital and less picturesque because the whole scene in the *Faerie Queene* is apparently a summary used to explain the character and plight of Mirabella rather than a complete, first-hand narrative. (Dodge, *PMLA*, 1897, p. 204, compares the Mirabella episode, *F. Q.* 6. 7. 28 ff., with Lidia's story in the *Orlando Furioso* 34. 11-33. [See DODGE's note on sts. 27 ff. above.] It should be observed, however, that in the latter we have no trial in a court of love. The parallel lies only in the punishment of the cruel beauty for disdainful love and in the lesson conveyed thereby. The episode of Mirabella as a whole belongs undoubtedly to the type of story called by Neilson "The Purgatory of Cruel Beauties," *Romania* 29. 85 ff.) [See FOWLER's note on 7. 7. 3-59 below.]

xxxii. See BUCK's note on *F. Q.* 3. 12 in Book III, pp. 299-300.

xxxvi. 5. TODD. Alluding to the law of this country, i. e. the case of those who, at the bar of justice, stand mute; on whom sentence is at length pronounced, the same as if they had been, in the ordinary way, found guilty by the jury.

xxxviii. 7. See note on 1. 30. 4 above.

xl-xliv. F. I. CARPENTER (*Reference Guide*, p. 172) suggests John Skelton's *The Bowge of Courte* 288 ff. as the source of this description.

xli-xliii. EDITOR (F. M. P.). UPTON (see note on 2. 7. 41. in Book II, p. 261) observes that there are two giants of the same name, the Disdain whom Guyon encounters in Mammon's cave and the Disdain who here attends Mirabella. As a matter of fact Spenser has here deliberately restudied the earlier personification. In each description Disdain is depicted as stern, proud and scornful, but the earlier description of the giant's carriage,

striding stiffe and bold,
As if that highest God defie he would;

is here replaced by the more detailed and far more graphic description of his gait and mien in stanza 42, where he stalks like a crane and gazes about with his fiery eyes "As if he with his lookes would all men terrifie." Reality is further secured by having the giant *clad* in cloth of gold (see Miss WHITNEY's note on 43. 6 below) rather than *being* "of gold mould," yet in the next canto we find that he is bloodless (16. 5) and has "golden feete" (26. 6), clearly reminiscent of the

earlier description. Again, the observation that he was "More fit amongst black fiendes, then men to haue his place" is turned to fine account in the subsequent picture when the giant is given the black locks and the headdress of a Moor. In both accounts he is armed with an iron club. Finally, in the earlier passage Disdain is "like" one of the Titans, but here he is actually descended from them. There results from this revision one of the most terrible and vivid pictures in all of the *Faerie Queene*. The comparison of these two descriptions is most illuminating, for it reveals the way in which Spenser's imagination matured a picture.

See Appendix, p. 328.

xli. 3. See note on 3. 26. 8 above.

6-9. Cf. *F. Q.* 1. 7. 9, and note in Book I, p. 249; 5. 7. 10. 5 and notes in Book V, pp. 219-220.

8-9. UPTON. Take notice of a great beauty which Spenser uses here and in several other places, viz. the figure of suspense. For three or four stanzas together you have a giant described before you know his name: by this poetical apparatus your ideas are raised, and the person is introduced with greater solemnity. This giant was descended from those who warraid against heaven; and was related to that surquedrous giant Orgoglio, mentioned in *F. Q.* 1. 7. 14, who took prisoner St. George the knight of Una; and was afterwards slain by Prince Arthur, *F. Q.* 1. 8. 24.

xlii. 2. UPTON. Compare with 1. 11. 14. 3.

5-6. UPTON. Βρεθυόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς [*Clouds* 362], as Aristophanes said, ridiculing the gate of Socrates. But the image here is very picturesque, and the repetition of the letters adds not a little to the picture. . . . We have a ludicrous common saying, viz, He stalks as stately as a crow in a gutter: which might be originally formed from Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 387 [389]: "Et sola in sicca secum spatiat arena." In Virgil you perceive the same affected iteration of letters, as in Spenser: and a reader of Virgil and Spenser must be very unattentive not to observe a thousand instances of like nature.

6. Like the Ape in *Mother Hubberds Tale* 664. See note on 1. 30. 4 above.

xliii. 3-4. WARTON (1. 194). "Checklatoun" likewise occurs in the last mentioned poem of Chaucer (*Rime of Sir Topas* 5243 [Skeat's ed. 1924]): "His robe was of chekelatoun." Speght (Gloss. *Chaucer*) interprets this word "a stuff of checkerwork made of cloth of gold." Skinner, "a stuff of motley." But our author, in his *View of the State of Ireland* [cf. Globe ed., p. 639], has given us a more satisfactory explication of this word, as he found it in the same passage of Chaucer: "The quilted leather jack is old english: For it was the proper weed of the horseman, as you may read in Chaucer, when he describeth Sir Thopas's apparel, and armour, as he went to fight against the gyant, in his robe of checklatoun, which is that kind of gilded leather with which they use to embroider their irish jackets."

TYRWHITT (quoted by TODD). Upon further consideration, I think

it is plain that Spenser was mistaken in the very foundation of his notion, "that the quilted Irish jacket embroidered with gilded leather" had any resemblance to "the robe Shecklaton," *View of Ireland*. He supposes, that Chaucer is here describing Sir Thopas, *as he went out to fight against the Giant*, in his robe of Shecklaton; whereas, on the contrary, it is evident that Sir Thopas is here described *in his usual habit in time of peace*. His warlike apparel, when he goes to fight against the Giant, is described below, ver. 13786 etc. and is totally different.

6. CHURCH. Malabar is on the West Coast of the Peninsula of India, on this side of the Ganges.

TODD. See Sir Thomas Herbert's *Travels into Africa and Asia*, 4th edit. fol. 1677, p. 337. Speaking of the natives of Malabar, he says: "And albeit they wear their hair, yet conform they to the mode of shashes: for, about their temples, they wreath a curious sort of linnen sometimes wrought with silk and gold."

LOIS WHITNEY (MP 19. 148). The keynote phrase in this passage is the "Mores of Malabar." There are many descriptions of Malabar in the travel books, but in few of them are the inhabitants referred to as Moors. Even Marco Polo is too discriminating to give them that name. The phrase is probably to be traced back to some Portuguese travel book, for the Portuguese writers had the habit of referring to all Mohammedans indiscriminately as Moors. Especially is the *Book of Duarte Barbosa* full of the phrase, "the Moores of Malabar." This travel book was probably completed about 1518 and was translated into Italian by Ramusio and included in his collection of voyages. Spenser may possibly have gleaned his description of the dress of Disdain from Barbosa. Following is Barbosa's description of the costume of the kings of Malabar: "Sometimes they clothe themselves with short jackets open in front, reaching halfway down the thigh, made of very fine cotton cloth, fine scarlet silk, or of silk and brocade. They wear their hair tied upon the top of their heads, and sometimes long hoods like Galician casques." (*A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the 16 c. by Duarte Barbosa*, trans. by the Hon. H. E. Stanley, Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 104.) Elsewhere he speaks of the use of cloth of gold (Spenser's "checklaton"): "They go very well attired in rich cloth of gold, silk, cotton and camlets. They all wear turbans on their heads; these turbans are long, like Moorish shirts." (Hakluyt Soc. ed., ser. 2, vol. 44, p. 120.)

xlvi. DODGE (PMLA 12. 204). Distantly like *Orl. Fur.* 24. 62.

1-6. H. H. BLANCHARD (SP 22. 218). There are two similes in Tasso which Spenser may have had in mind here. *Ger. Lib.* 3. 32:

Tal gran tauro talor nell' ampio agone,
Se volge il corno a i cani, ond' è seguito,
S' arretran essi; e s' a fuggir si pone,
Ciascun ritorna a seguitarlo ardito.

Rin. 11. 35:

Così di can timido stuol sovente,
Ch' incontra 'l toro arda di sdegno e d'ira,
Corre per assalirlo e poi si pente,
E latrando lo sguarda e si ritira,

Mentre in feroce aspetto alteramente
 Quel muove i passi e gli occhi intorno gira,
 E dov' ei volge il tardo e grave piede,
 La vile schiera paventando cede.

In each of these similes it will be noted that a dog, or several dogs, are attacking a bull; that, as the bull advances or shows signs of action, the dogs retreat. In Spenser's and in the first of Tasso's, the bull threatens to use his horns.

[See note on 5. 9. 49. 1-5 in Book V, p. 232. Cf. 6. 5. 19 and HEISE's note above.]

9. WARTON (2. 226-7). These saracen oaths are likewise to be met with in Tasso and Ariosto. Hall perhaps points out our author in the following verses (*Satires* 1. 1. [3-4]):

Nor fright the reader with the pagan vaunt
 Of mightie Mahound, and great Termagaunt.

But Hall perhaps would have met with greater regard from his readers, had he not relinquished or ridiculed the species of writing, however fantastic and extravagant, with which he found his age infected. I suppose Hall's *Satires* acquired as little success and applause, in the age of Queen Elizabeth, as a poem written with the manners of the *Faerie Queene* would gain in our own.

Mahound, or Mahomet, seems to have been antiently a character on our stage, when nothing was fashionable but the legendary stories of the Saracens. Thus Skelton (ed. 1736, p. 158):

Like Mahound in a play,
 No man dare him withsaye.

Thus also Stowe (*Annals* 459), "And in a stage-plaie the people know right well, that he which playeth the sowdaine," etc. The souldan of Syria being another saracen character, usual on our stage.

UPTON. The oath of Sarazins and infidels in romance writers. See note on *F. Q.* 2. 8. 30 [Book II, p. 276, with notes by KITCHIN and WINSTANLEY.]

TODD. Mr. Warton has passed over in silence Turmagant; who also appears to have been a dramattick character. See Ritson's *Metrical Romances* 1. 261. "'Tervagant, l'un des dieux prétendus des Mahométans,' is a character in *Le jeu de S. Nicolas*, a very ancient French mystery; (see *Fabliaux ou contes* 2. 131) but no such personage, or even name, occurs in any Engleish mystery or morality now extant, or of which we have any account; though, from the following passage in Bale's *Acts of English Votaries*, it would seem that some such character had, in his time, been known to the stage: 'Grennyng upon her, lyke Termagauntes in a play.' " The author of *Sir Bevis of Hampton*, as Dr. Percy long since observed, represents his hero, upon all occasions, defying "Mahound and Termagaunte." See *Rel. of Anc. Poetry*, vol. 1. Note at the end of *King Estmere*, where the learned editor remarks that Termagaunt is the name given in the old romances to the god of the Saracens; which word, he adds, is derived by Junius from the Anglo-Saxon *tȳr* "very" and *māzan* "mighty," and that this high name had perhaps been originally given to some Saxon idol before our ancestors were con-

verted to Christianity; and that the old French romancers borrowed the word from the English minstrels, and corrupted it into Tervagaunte. But Mr. Ritson, in the notes on his *Metrical Romances*, 1. 260 ff. shews that Tervagant occurs in the *King of Tars*, a romance probably antierior to Chaucer's time; and that the English romances servilely followed the French. And, "with respect to the etymology of the original name Tervagante (for it is perfectly ridiculous to seek for that of the corruption of Termagant), it may possibly," says Mr. Ritson, "be refer'd to the two Latin words *ter* and *vagans*, i. e. the action of going or turning thrice round, a very ancient ceremony in magical incantation."—Mr. Tyrwhitt, in his notes on Chaucer [*Sir Thopas* 13741], says that this Saracen deity is constantly called, in an old romance in the Bodleian Library, Tervagan. The Italian poets name him Trivigante. Thus Ariosto [12. 59. 5], as Mr. Ritson has noticed:

Bestemmiando Macone, e Trivigante.

And this, I may add, Brusantino in his *Angelica Inamorata*, 1553. [27. 51, p. 278]:

Inuocando Appolino, et Triuigante,
Per soccorso al suo duol troppo importante.

I do not agree with Mr. Warton that Hall levels his satire against Spenser in particular, on account of these expressions. For they were probably common. See the *Hist. of the Tryall of Cheualry*, 4to. Lond. [1605] Printed by Simon Stafford [Sig. H 4v-Ir]: "Though wee haue lost our braue Generall, the Earle of Pembroke, yet here's Causaliero Bowyer, Core, and Nod, &c. And Mahound and Termagant come against us, wee le fight with them. Couragio, my hearts, St. George, for the honour of England."

xlix. 6. TODD. "Mocks and mowes" seem to imply insults by distortions of the countenance; or, as we say vulgarly, "making mouths" at one. So, in our old translation of the Psalms, 35. 15: "The very abjects came together against me unawares, making mows at me, and ceased not." And the word "mows" is preserved as late as in the Cambridge quarto edition of the Common Prayer Book, printed in 1683. In works, subsequent to the *Faerie Queene*, we find the combination "mops and mowes," as in Shakspeare's *Tempest* [4. 1. 47], where the shapes dance with "mop and mow," which Mr. Malone vindicates as the true reading, considering "mocks," the reading of the old copy of that play, as a manifest error of the press. Yet, we see, the authority of Spenser here would have supported "mocks and mows." However, Shakspeare uses "mop" and "mow" again. And thus B. Rich, in his *Faults and nothing but Faults*, 1606, p. 7. Speaking of a *Fantastike*: "I beleue hee hath robd a Iackanapes of his iesture, marke but his countenance, see how he mops, and how he mowes, and how he straines his lookes." Again, in John Taylor's *Wit and Mirth*, 1629, Tale 101. Where the Mayor of "Looe in Cornwall," his wife, and his brethren of the corporation visit the pretended queen's ape: The ape, "to expresse his courtesie to the mayor's wife, put forth his paw towards her, and made a mouth; which the woman perceiving, said, Husband, I doe thinke in my conscience that the Queene's Ape doth mocke me: whereat Iacke made another mouth at her, which master mayor espying was very angry, &c. and went to the inne-doore where Iacke-an-ape's tutor was gathering of money, to whom he said, Sir, doe you allow your Ape to abuse my

wife? No, Sir, quoth the other, not by any meanes. Truly, said the Mayor, there is witnesse enough within that haue seene him make mops and mowes at her, as if she were not worthy to wipe his shooes. . . ."

9. CHURCH. See the like sentiment, 4. 4. 4. 9 [with CHURCH's note, Book IV, page 188].

1. 8-9. See note on 2. 48. 9 above.

CANTO VIII

i-ii. Cf. 7. 27 ff. and notes above. Ladies should rule the hearts of men by gentle means, indirectly, as it were. Spenser recognizes, as did Chaucer in the *Wife of Baths Tale* (1038-1040), that

Wommen desyren to have sovereyntee
As well over hir housbond as hir love,
And for to been in maistrie him above.

He was well acquainted, too, with the sonnet tradition of the cold and cruel mistress. But Mirabella's crime is of another sort; she dared boldly to assert her right and to boast of her power over men (see 6. 31. 7-9). She did not realize that (5. 5. 25)

Such is the crueltie of womenkynd,
When they haue shaken off the shamefast band,
With which wise Nature did them strongly bynd,
T'obay the heasts of mans well ruling hand,
That then all rule and reason they withstand,
To purchase a licentious libertie.
But vertuous women wisely vnderstand,
That they were borne to base humilitie,
Vnlesse the heuens them lift to lawfull soueraintie.

The fault of both Radigund and Mirabella, then, is pride. They proclaim their power over men and publicly humiliate them. They should preserve the fiction "That they were borne to base humilitie," and rule over the men by being "soft and tender." Then they would escape the punishment of Mirabella and the humiliation of "Kate, the curst."

EDITOR (C. G. O.). On the form of 1-2, cf. 4. 10. 1-2 and EDITOR's note in Book IV, p. 216. Many of the sonnets are variations on this theme; cf. *Amoretti* 13, 25, 31, 38, 41, 47, 49, 55, 57.

iv. 3. Cf. 30. 7-9 below and notes on 30. 9. See UPTON's note on 2. 9. 6. 6-9 in Book II, p. 280.

v. 1-7. EDITOR. Cf. Timias's behavior at two other meetings with his lord, 5. 24 above; and especially 4. 7. 44. See 8. 27. 5-9 and note below.

4-5. See 5. 8. 49. 1-5 and note in Book V, p. 232.

viii-xvii. EDITOR (C. G. O.). This fight of Arthur and Timias with Disdain is in various details like their fight with his "sib" Orgoglio in 1. 8. 7-24. The

earlier account is more elaborate. Compare or contrast st. 8 with 1. 8. 8-9 (see notes in Book I, pp. 257-8); st. 10. 4-7 with 1. 8. 18. 7-9 (see UPTON's note in Book I, p. 259); st. 13. 4 with 1. 8. 22. 3 and UPTON's note, where *Aen.* 19 should read *Aen.* 9; st. 16. 8 with 1. 8. 22-3. Cf. also note on 1. 30. 4 above; and note on 5. 11. 31. 5 in Book V, p. 258.

viii. 6. See note on 7. 7. 8-9 above.

x. 9. See TODD's note on 7. 26. 4 above.

xii. 1-5. UPTON. This simile seems taken from Propertius, *Eleg.* 2. 34. 47:

Sed non ante gravis taurus succumbit aratro,
Cornua quam validis haeserit in laqueis.

Or from *Orl. Fur.* 11. 42:

Come toro salvatico, ch' al corno
Gittar si senta un improvviso laccio,
Salta di quà di là, s' aggira intorno,
Si colca e lieva, e non può uscir d' impaccio.

HEISE (p. 146). Vielleicht ist jene Stelle des *Furioso* nicht weniger von Einfluss gewesen, an welcher von der Ueberwältigung des Orlando erzählt wird. Die Situation entspricht der in der *F. Q.* vollkommen; auch Roland wird mit Stricken gebunden (*Orl. Fur.* 39. 54):

Per quella via che maniscalco atterra
Cavallo o bue, fu tratto Orlando in terra.

Vgl. ferner *Il.* 13. 570-2. [Cf. 7. 6. 28. 6-9 and note.]

xiii. 4. See note on 8-17 above.

xv. 7. See the EDITOR's note on 2. 36. 3 above, and notes on 25. 1 below.

xv. 9-xvi. 1. Of this particular form of *concatenatio* BROOKE says (*MLN* 37. 226): "The last and most common, as well as most effective type of repetition occurs where the concluding words of the alexandrine are not simply echoed, but applied, elaborated, and played upon throughout the opening verse of the next stanza." He cites in all 36 examples, which distribute themselves among the books thus: 6 each in Books I and II; 12 in Book III; 4 in Book IV; 5 in Book V; 3 in Book VI—here, at 10. 25-6 (?), and 12. 36-7; he overlooks 9. 11. 9-12. 1 below. See also note on 5. 1. 8. 9-9. 1 in Book V, p. 164.

xvi. 3. Cf. 5. 11. 5. 9 and note, Book V, p. 255.

5. See note on 7. 41-3 above.

8. See note on 8. 8-17 above.

xvii. EDITOR. Just as Britomart would have slain Busirane had not Amoret cautioned her that his death would mean that the enchantment resting upon her could not be lifted, since only he could her "recure again." See 3. 12. 34.

3. See note on 7. 11. 7 above.

xix-xxii. See note on 5. 6. 12 in Book V, p. 209.

xix. 1-2. HEISE counts over twenty of these water similes in the *F. Q.* Many of them are traditional: cf. 2. 11. 18. 4-9, and note in Book II, p. 341; 4. 3. 25. 5, and note in Book IV, p. 185; 5. 1. 15. 2; 5. 11. 31. 5, and notes in Book V, pp. 167, 258; notes on 1. 21. 1-5 and 3. 50. 9 above; 10. 7. 2 and notes below. But their number and the spirit of treatment reflect the poet's delight in water, especially when in motion, a delight which found abundant gratification in Ireland, "Sprinkled with wholsom waters, more then most on ground." See end of OSGOOD's note on 4. 11. 11-56 in Book IV, p. 242.

xx-xxiii. See 7. 28 ff. and notes above.

xx. 2. Cf. 2. 8. 5. 3 and 3. 5. 29. 8.

3-4. Cf. 2. 2; 6. 43. 3-4 above; also *F. Q.* 3. 6. 2.

8. See FOWLER's note on 7. 31. 1-4 above.

xxi. 1-4. EDITOR (F. M. P.). Note how Spenser plays with the words "loue," "list," and "die," weaving them back and forth into the texture of his verse. It is a favorite device: cf. 2. 1. 55. 5; 3. 4. 37. 5-6; 4. 12. 9. 9; *Amoretti* 14. 14; 7. 30. 9 above. Note further that the rhetoric of Mirabella's speech is the rhetoric of the sonneteer.

7. WARTON (2. 228). We meet with something like this, in our old metrical version of the first psalm [cf. *The Whole Booke of Psalmes. Collected into English meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others . . .*, 1633, sig. B4v.]: "Nor sate in scorner's chair."

xxiii. 3-5. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the System of Courtly Love*, p. 46). As relations between mediaeval lover and lady were conventionalized and gradually reduced to a hard and fast system, there grew up rules and regulations designed to set forth the theory and practice of courtly love-making. To these regulations the lover was required scrupulously to conform.

Thus the lover in the *Romance of the Rose* asks the God of Love to give him instructions for his own guidance (2135-8):

A sire for Goddis love seid I
Er ye passe hens ententyfly
Youre comaundementis to me ye say
And I shall kepe hem if I may.

Laws were needed not only to guide the lover but also to restrain the lady. In justifying the punishment of Mirabella's cruelty to lovers Prince Arthur says that such procedure may be necessary to safeguard Cupid's realm [lines quoted]. Although the lady as well as the lover is subject to Love's sovereignty and amenable to certain statutes, it is nevertheless true that extant codes such as those of Andreas Capellanus and of the *Court of Love* were framed primarily for the lover. (In the *Court of Love* 519 ff. the lover at the court of Venus is denied a knowledge of the statutes for ladies. They are kept secret on orders from the goddess herself.) It is chiefly from this point of view, therefore, that we shall

study the influence of the general laws as well as of particular codes of love upon Spenser. And, though Spenser has nowhere embodied in his work a formal code, the influence of such laws upon his lovers will be found to be considerable. For courtly canons regulate the conduct of his knights and ladies and largely determine their philosophy of love.

xxiv. See Appendix to Book I, "On the Propriety of the Allegory," p. 366.

1. UPTON. Psalm 56. 8, "Thou tellest my flittings, Put my tears into thy bottle." Spenser seems to allude to the lachrymatory bottles; the Italians call them "lacrimarii."

xxv. 1. Warburton (quoted by Todd). In the old times of chivalry, the noble youth, who were candidates for knighthood, during the time of their probation were called infans, varlets, damoyseles, bacheliers. The most noble of the youth were particularly called infans.

Todd. "The Infant." Spenser has here employed the word in the sense of "Prince," which is the Spanish signification of it. And thus Fairfax 16. 34 of *Rinaldo*:

This said, the noble Infant stood a space
Confused, speechless.

[See note on 2. 36. 3 above and on 2. 8. 56. 1 in Book II, p. 278.]

xxvi. 6. See 7. 40-43 and notes above.

xxvii. 5-9. This is the third recognition scene between Timias and Arthur. In all of them Timias is consistently silent. See 4. 7. 23 ff.; 6. 5. 24 and notes above. In the first, to be sure, only Timias recognizes Arthur.

xxviii. 4-5. Heise (p. 113) cites *Il.* 15. 237 ff.; 17. 674 ff.; 22. 308 ff.; *Od.* 13. 86; *Theb.* 8. 675 ff.; *Morg. Mag.* 23. 22; *Orl. Fur.* 2. 50; 33. 96; 43. 63; *Rin.* 11. 72. See note on 2. 32. 1-4 above.

xxix. 5. We hear no more of the Savage Man. And in the next stanza Arthur and Timias also disappear.

xxx. 8-9. Church. Cf. 5. 12. 43. 9.

9. Todd. Of which, however, we receive no further information. See the note on *F. Q.* 6. 4. 38. 9.

R. E. N. Dodge (Cambridge edition). "A great adventure." The poet never reached this part of his plan. Arthur now disappears finally.

xxxi. 2-4. See 7. 50 above.

9. Upton. Euripides in *Bacch.* 915 [919], and Virgil 4. 470, "Et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas."

xxxiii. Cf. canto 5. 4-6 and note above.

6-7. Heise (p. 111). Cf. *Orl. Fur.* 45. 39 ff.

xxxiv. 5. UPTON. 'Tis frequently mentioned in Heliodorus, that being opprest with sorrow they fell asleep: the same observation is made in the New Testament, Luke 22. 45, "he found them [his disciples] sleeping for sorrow." There are many of these natural observations in our poet, which have a pleasing effect when introduced with art.

xxxv-xxxvi. 4. M. M. GRAY (*RES* 6. 420-1). In the Sixth Book one feels that Spenser has become more accustomed to the conditions in Ireland, his imagination has assimilated the new experiences, and he can use the incidents of these wars just as he uses material drawn from earlier literature, and he mingles the two in some of his most fanciful fictions. Two of the heroines have adventures with "savage" peoples, and in imagining these episodes Spenser has curiously combined what the English felt about the Irish rebels with the wild extravagances and fantastic horrors which are found in some stories popular at the time, translations of late Greek romances. In the eighth canto Serena falls into the hands of a people thus described [sts. quoted]. . . . (The actual words used in this stanza show what was in Spenser's mind; contemporary accounts of Irish troubles use the same phraseology, e. g. Shane O'Neile "made his rode and invasion into the English pale," or "amongst them which remain many stealths are committed to keep them in life.")

The savages intend to eat the fair Serena, but their priest intervenes, and insists that she shall be kept for a sacrifice to their gods, but just as she is about to be sacrificed she is rescued by Sir Calepine. But here we may exonerate Spenser from the charge of drawing this scene from the Irish rebels, even although Sir Henry Sidney had written to his successor Lord Grey in 1580 "if you will this year go about the extirping of those Cannibals in Goulranell," for "cannibal" in this context was merely a term of abuse. (*Letters and Memorials of State*, Collins, vol. i, p. 81. Sir Henry Sydney to Lord Grey, 1580. See, however, *Cal. State Papers*, Hamilton, Introd. p. 89. May 1583, Stanley to Ormond, "The poorest sort hath been driven to eat the dead men's bodies which was cast away in shipwrack," and Spenser in *View* [Globe ed., p. 654].) Spenser's scene is really suggested by one of the Greek tales "Clitophon and Leucippe." [See UPTON's note on 38. 6-7 below.] In it the hero and heroine are seized by pirates, they are separated, and later the hero sees Leucippe taken to the altar to be sacrificed by the priest. He then, as he believes, sees her killed, but this is a mistake and she is ultimately saved by her lover. These tales were drawn upon freely by Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia*, and it is natural to believe that Spenser was also familiar with them and did not overlook them, adapting them to his purpose in his romantic epic.

xxxvi. C. S. LEWIS (*RES* 7. 84). Spenser's cannibals are paralleled in the "Lestrigoni" whom Orlando meets in *Orl. Inn.* 2. 18. 34 ff., and whose dinner, with pleasant ambiguity, he proposes to attend.

8. See EDITOR's note on 6. 38. 6 above.

xxxvii. 3. Cf. 2. 9. 41. 3-7 and note in Book II, p. 296; 3. 12. 20. 1-3. Biblical precedents for ivory in such imagery are Song of Songs 5. 14; 7. 4.

xxxviii. 6-7. UPTON. In all sacrifices the gods had their share, which the Greeks called ἀπαρχαί. So Horace [*Serm.* 2. 6. 66-7]:

Ante Larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces
Pasco, libatis dapibus,

i. e. giving my household gods their share. As to this episode of the intended sacrifice of Serena, and her almost miraculous escape, it seems taken from Achilles Tatius [3], who wrote the romance of *Clitipho and Leucippe*. Leucippe, like Serena, is carried away and intended to be sacrificed. There is likewise a subitary altar erected. . . . [See 8. 44. 8 and note below.] Leucippe is afterwards wonderfully preserved, and in a different manner from Serena. So likewise in Heliodorus [Underdowne's trans., Abbey Classics, pp. 263 ff.], Theagenes and Chariclea, being taken captives, were intended to be sacrificed, but were miraculously preserved.

xl. Cf. 4. 2. 17. 1-2 and note in Book IV, p. 175; also 1. 2. 5. 1; 5. 3. 18. 2-7; 5. 3. 26; and 47. 6-9 below.

2. See HEISE's note on 5. 11. 58. 1-2 in Book V, p. 261.

xli-xliii. E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, p. 105) cites "the white beauty of naked Serena, surrounded by black savages" as an example of the effects of chiaroscuro.

EDITOR. The bagpipes in stanza 46 would lead one to think Spenser had some British or Celtic tribe in mind. At any rate there is no reason to assume that his cannibals are negroes. The finest chiaroscuro occurs in st. 48; cf. 1. 1. 14 and note on line 5 in Book I, p. 183; 1. 3. 4; 6. 11. 13 below. Through these stanzas the cannibals at least seem to be suffering from the disease of the Bower of Bliss as described by C. S. LEWIS (*Allegory of Love*, p. 332): "The word 'peepe' is the danger signal . . . eyes, greedy eyes ('which n'ote therewith be fild') are the tyrants of that whole region. . . . It is a picture . . . of the whole sexual nature in disease." Cf. note on 10. 10 ff. below.

xli. 7. EDITOR (F. M. P.). Spenser here throws the accent on the last syllable of "nature," a common enough practice in Wyatt and Surrey, but elsewhere used by Spenser only in *Virgils Gnat* 276.

xlii-xliii. DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 185). The naked beauties of Serena might seem to be after those of Olimpia (*Orl. Fur.* 11. 67 ff.); but the parallel is in neither case close [cf. 2. 3. 21 ff.], and the method is generally Italian, not peculiar to Ariosto.

xlii. I. BAROWAY (*JEGP* 33. 35-6). The last three lines are indisputably influenced in symbolism, and with a slight variation, in imagery, by (Song of Sol. 4. 4) "Thy necke is as the tower of Daud built for a defence; a thousand shields hang therein, and all the targates of the strong men." The inconsequential difference in imagery is Spenser's substitution of "thighes" and "Arch" for "necke" and "tower." The imagerial correspondence between the rest of the two similes—"and thereupon The spoiles of Prince's hang'd, which were in battel won" and "a thousand shields hang therein, and all the targates of the strong men"—is too striking to admit anything short of indebtedness. The image of the arch, as well as those preceding, "paps" for "white silken pillowes," and especially "sides" and "bellie" for an "Altar," can be correctly apprehended only as a symbol. Surely, Spenser is not striving for realism; the picture of Mirabella [Serena] as a combination of sacrificial altar and triumphal arch is ridiculous. He is glorifying

Mirabella [Serena] through standards of value; he is endowing her thighs with supreme beauty and glory by identifying them with an object resembling them in shape but transcending them in stature and in glorious associations. Thus, "the spoiles of Princes hang'd, which were in battel won," far from rendering the image a piece of verbal grotesquerie, actually heightens the power of the Oriental symbol. It makes the arch the *ne plus ultra* of arches; and by transference, the thighs the *ne plus ultra* of thighs.

EDITOR (C. G. O.). Such inventories of the features of the fair are frequent in Spenser, and indeed represent a conventional device of Renaissance and earlier poetry. For a wealth of instances and for the probable origin of the device in the Song of Songs see VAN WINKLE'S note on *Epithalamion* 167 ff.

xlili. 4. Cf. *F. Q.* 3. 1. 36. 5 and UPTON'S note in Book III, p. 209.

9. UPTON. So our truly theistical and Christian Poet exclaims, "Tantum religio potuit suadere bonorum." An atheist, a Lucretian, a modern free-thinker—exclaims ever and anon, "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum" [Lucretius 1. 101].

xliv. 5. DUNSTER, in Todd's *Poetical Works of Milton*, 1809, 5. 66, in a note on *P. R.* 1. 500, cites *Aen.* 8. 369:

Nox ruit, et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.

He adds *Ger. Lib.* 8. 57 and *L'All.* 6.

8. UPTON cites Lucan 1. 9: "Erexit subitas congesti cespitis aras." "So Milton, of the altar which Abel erected, *P. L.* 11. 432:

Ith' midst an altar stood,
Rustic of grassy sod."

See UPTON'S note on 38. 6-7 above.

xlvi. 1-4. EDITOR (C. G. O.). These lines remind one of *Epithalamion* 129-139, and of that poem's refrain, whose cadence is heard in 46. 4, as often in Spenser. He loved the reverberation of sounds in the forest, such as often caught his ear in the forests of Arlo. See VAN WINKLE'S note on *Epithalamion* 18. Cf. 10. 10. 5; 11. 26. 6; 7. 6. 53. 7-8 above.

1. See note on 10. 18. 5 below; cf. also 3. 10. 43. 2.

xlvi. 2. CHURCH. He had no arms when he pursued the bear (4. 19) and the wild man afterwards carried them away with him. But see note, 4. 9. 38. 1 [Book IV, p. 215].

7-9. See note on st. 40 above.

xlvi. See note on sts. 41-3 above.

xlix. 3-4. EDITOR (F. M. P.). The fine irony of these lines seems to have escaped observation. The priest who was about to sacrifice Serena upon an altar to the tribal gods is laid along upon the earth by the right arm of Calepine and sacrificed "to th' infernall feends."

6-7. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 541). Cf. Matthew 25. 46.

7. TODD. Almost a translation of Homer, *Il.* 1. 3: ["and hurled down into Hades many strong souls of heroes."]

[See notes on 5. 2. 18. 5-9; 5. 10. 35. 8-9, in Book V, pp. 172, 254; also 4. 7. 32. 3-5; 4. 8. 45. 9.]

8-9. HEISE (p. 21) cites 5. 12. 5 and (p. 110) *Il.* 21. 492 ff.; 22. 139 ff.; *Aen.* 2. 516; 5. 213; *Met.* 1. 506; 5. 604 ff.; 6. 529 ff.; *Ars Am.* 1. 117; *Purg.* 2. 124 ff. Cf. 5. 12. 5. 9 and see note on 2. 32. 1-4 above.

li. 9. TODD. But we hear no more of Calepine and Serena.
[See notes on 2. 48. 9 above.]

CANTO IX

See GOUGH, Appendix I, Book V, p. 284; and Appendix III below.

i. HEISE (p. 71) cites 5. 3. 40. See GOUGH's note in Book V, p. 193; and notes on 4. 6. 46. 8-9 in Book IV, p. 199.

EDITOR (C. G. O.). But who is "thou iolly swayne?" He seems to be coordinate with "ye iolly Mariners" at 1. 12. 42. 1; that is, a projected personification of Spenser's poetic powers. Perhaps he is anticipating his own imminent appearances in the poem as Colin Clout at stanza 41 and in canto 10.

iii. 6. See Appendix, pp. 343-4.

9. TODD. It is remarkable that, in the old romance of *Le Cheualier aux armes doree*, the knight gives offence to the possessors of those lands through which he chases the "Glatissant Beast," as it is there called. See the Paris edition, 4to. s. d. Sign. F 3: "Des Cheualiers qui furent desplaisans pour autant que le Cheualier aux armes doree poursuyvoit la Beste Glatissant sur leurs terres et seigneuries." [See notes on 12. 27 ff. below.]

iv. 4. Cf. *Colin Clouts* 3, 771-4.
See Appendix, pp. 354-5.

v. 2-5. WARTON (1. 157-8). These verses are a distant imitation of Chaucer. They are more immediately an imitation of himself in the *Eclogues* (Februarie 35-40):

So loytering live you little heard-groomes,
Keeping your beasts in the budded broomes: . . .
And crowing in pipes made of grene corne.

which are apparently an immediate imitation of these in Chaucer (*House of Fame* 3. 133-6):

And many a floite, and litlyng horne,
And pipis made of grene corne.
As have these little herdegromes,
That keepen beastis in the bromes.

The word "herd-groome" occurs again in August [45; see also lines 129, 136]: "Yonder herd-groome and none other." And again in the poem before us (6. 11. 39. 8), "That they were poore heard-groomes."

EDITOR. Cf. *Colin Clouts* 1-9.

vii ff. For similar apotheosis see *Sh. Cal.*, April 55 ff. and WARTON's and TODD's notes.

vii. See Appendix, pp. 332, 352.

viii. 3-5. The image was a lifelong favorite of Spenser's. See *Sh. Cal.*, Nov. 75; *Dedicatory Sonnet* 16. 4 (to Lady Carey among ladies of the Court); 3. 6. 19 and UPTON's note in Book III, p. 253; below 10. 12. 5; 7. 6. 41. 3-5.

8. The Platonic suggestion inevitable in Spenser's descriptions of adorable women's beauty. Cf. 4. 8. 32 and notes in Book IV, p. 211; *Prothalamion* 62; and the *Hymnes* and *Amoretti*, *passim*.

ix. 5. EDITOR (F. M. P.). For similar comparisons applied to feminine beauty, see 2. 4. 25. 8-9; 4. 5. 14. 1-4, with notes on 14. 4 in Book IV, p. 195; 6. 10. 26. 1-4 and note below, and *Prothalamion* 119-122. Cf. 1. 7. 30. 4 and note on 30. 3-4 in Book I, p. 251.

xi. 9. See above note on 6. 8. 49. 8-9.

xii. 1. Time and again Spenser records such tableaux of astonishment or admiration. Cf. 5. 3. 18. 7; 4. 2. 17. 1-2 and EDITOR's note in Book IV, p. 175; among other examples are *Sh. Cal.*, August 75; *Amoretti* 3, 35; *Epithalamion* 160, 181; *F. Q.* 1. 4. 7. 1; 26. 6-9 below; 6. 10. 17; 6. 11. 13.

xiii. 1. UPTON. "the moystie night." Virgil 2. 8, "nox humida."

3-5. CHURCH. So in his *Sh. Cal.*, June 118-120:

Then rise, ye blessed Flocks, and home apace,
Least Night with stealing steppes do you foresloe,
And wet your tender Lambs that by you trace.

[A well-worn pastoral convention deriving from Virgil. See notes on *Sh. Cal.*, June 118-120.]

xiv. 4-5. See Appendix, p. 371.

COLLIER. Upton's reference to the *F. Q.* is an error, which we cannot set right. What he calls the romance of *Dorastus and Fawnia* was originally entitled *Pandosto, the Triumph of Time*, when it was printed in 1588, and for many years afterwards. The author of it was Robert Greene, a celebrated poet, novelist and dramatist. [Ed. 1636 has the changed title: *The pleasant historie of Dorastus and Fawnia*. UPTON probably meant to refer to 6. 4. 17 ff.; see the notes on 6. 4. 17-23 above.]

4. For the formula cf. 3. 6. 6. 1-3 and note in Book III, pp. 249-250; 4. 2. 32. 1; 5. 7. 10. 6; 6. 6. 9. 9; *Muiopotmos* 258.

xvi. 1. J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 102). Meliboe, derived from μελιβοή, with honey tone, may have been used by Spenser for the sake of its etymology, but was more probably chosen because of its association with pastoral literature. He might also have been influenced by Chaucer's or Watson's use of the name. [Cf. "sweet words, dropping like honny dew," 2. 5. 33. 4.]

xix-xxv. See GRIERSON'S note on *F. Q.* 5. Pr. 1, in Book V, pp. 156-7, and Appendix, p. 375.

(F. M. P.). Professor Judson (see Appendix, p. 343) is of the opinion that "experience rather than literary tradition or current criticism dictated, in the main, Spenser's views of court and country." We must not overlook the fact, however, that such criticism had become highly conventionalized. In this connection the following from Jean de la Taille's *Courtisan Retiré* (ed. de Maulde), pp. 28-9, is interesting, as a characteristic expression:

Mais à cell' fin qu' avec ma vie tu entendes
Les joyes de la Cour qui sont, dis-tu, si grandes,
Les grans travaux d'Hercule on pourroit mieus nombrer
Que ceux qu' au courtisan il convient endurer,
Auquel est de besoing d'un plus grand cueur pour vivre
A la Cour qu'au soldat qui veult les armes suivre.

Premierement il a, pour dire en bref ses maux,
A loger & changer de logis mil travaux:
Comme au Prince, il doit faire aux favoris service,
Accompagner les grands, espier quelque office,
Visiter les seigneurs, caresser les fourriers,
Honorar ses hayneux, flatter les thresoriers,
Faire dons, tenir table, aux dames estre esclave,
Feindre & dissimuler, estre en point & bien brave.
Pour n'estre dit tacquin il doit faire bancquets,
Donner aux gaudisseurs pour n'estre en leurs caquets,
Faire cas d'un chacun pour n'estre dit hermite,
Jouër, gaudir, jurer, pour n'estre un hypocrite.
Il doit negocier pour parents importuns,
Demander pour autrui, entretenir les uns,
Il doit estant gesné n'en faire aucun murmure,
Prester des charitez & forcer sa nature,
Jeuner s'il fault manger; s'il faut s'asseoir, aller,
S'il faut parler, se taire, & si dormir veiller,
Se transformer du tout & combattre l'envie:
Voyla l'aise si grand de ta cour & ma vie.

xx ff. W. L. RENWICK (*Edmund Spenser*, p. 160, n. 3) cites Seneca, *Epist.* 2, 4.

xx-xxv. CHURCH. This speech is copied from that of the shepherd in Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 7. 8 ff. [Quoted in note on 24-5 below.]

xx. 2-8. E. KOEPEL (*Anglia* 11. 359) cites Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 7. 10. 11:

E questa greggia e l' orticel dispensa
Cibi non compri alla mia parca mensa.

Ché poco è il desiderio, e poco è il nostro
Bisogno, onde la vita si conservi.

xxi. 4. UPTON. Almost literally from Horace [*Carm.* 3. 16. 17]: "Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam."

8. UPTON. This expression is taken from the pastoral poets. Theocritus 8. 49: ὦ τράγε, τᾶν λευκᾶν αἰγᾶν ἄνερ. "O hirce, albarum caprarum vir." Virgil, *Ecl.* 7. 7: "Vir gregis ipse caper." Spenser, in February Eclogue 80, "Thy flockes father his courage hath lost." Let me add a similar expression of Horace, *Odes* 1. 17. [7], "Olentis uxores mariti."

xxii. 8. TODD. "in silver sleep." In quiet sleep. The poets have applied from the qualities of metal, as Mr. Holt White has also observed in a note on Shakespeare's *1 Henry IV* [2. 3. 44], various epithets to sleep. Shakespeare has "golden sleep" [*1 Henry IV.* 2. 3. 44, *Titus Andronicus* 2. 3. 26, *Romeo and Juliet* 2. 3. 38], and "leaden slumber" [*Richard III* 5. 3. 106]. Homer, χάλκεος ὕπνος [*Il.* 11. 241]. Virgil, "ferreus somnus" [*Aen.* 10. 745-6, 12. 309-10]; agreeably to which, Sidney, in his *Arcadia*, has "iron sleep," p. 280, 4th ed. [In this connection should be noted 5. 6. 27. 3, where the cock "First rings his siluer Bell t'each sleepy wight." See also notes on 7. 19. 8 above and 10. 7. 2 below. Cf. notes on 4. 6. 17. 1 in Book IV, p. 200, where "metaphysical" should read "metaphorical."]

xxiii. PAULINE HENLEY (*Spenser in Ireland*, p. 96). The aristocratic pastime of hawking may have provided relaxation for his [Spenser's] leisured moments, for Ireland at the period was famous for its hawks, which were valued so highly that they were sent as gifts to princes and nobles. ("The hawks of Ireland, called Goshawks, are much esteemed in England, and they are sought out by many and all means to be transported thither."—Fynes Morison.) Derrick [Jhon Derricke, *The Image of Ireland.* Somers Tracts 1. London, 1809] mentions eight varieties bred in Ireland. [See above 6. 2. 32. 1-4 and note.] There were other amusements, equally diverting, if not so fashionable. [St. quoted.] Though he puts these, and the sentiments that follow, into the mouth of Meliboe, they might well be his own, for by this time he had settled down at Kilcolman with a certain amount of resignation, if not with content. [EDITOR. As Koepfel shows, note on sts. 24-5, "the sentiments that follow" closely parallel Tasso; cf. p. 218 above.]

xxiv-xxv. E. KOEPEL (*Anglia* 11. 359-360) cites Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 7. 12-14:

Tempo già fu, quando più l'uom vaneggia
Nell' età prima, ch' ebbi altro desio,
E disdegnai di pasturar la greggia,
E fuggii dal paese a me natío:
E vissi in Menfi un tempo, e nella reggia
Fra i ministri del re fui posto anch' io;
E, benchè fossi guardian degli orti,
Vidi e conubbi pur le inique Corti.

E lusingato da speranza ardita
Soffrìi lunga stagion ciò che più spiace:
Ma, poi ch' insieme coll' età fiorita

Mancò la speme e la baldanza audace,
 Piansi i riposi di quest' umil vita,
 E sospirai la mia perduta pace;
 E dissi: O Corte, addio. Così agli amici
 Boschi tornando, ho tratto i di felici.

Mentre' ei così ragiona, Erminia pende
 Dalla soave bocca intenta e cheta;
 E quel saggio parlar ch' al cor le scende,
 De' sensi in parte le procelle acqueta.

xxvi. 2. TODD. Virgil, *Aen.* 4. 79: "pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore."

7. See notes on 3. 9. 27. 8 in Book III, p. 279; cf. 10. 30. 4 below.

xxviii. EDITOR (C. G. O.). This stanza rings with the paradox in Spenser's nature which often tortured him. See *Prothalamion* 5-11 and notes.

xxix-xxx. 1. WARTON (2. 258-9). In these lines he plainly seems to have had his eye on those exalted Socratic sentiments, which Juvenal has given us in the close of his tenth satire. The last-cited lines, in particular, point out to us the sense in which Spenser understood the two final controverted verses in that satire.

Nullum numen (abest) habes, si sit prudentia; sed te
 Nos facimus fortuna deam, coeloque locamus.

UPTON. Spenser has made this fine reflection before [*F. Q.* 5. 4. 28]; and, like Homer, he repeats his fine reflections and good sayings, that you might not forget them. . . . Old Homer led the way, . . . *Od.* 1. 32-5 ["How vainly mortal men do blame the gods! For of us they say comes evil, whereas they even of themselves, through the blindness of their own hearts, have sorrows beyond that which is ordained."] Plato says very finely in *Republic* 10 [617]: ["The blame is he who chooses: God is blameless." Tr. Paul Shorey, Loeb ed. 2. 50. 7. Cf. 619 C and *Timaeus* 42 D], and dwells on the subject in his second *Alcibiades* [142 D]. . . . Juvenal from this Socratic chart has borrowed his tenth Satire [2-5, 346-353]:

pauci dignoscere possunt
 Vera bona, atque illis multum diversa, remota
 Erroris nebula: quid enim ratione timemus
 Aut cupimus? . . .
 Nil ergo optabunt homines? si consilium vis
 Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
 Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris:
 Nam pro jucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt Dii:
 Carior est illis homo, quam sibi. Nos animorum
 Impulsu et caeca magnaue cupidine ducti
 Conjugium petimus, partumque uxoris; at illis
 Notum, qui pueri, qualisque futura sit uxor.

[We omit UPTON's criticism of line 351 and proposed emendation.] Plautus has imitated it in *Pseudol.* 2 [3]:

Stulti haud scimus, frustra ut simus, cum quod cupienter dari
 Petimus nobis, quasi quid in rem sit, possimus noscere.

Certa amittimus, dum incerta petimus, atque hoc evenit,
In labore atque in dolore, ut mors obrepat interim.

Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* 2 [1. 5-8]:

We ignorant of ourselves
Beg often our own harms, which the wise Powers
Deny us for our good; so find we profit
By losing of our prayers.

Chaucer in the *Knight's Tale* 1253 [cf. Skeat's ed. 1251-4]:

Alas! why phleynt men so in commune
Of purveyance of God, or of Fortune,
That giveth them full ofte in many'a gise
Well bettir than themselvin can devise.

In *Troilus and Cressida* 4. 197-201:

O Juvenal (Lorde!) trewe is thy sentence,
That litil wenin folke what is to yerne,
That thei ne findin in ther desire offence,
For cloud of error ne lette hem discernen
What best is.

The only petition in the hymn of Adam and Eve [*P. L.* 5] is in verse 206:

Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still
To give us onely good.

In our most excellent Book of Common Prayer, we have several petitions of like sort: "Fulfil the petitions of thy servants as may be most expedient for them." "Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, who knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking," etc. "We beseech thee to put away from us all hurtful things, and to give us those which be profitable for us," etc.

xxx. 3-6. A common sentiment. Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 2: "Non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est"; Guazzo, *Dialoghi piacevoli*, Piacenza ed. 1587, p. 127: "Tanto cresce il disio, quanto il tesoro"; Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation*, Tudor Translations, 2. 206: "hee which is not content with that hee hath, hath never a whit more, then hee, who hath nothing at all."—Note contributed by J. LEON LIEVSAY.

7. EDITOR (C. G. O.). An echo of Proverbs 3. 13-16; 8. 18-21; or 24. 3-4 or of the Praise of Wisdom in the Apocrypha; see *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* 244-252 and note.

xxxi. 1-2. UPTON. Sallust [*Ad Caesarem de Republ.* 1. 1]: "Quisque suae fortunae faber." [Sed res docuit id verum esse, quod in carminibus Appius ait, fabrum esse quemque fortuna.] Seneca [*Epist.* 98. 2]: "Valentior enim omni fortuna animus est; (qui) in utramque partem ipse res suas ducit, beataeque ac misero vitae sibi causa est." Plautus, *Trin.* 2. 2 [.82]: "Nam sapiens quidem pol' ipsus fingit fortunam sibi." Higgins, *Mirror of Magistrates* ["King Madan" 12, ed. 1610, p. 46:

A man by grace and wit may shune the snare.
 Tis sayd a wise-man all mishap withstands:
 For though by starres wee borne to mischiues are,
 Yet grace and prudence bayles our carefull bands.
 Each man (they say) his fate hath in his hands,
 And what he marres, or makes to leese, or save,
 Of good or euill, is euen selfe doe, selfe haue.]

3-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.) The image of the buffeted ship making port, elsewhere a simile, is a favorite with Spenser, and in spite of literary precedent, may very likely be fortified by recollection of some harrowing experience. See 1. 3. 31; 1. 12. 17. 5-9; 1. 12. 1. 42 and notes in Book I, pp. 310-311; 2. 1. 2. 9; 2. 7. 1 and note in Book II, p. 252; 3. 4. 8-10 and note in Book III, pp. 238-9; 5. 2. 50; 5. 11. 29. 1-5 and notes in Book V, pp. 181, 258; below 10. 9. 4; 11. 44. 6-9 and note; 12. 1; *View of Ireland*, Globe ed., p. 617.

xxxii-xxxiii. See Appendix, p. 352.

xxxii. H. H. BLANCHARD (*SP* 22. 219). In like manner, Erminia offers gems to her aged shepherd host (*Ger. Lib.* 7. 16):

Chè se di gemme e d'ôr, che 'l vulgo adora
 Sì come idoli suoi, tu fossi vago,
 Potresti ben, tante n' ho meco ancora,
 Renderne il tuo deslo contento e pago.

4. On the expression "bowre and hall" see note on 1. 8. 5. 5 in Book I, p. 257; cf. 1. 4. 43. 6; 1. 8. 29. 9; *Colin Clouts* 726; *Astrophel* 28.

xxxiv. E. DE SELINCOURT (Oxford one-vol. ed., p. lxxv). At times he carries his assonance through a whole stanza, as in the following, where he emphasizes the rhyme vowels *ai* and *e* by contrasting them with the harder sound of *i* (st. quoted).

4. See 5. 5. 42. 6-9 and note in Book V, p. 206.

9. See FOWLER's note on *F. Q.* 5. 5. 53. 7-8 in Book V, p. 206.

xxxvi ff. T. P. HARRISON, JR. (*PMLA* 45. 719-20). Both poets [Sidney and Spenser] held in high contempt the shallowness and indolence of court life and voice frequently the Renaissance ideal of honor. In this regard, perhaps there is a definite parallel in Book VI of the *Faerie Queene* when Calidore doffs his armor and forgets the quest commanded by Gloriana. He, like Musidorus, assumes the garb and adopts the life of the shepherd with disastrous delay in the accomplishment of his quest. Spenser obviously censures Sir Calidore's pastoral aberration; yet he, like Sidney, is inclined to paint the rural picture sympathetically. The digression in Spenser's heroic poem affords him opportunity to describe the delightful life and scenes of this fairy Arcadia and again to introduce himself in the rôle of the shepherd suitor. In the revision of his romance Sidney was more severe in disciplining himself to a high intent, but certainly less so than was Spenser. The immediate and major source of Spenser's Calidore-Pastorella episode was Sidney's *Arcadia*, thinks Greenlaw, rather than Greene, Longus, Tasso, or

Ariosto. Elsewhere [SP 17. 440 ff.] the present writer has pointed out that Spenser was indebted more to Sidney for example in general method and technique than in specific dependence for materials. The various elements in this type episode [?] were too well known and too generally represented in the literature of the time to warrant the conclusion that Spenser drew mainly from the *Arcadia*. Sidney's influence was larger; in the attitude towards such digressions as are pictured in their heroic poems Spenser and Sidney were agreed, as each succumbs for the moment to the charm of pastoral life.

xxxvi. 6-9. UPTON. Ovid, *Epist.* 5. 3: "Pegasis Oenone, Phrygiis celeberrima sylvis." Observe this word Pegasis, and see if from hence we cannot get the true explanation and understanding of "Plexippus' brook." ("Oenone fontis filia," ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς. See Burman's ed. and notes.) Spenser loves, as I said above, to miswrite proper names; he does not say Pege, Pegasis, Pedasis or Pegasion: nor follows any commentator; but as he corrupts the name of Oenone and writes "Benone" [see Variants]; so he corrupts the name of the Brook near which Oenone was educated, and who was said to be the daughter of a fountain, and writes it "Plexippus." This is my real opinion of this very difficult passage. I formerly understood it otherwise: viz. that Plexippus was the same as Hippocrene; from πλήπτω, ξω, "percutio" and ἵππος, "equus": imaging that this whole story of Paris and the three goddesses, which appeared on mount Ida, was invented by the drinkers of the fountain Hippocrene. But let the reader please himself, and improve the hint here given, if he thinks it not satisfactory.

CHILD. It is very likely that "Plexippus brooke" (a stream unknown to ancient geography), was derived from some recent fiction upon this popular subject.

EDITOR (C. G. O.), Πληξίππος, "driver of horses," is a Homeric epithet. LOTSPEICH (p. 97) observes its occurrence as a proper name at Apollodorus 1. 7. 10; 3. 15. 2. Spenser, with his *flair* for etymology, may in real or imagined recollection recall the association of the epithet with Pegasus. A corrupt text, a late scholion, a misreading, a faulty memory may, one or all, have been the source of "Plexippus brooke."

LOTSPEICH (p. 9). Thus similes serve as links connecting Spenser's Fairyland with the world of ancient myth; and the poet's creation gains dignity and authority by the association.

7-9. See notes on 2. 7. 55. 1-3 in Book II, pp. 265-6; 3. 9. 34-6 in Book III, p. 280.

xxxvii. 7-9. Ferdinand in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, though forced by Prospero to perform menial tasks, observes (3. 1. 4-7):

This my mean task would be
As heavy to me as 'tis odious, but
The mistress which I serve quickens what's dead
And makes my labours pleasures.

xxxviii-xlii. See Appendix, pp. 351-4.

xxxix. See FOWLER's note on 5. 6. 3-4 in Book V, pp. 207-8.

Cf. 1. 2. 6. 3; JORTIN (p. 16) in a note on that line: "Homer [*Il.* 6. 202: 'devouring his own soul']. Which Cicero translates 'Ipse suum cor edens' [*Tusculan Disputations* 3. 26. 63]. Spenser uses the same expression . . . in *Mother Hubberds Tale* [904]."

4 UPTON. *Il.* 24. 129 ["devour thine heart"].

xl. 1-3. WARTON (2. 52) cites the similar presents given to Florimell by the witch's son, 3. 7. 17. See notes in Book III, p. 263.

9. EDITOR (F. M. P.). This is simply Spenser's version of the seventeenth "rule of love" in Capellanus' *De Amore* 2. 8: "Novus amor veterem compellit abire."

xli-xlv. See Appendix, p. 354.

xlvi. 1-6. Cf. Guazzo, *The Civile Conversation*, pp. 192-3: ". . . the gentleman which useth the companie of his inferiours, giveth, and receiveth singuler pleasure: For that they are marvellous wel apaid when they see a Gentleman, notwithstanding the inequality, which is betweene them, to make him selfe their equall. Whereby they are induced to love him, to honour him, and to doe him service: and whereby they themselves winne credite, and are the better esteemed of their equals."—Note supplied by J. Leon Lievsay.

xlvi. 7-9. See note on 2. 48. 9 above.

CANTO X

i. UPTON. Sir Calidore neglects his quest for the love of Pastorella: so Ulysses was detained by Calypso, Aeneas by Dido, Ruggiero by Alcina, Rinaldo by Armida. [See UPTON's note on 1. 2-3 above.]

iii. We see in this stanza an expression of the same contentment with his "living retired" in Ireland that we feel in Spenser's *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. If Spenser looked upon his going to Ireland as an exile in 1580, he seems to have become reconciled to it by 1590.

iv. 3-5. Same image at 3. 7. 13. 6-8. HEISE remarks (p. 135): "Auf den Glanz der Sonne, der die Augen blendet, finden sich in den Vergleichen des Ovid und Dante wiederholt Anspielungen." He quotes *Ex Ponto* 3. 4. 49-50; *Par.* 30. 25-7; 25. 118-120 (cf. *Purg.* 17. 52 ff.). "Auch Shakspeare hat sich dieses Bildes bedient, und zwar in einer ähnlichen Situation wie Spenser, *Lucrece* 372-5:

Look as the fair and fiery-pointed sun,
Rushing from forth a cloud, bereaves our sight;
Even so, the curtain drawn, his eyes begun
To wink, being blinded with a greater light."

v. ff. See OSGOOD's note on 2. 12. 42 ff. in Book II, p. 372; and notes on 10 ff. below.

vi. ff. H. H. BLANCHARD (*PMLA* 40. 848-8). The incident in which

Calidore comes upon Colin Clout piping to the Graces has a parallel in Boiardo in which Rinaldo comes upon the God of Love and his companions in the Forest of Ardenne (*Orl. Inn.* 2. 15. 43 ff.). (1) In both cases, the setting for the incident is the same: an open space surrounded by a wood. (The location in Boiardo is not on a hill-top as it is in Spenser.) . . . *Orl. Inn.* 2. 15. 43: "Nel bosco un praticello è pien di fiori." (2) Three naked damsels are dancing about a youth who is making merry music. . . . *Orl. Inn.* 2. 15. 44 [46]:

In mezzo il prato un giovenetto ignudo,
Cartando, sollazzava con gran festa.
Tre Dame intorno a lui, come al suo drudo,
Danzavan, nude anch' esse e senza vesta.

(3) The damsels throw flowers: in Spenser, upon the central maid of all; in Boiardo, at the trespassing Rinaldo. . . . *Orl. Inn.* 2. 15. 45-6 [47-8]:

Di rôse, e di vïole, e d'ogni fiore
Costor, ch' io dico, avean canestri in mano. . . .

Con quei canestri, al fin de la parole,
Tutti a Rinaldo s'avventarno addosso;
Chi getta rôse, chi getta vïole,
Chi gigli, chi giacinti a più non posso.

vi-ix. LOTSPEICH (p. 31). [See note on *F. Q.* 4. 5. 5. 5-6 in Book IV, p. 194.] For the lovely extended description . . . Spenser may have received some suggestions from *Met.* 5. 388-391.

vi-viii. W. RENWICK (*Spenser Selections*, p. 202). The haunt of the Graces, though perhaps suggesting the hills north of Kilcolman, recalls the "bright dancing-places and beautiful homes" of the Muses, "a little way from the topmost peak of snowy Olympus" (Hesiod, *Theog.* 61-3), and many descriptions, as Ovid's (*Met.* 10. 86-100):

Collis erat, collemque super planissima campi
area: quam viridem faciebant graminis herbae, . . .

and Claudian's (*de R. P.* 2. 101-4):

Curvata tumore
parvo planities, et mollibus edita clivis
creverat in collem; vivo de pumice fontes
roscida mobilibus lambebant gramina rivis. . . .

vi. 7-9. W. RENWICK (*Spenser Selections*, p. 202). *Parlement of Foules* 323-4:

the foules of ravyne
Were hyest set, and than the foules smale.

8-9. WARTON (2. 228-9). This is said in honour of hawking, which, as I before hinted, was a very fashionable and courtly diversion in Spenser's time. And for the same reason, and somewhat after the same manner, he particularises the falcon, in the speech of the genius of Verulam [*Ruines of Time* 127-8]:

Where my high steeples whilome used to stand,
On which the lordly falcon wont to towre.

[See notes above on 2. 32. 1-4; 7. 9; 9. 23.]

vii. 1-5. JORTIN cites Ovid, *Met.* 3. 407-410:

Fons erat illimis, nitidis argenteus undis,
Quem neque pastores, neque pastae monte capellae,
Contigerant, aliudve pecus: quem nulla volucris,
Nec fera turbarat, nec lapsus ab arbore ramus.

2. EDITOR (F. M. P.). The memory of the beautiful description which introduces Ovid's fable of Narcissus, a story with which every Elizabethan school-boy was familiar, may be responsible for Spenser's frequent use of "silver" to describe water. We probably meet it first in the translation of the *Axiochus*, where the adjective is interpolated. In describing the region reserved for those who have lived piously, the original enumerates, among other felicities, "springs of clear water": Πηγὰὶ δὲ ὑδάτων Καθαρῶν ῥέουσι (*The Axiochus of Plato*, p. 79). The Latin renders this literally: "Ex fontibus limpidae fluunt aquae," but Spenser's version builds it out to read (p. 58): "where from the siluer springs doo calmly run the Christall streames." In *The Ruines of Time* (l. 2) the young poet speaks of "siluer streaming *Thamesis*," and again (ll. 134-5—seemingly reminiscent of his above translation—) of "the christall *Thamis* wont to slide In siluer channell." In *The Teares of the Muses* (l. 5) he pictures the sacred Nine sitting "Beside the siluer springs of Helicone," and in *Virgils Gnat* (ll. 227-8) he furnishes the idyllic landscape with "a siluer Spring forth powring His trickling streames." In the *F. Q.* (1. 9. 4. 7) the river Dee rolls his billows "siluer cleene"; (1. 11. 29. 4) a "siluer flood" trickles forth from the well of life; and (7. 6. 41. 8) the Molanna flows in "siluer channell." In *Prothalamion* (l. 11) the poet reverts to the "siluer streaming *Themmes*." But not content with describing actual water as silvery, he figuratively employs the expression "silver streams" to describe the play of light on embroidered textiles. Thus Amoret sitting in the lap of Womanhood is arrayed in white (4. 10. 52. 5):

With silver streames amongst the linnen stray'd;

and Mercilla is covered with a cloth of state like a cloud (5. 9. 28. 5-8)

Whose skirts were bordred with bright sunny beams,
Glistring like gold, amongst the plights enrold,
And here and there shooting forth siluer streames.

Shakespeare is equally fond of employing the epithet "silver" to describe water. Cf. *Comedy of Errors* 3. 2. 48, *Midsummer Nights Dream* 1. 1. 210, *King John* 2. 1. 339, *Richard II* 2. 1. 46, *1 Henry IV* 3. 1. 102, *2 Henry VI* 4. 1. 72. [See notes on 7. 19. 8; 9. 22. 8.]

EDITOR (C. G. O.). "softly tumble." As usual of running water in Spenser, see 1. 1. 41. 2; 1. 9. 4. 8; 2. 11. 18. 4; 3. 3. 8. 5; 4. 11. 41. 8; 7. 6. 41. 6. Cf note on 8. 19. 1-2 above.

6. See DELATTRE'S note on 2. 10. 70 ff. in Book II, pp. 335-6.

7. UPTON. Ovid, *Met.* 5. 388, "Sylva coronat aquas"; 9. [335], "Summum myrteta coronant."

EDITOR. So also at 4. 11. 44. 2; 7. 6. 41. 8; cf. 4. 11. 27. 6 and 34. 7.

9. Cf. *Sh. Cal.*, April 36: "And tuned it vnto the Waters fall"; June 8: "To the waters fall their tunes attemper right"; 2. 12. 71. 5-6:

The silver sounding instruments did meet
With the base murmure of the waters fall.

Cf. also *Colin Clouts* 635-6; *Epigrams* 4. 6-7. See the EDITOR's note on st. 16 below.

viii. 4. See notes on *F. Q.* 3. 11. 5. 5 in Book III, p. 288; 5. 8. 5. 4-5 in Book V, p. 224.

9. W. RENWICK (*Spenser Selections*, p. 202). Spenser knew well that "Acidale" was the name of the Graces' fountain (see *Epith.* 310), but the name here has some significance. Boccaccio [ed. 1511, p. 140, 5. 35; also 3. 23], following a hint from Servius [on *Aen.* 1. 720], derives the name of the fountain from "akida, quidem Graeca, latine cura sonat, qua plurimam infestantur amantes"; but Spenser seems to have in mind the word ἀκηδής, *free from care*, applied to the Muses by Hesiod in the passage referred to above [note on 6-8]. [See note on 4. 5. 5. 5-6 in Book IV, p. 194.]

EDITOR (C. G. O.). From line 8 it seems to me that Spenser, with his tenderness for an etymology however shocking, is thinking of "acies" + "dale," and of Acidale as "Valley View." Cf. 7. 6. 54. 7-9. That he had been at some time stirred by the view from Galtymore one cannot doubt. The "spacious plaine" on top has its counterpart in the plateau on Galtymore; cf. 7. 7. 4. 5 and JUDSON's note on 7. 6. 36 below.

ix ff. LOTSPEICH (p. 4). To one who is not acquainted with Spenser's ways, it is probably surprising to come upon Mount Acidale and three Greek goddesses in an English and Irish Fairyland. The whole episode is typically Spenserian. The poet is talking about Courtesy. The Graces fit his purpose, because, in the hands of commentators, they have come to stand for Courtesy in the Elizabethan sense. The allegorical meaning attached to myth goes far, as we shall see, in explaining Spenser's use of such material throughout his work. The ideal of the learned poet also explains much. He must dignify his verse even with allusions within allusions, so to speak, such as the one here about Ariadne's crown. But the whole thing goes deeper than allegory or learned allusion. Spenser's personal feeling for things is the most compelling reason. In this episode Spenser is writing about his own lady, "there advaunst to be another Grace." Classic myth, plastic and adaptable, has been woven around his own love affair. Somehow, this mythology, learned from books and from fellow-poets, has come to mean so much to him that he can speak in its idiom when he comes to touch on the most intimate of his own experiences. Perhaps we can get no farther in explaining why Colin Clout is singing on Mount Acidale.

[On the significance of the Graces, in their relation to Colin Clout, see Appendix, p. 347.]

ix. 4. See note on 9. 31. 3-9 above.

6-9. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, pp. 58-9). Cf. *F. Q.* 3. 6. 12, where her abode is called a "house." . . . With this compare the picture of the goddess in the *De Nuptiis* of Claudianus, where Cupid visits his mother in her palace (99-101):

Caesariem tunc forte Venus subnixa corusco
Fingebat solio. Dextra laevaue sorores
Stabant Idaliae.

Der Kittel (*Bib. d. Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart* 21. 42):

Ich sah an der keiserin an,
Die was so wunnendlich getan,
Geziert nach keiserlicher art,
Sie was schön und da bi zart.

She was clothed in a garment wrought of gold and precious stones and wore a crown worth a hundred thousand marks that came from France.

Douglas, *The Palice of Honour* (*Works of Gavin Douglas*, ed. Small, 1. 56):

Amid ane throne with stanis riche ouirfret
And claith of gold Lady Venus was set.

Closely related to this view is the feudal conception of Venus as the sovereign mistress of lovers, who present their complaints and do homage to her as vassals. This typically mediaeval conception is reflected in Spenser. [Cf.] *An Hymne in Honour of Beautie* [267-273 quoted.] In *La Messe des Oisiaus et li Plais des Chanonesses et des Grises Nonains* of Jean de Condé Venus is a great lady presiding over a lover's banquet essentially feudal in conception though purely allegorical in substance (*Dits et Contes* 3. 14, ed. Scheler, Brussels, 1867), 430-6:

Li sieges Venus estoit mis
Tout enmi chiaus qui là seoient,
A son voloir servir commande;
Chascuns n'a pas ce qu'il demande,
Car ensi qu'à volonteï vient
A la dame, servir convient.

To the rôle of "suzeraine" it was but natural to add that of patroness and guardian of lovers.

6. JORTIN. He should have said "Cythera."

CHURCH. So all the editions. His old Master uses the same termination and accent, p. 15, 1938 [Skeat's ed., *Knight's Tale* 1936-7]:

For sothly all the mount of Cithëron,
Where Venus hath her principal dwelling—

Spenser (as Mr. J. observes, p. 125) "should have said 'Cythera'." And so too should Chaucer have said; as it would have prevented confusion in the names of places; for both the poets plainly mean to speak of the Island Cythëra, now called Cerigo; and not of Cithæron or Cithëron, which is a mountain in Bæotia. As our poet elsewhere rightly places the accent, though he uses the same termination,

Whether in *Paphos*, or *Cythëron* hill . . . (3. 6. 29. 4)

perhaps here too he gave:

That ev'n her own *Cythëron* . . .

which would have preserved the accent, at least, upon the second syllable, where it ought to be placed.

TODD. I cannot admit that Spenser intended the accent to be placed on the first syllable of "Cytheron." We are to pronounce "even" as a word of one syllable; and all is right. But, if "Cytheron" were to be accented on the first syllable, and "even" to be read as a dissyllable, the remaining part of the verse "though in it," would not then correspond with the other rhymes.

CHILD. The similarity of the names Cythera and Cithæron led our old poets into the mistake of supposing this mountain to be a favorite haunt of Venus.

[See LOTSPEICH's note on *F. Q.* 3. 6. 29. 4 in Book III, p. 254, and Critical Notes on the Text below.]

x ff. D. BUSH (*Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*, pp. 98-9). The beauty of this vision of the Graces is Spenser's own, though the materials are drawn from manifold sources, classical, modern, Celtic. While our eyes are still bewitched, a shepherd proceeds, with the aid of Natalis Comes, Servius, Boccaccio, to expound the relation of the Graces to Courtesy—if we can give him our attention.

Spenser was of course a very conscious and responsible inheritor of the traditional conception, powerfully reinforced by Renaissance criticism, of the poet, especially the heroic poet, as a moral teacher, whose combination of the "utile" and the "dulce" both instructs and delights. But Spenser was in the paradoxical situation of many artists of the Renaissance; his right hand remains untroubled by what his left hand does. Our Protestant and puritan tradition has made most of us incapable of entering naturally into the state of mind which, from the *Ameto* downward, unites religious or didactic allegory and luxuriant fleshliness. And many old-fashioned evangelical families read Spenser, though they would have recoiled from Ariosto; yet it is a question if Ariosto's morality is less healthy than Spenser's. What Mr. L. P. Smith ("Jeremy Taylor," *Life and Letters* 2 [1929]. 261; and *The Golden Grove* [Oxford, 1930], pp. xlviii-xlix, lxii) has admirably said of Jeremy Taylor, who preached in the sunset glow of the Renaissance tradition, is even more true of the poet of noontide:

It is a dangerous thing for him to denounce evil in lovely chimes of words. . . . A sin which is damned with too much eloquence may arouse more interest than holy execration; and when we read in Jeremy Taylor of "the falling stars and little glow-worms of the world," we, too, are tempted to turn from the altar and gaze on them with worldly eyes; "the harlots' hands that build the fairy castle" are hardly regarded by us with all the reprobation they deserve, and a sinner who, with a heart full of wine and rage and folly goes "singing to the grave" may seem to have made what is after all a not inglorious end. . . . The preacher may be preaching with the most solemn emphasis of the four great last things, of Death and Judgement and Hell and Heaven, but if the poet within his cassock is singing at the same time of the dew on the leaves of the rose, it is to the song rather than the sermon that we listen.

C. S. LEWIS (*The Allegory of Love*, pp. 330-1). We here approach a subject on which Spenser has been much misunderstood. He is full of pictures of virtuous and vicious love, and they are, in fact, exquisitely contrasted. Most readers seem to approach him with the vulgar expectation that his distinction between them is going to be a quantitative one; that the vicious loves are going to be warmly painted and the virtuous tepidly—the sacred draped and the profane nude. It must be stated at once that in so far as Spenser's distinction is quantitative at all, the quantities are the other way round. He is at the opposite pole from the scholastic philosophers. For him, intensity of passion purifies: cold pleasure, such as the scholastics seem to approve, is corruption. But in reality the distinction has very little to do with degree or quantity.

The reader who wishes to understand Spenser in this matter may begin with one of his most elementary contrasts—that between the naked damsels in Acrasia's fountain and the equally naked (in fact more naked) damsels who dance round Colin Clout. Here, I presume, no one can be confused. Acrasia's two young women (their names are obviously Cissie and Flossie) are ducking and giggling in a bathing-pool for the benefit of a passerby: a man does not need to go to faerie land to meet them. The Graces are engaged in doing something worth doing,—namely, dancing in a ring "in order excellent." They are, at first, much too busy to notice Calidore's arrival, and when they do notice him they vanish. The contrast here is almost too simple to be worth mentioning; and it is only marginal to our immediate subject, for the Graces symbolize no sexual experience at all.

x-xvi. LOWELL (*Literary Essays* 4. 342-3). Is there any passage in any poet that so ripples and sparkles with simple delight as this? It is a sky of Italian April full of sunshine and the hidden ecstasy of larks. And we like it all the more that it reminds us of that passage in his friend Sidney's *Arcadia*, where the shepherd-boy pipes "as if he would never be old." If we compare it with the mystical scene in Dante (*Purgatorio* 29, 30), of which it is a reminiscence, it will seem almost like a bit of real life; but taken by itself it floats as unconcerned in our cares and sorrows and vulgarities as a sunset cloud. The sound of that pastoral pipe seems to come from as far away as Thessaly when Apollo was keeping sheep there. Sorrow, the great idealizer, had had the portrait of Beatrice on her easel for years, and every touch of her pencil transfigured the woman more and more into the glorified saint. But Elizabeth Nagle [Lowell means Elizabeth Boyle; Spenser's son Sylvanus married Ellen Nagle, or Nangle] was a solid thing of flesh and blood, who would sit down at meat with the poet on the very day when he had thus beatified her. As Dante was drawn upward from heaven to heaven by the eyes of Beatrice, so was Spenser lifted away from the actual by those of that ideal Beauty whereof his mind had conceived the lineaments in its solitary musings over Plato, but of whose haunting presence the delicacy of his senses had already premonished him. The intrusion of the real world upon this supersensual mood of his wrought an instant disenchantment. . . .

x. 3. The pipe is a bagpipe; see 18. 5 below.

5. See note on 8. 46. 1-4 above.

xi-xviii. JORTIN. What Spenser says of the Graces is from Hesiod and Seneca. Hesiod, *Theog.* 907-909: ["And Eurynome, the lovely daughter of Okeanos, bare to him the three fair-cheeked Graces, Aglaia and Euphrosyne and lovely Thalia." Tr. A. W. Mair.]

Seneca, *De Benef.* 1. 3: Num dicam quare tres Gratiae et quare sorores sint, et quare manibus implexis, et quare ridentes, et juvenes, et virgines, solutaeque ac perlucida veste? Alii quidem videri volunt unam esse quae det beneficium: alteram quae accipiat, tertiam quae reddat. Alii tria beneficiorum esse genera; promerentium, reddentium, simul accipientium reddentiumque. . . . Vultus hilaris sunt, quales solent esse qui dant vel accipiunt beneficia. (See Gronovius.) Juvenes, quia non debet beneficiorum memoria senescere. Virgines, quia incorrupta sunt, et sincera, et omnibus sancta. In quibus nihil esse adligati decet, nec adscripti: Solutis itaque tunicis utuntur. Perlucidis autem; quia beneficia conspici volunt.

It is a vulgar error to imagine that the ancients always represented the Graces naked.

xii. 3-5. See note on 9. 8. 3-4 above.

7-9. HEISE (p. 122) quotes *Aen.* 1. 592-3; 10. 134-5, and cites *Od.* 6. 232-4; 23. 159-161; *Par.* 30. 64-6; Chaucer, *Troilus* 2. 584-5. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet* 1. 5. 49-50.

xiii. JORTIN. It was not at the wedding of Theseus and Ariadne, but of Pirithous and Hippodamia, that the Centaurs and Lapithae fought.

UPTON. The comparison of these fair damzels, dancing in a ring, to the constellation called Ariadne's crown, is very elegant and just: but our poet differs from the mythologists, in supposing that the Centaurs and Lapithae fought at the wedding of Theseus. If the reader at his leisure is desirous of seeing the various accounts of this constellation, he may consult Hyginus, *Poet. Astron.* 2. 5. The accounts of Ariadne, as well as of her constellation, are very various, as may be seen in Plutarch's life of Theseus; Homer's *Odyssey* 11. 324, and the Scholiast. This beautiful constellation is described by Ovid, *Met.* 8. 176-82; *Fast.* 3. 511-6. And by Manilius 1. 326 [Bentley's ed.; line 317 in Housman's ed.].

LOTSPEICH (p. 39) remarks that "Spenser's substitution of Theseus and Ariadne for Pirithous and Hippodamia may result from a confused memory of the particular emphasis on Theseus' part in the battle at the wedding of Pirithous, as told by Ovid, *Met.* 12. 210 ff. and Natalis Comes 7. 4." He points out also that in *Fasti* 3. 507-516 it is Ariadne's crown which Vulcan is presenting to Venus and that Venus is in Spenser's mind in stanzas 12-5.

4-5. See notes on *F. Q.* 4. 1. 23. 1-5 in Book IV, pp. 168-9.

8-9. See note on 7. 19. 8-9 above.

xiv-xvi. EDITOR (F. M. P.). This delicate compliment is carried over into the *Epithalamion* (96-109) where the same epithets are employed. Cf. 15. 1, 2 with *Epithalamion* 96, 103 and VAN WINKLE'S notes. Cf. *Teares of the Muses* 397; *Mother Hubberds Tale* 761; SAWTELLE'S note on 21-2 below; and note on 6. 14. 6 above.

xiv. 6-9. See WARTON'S note on 3. 1. 36. 7-9 in Book III, p. 209.

xv. 1. LOTSPEICH (p. 64). Natalis Comes 4. 15, says that they stand for "hilaritas et laetitia" and are "laetitiae matres."

4-6. EDITOR (C. G. O.) This notion of the Graces as the bestowers of attractive manners and charms is a favorite with Spenser; cf. 2. 3. 25; 3. 6. 2. 9; *Teares of the Muses* 405-6; *Epithalamion* 103-9. Boccaccio in his *Genealogiae Deorum* (5. 35) calls them "pedisequae" of Venus, that is, "hand maides," because Venus is the author of all "conjunctions"; and some grace or other—a kindness, or a congeniality of temperament or character or pursuits—leads to union or friendship.

xvi. UPTON. Colin Clout is Spenser; this lass whom he so much praises and characterizes in stanza 25 images her whom he married, being forsaken by the fair Rosalinde. [See notes on sts. 10 ff. above.]

EDITOR. See 6. 9. 41. 6, where Colin Clout pipes for the dance of the shepherds. In only these two episodes does Spenser name himself as a character in his epic. One is almost tempted to see in his associating himself with the pastoral part of this book a pointing to Ireland as the scene. His Acidale seems the very counterpart of old Mole of Book VII. He seems to have found so much satisfaction in the region around Kilcolman, particularly Galtymore, that he delights to transfigure it by peopling it with gods and nymphs, or making it the scene of Ovidian myth. See *Colin Clouts* 103-155; 7. 6. 36 and notes below; 7. 7. 3-11. Certainly when Spenser wrote this tenth canto he associated it with his earlier *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. In view of his defence of Rosalind in *Colin Clouts* 927-951, it is quite probable that it is she who is here advanced to be another grace. That "iolly Shepheards lasse," the lass of Colin Clout, in both *The Shepheardes Calendar* and *Colin Clouts* is Rosalind, not Elizabeth Boyle whom he married. See notes on sts. 25-7 below.

7-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). See also the same compliment at *Sh. Cal. Apr.* 112; cf. note by E. K. (112); 25-6 below. The prototype of the convention seems to have been a compliment repeatedly applied to Sappho in the *Greek Anthology* by Antipater of Sidon, Plato, and an anonymous poet (9. 66, 506, 571; cf. 26; in ed. W. R. Paton, *Loeb Library*, 3. 34, 280, 318), where Sappho is a tenth muse. Cf. Swinburne's *Sapphics*, st. 8.

xvii. 1-7. See 9. 12. 1 and note above.

xviii. UPTON. Perhaps the allusion is that Sir Philip Sidney, imaged in Calidore, drew Spenser from his rustic muse to court.

EDITOR. There is no evidence of Sidney's having drawn Spenser from his rustic muse to court. But according to *Colin Clouts* 180-193 Raleigh did so in 1589.

xxi-xxii. UPTON. See the note on *F. Q.* 2. 8. 6 [in Book II, p. 273.] . . . Compare Hyginus in Praefat. "Ex Jove et Eurynome Gratiae," with the notes of the late learned editor [Thomas Muncker], and Natalis Comes, 4. 15 But poets

and mythologists relate very various stories of the Graces, both as to their parents, and names, and number.

SAWTELLE (pp. 57-9) observes that ancient authorities are not agreed on the number, names, or parentage of the Graces. Here Spenser follows Hesiod, *Theogony* 907 ff. For the Graces as attendants on Venus see *Homeric Hymn to Venus* 95; *Od.* 8. 364; Horace, *Carm.* 1. 4; 1. 30; 3. 21. [Also *Il.* 5. 338; Hesiod, *Op.* 73.] On the Graces generally SAWTELLE refers to E. K.'s comments on *Sh. Cal.*, Apr. 109, June 25. See also 1. 1. 48; notes on 2. 3. 25. 1-2 in Book II, pp. 215-6.

xxii. LOTSPEICH (p. 64). Spenser follows *Theogony* 907-911 in making them the daughters of Jove and Eurynome, "the fair-cheeked Graces, Aglaia, and Euphrosyne, and lovely Thalia, from whose eyes as they looked flowed love which looseth the limbs."

(P. 58) *Iliad* 18. 398 associates Thetis and Eurynome. This, if Spenser knew it, may have furnished a suggestion for connecting this love affair with the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.

[See notes on 2. 8. 6. 6. in Book II, p. 273; and on *Teares of the Muses* 403.]

1. LOTSPEICH (p. 75). Jove is commonly identified with the sky in classical poetry; cf. *Il.* 15. 189-192; Horace, *Odes* 1. 1. 26; *Georgics* 1. 418.

2. WARTON (1. 104) is reminded of Milton's mention of the same goddess, *P. L.* 10. 581.

5. JORTIN. For "Æcidee" he should have said "Æacides," but the rhyme would not admit it. Perhaps "Æacidee": but the old English poets took strange liberties with proper names. Milton endeavours to justify this abuse, unsuccessfully in my opinion, in the following manner (*Animadv. upon the Remonstr. Defence against Smectymnuus*) [Columbia University ed. 3. 110-11]:

Remonst. The Aeropagi? who were those? Truly my Masters I had thought this had been the name of the place, not of the men.

Answ. A soar-eagle would not stoop at a fly; but sure some pedagogue stood at your elbow, and made it itch with this parlous criticism. They urged you with a decree of the sage and severe judges of Athens, and you cite them to appear for certain paragogical contempts, before a capricious pedantry of hot-liver'd grammarians. Mistake not the matter, courteous Remonstrant, they were not making Latins: if in dealing with an out-landish name, they thought it best not to screw the English mouth to a harsh foreign termination, so they kept the radical word, they did no more than the elegantest authors among the Greeks, Romans, and at this day the Italians in scorn of such a servility use to do. Remember how they mangle our British names abroad; what trespass were it, if we in requital should as much neglect theirs? And our learned Chaucer did not stick to do so, writing "Semyramus" for "Semiramis," "Amphiorax" for "Amphiaraus," "K. Sejes" for "K. Ceyx" the husband of Alcyone, with many other names strangely metamorphis'd from true orthography, if he had made any account of that in these kind of words.

CHURCH. Chaucer, in his *Legend of Ariadne*, affords a remarkable instance of this abuse that Mr. J. complains of. Three several times, within the

compass of forty lines [Skeat's ed., ll. 2146-81], he transposes the letters which form the name "Ariadne," and for the sake of his rhyme writes "Adriane."

SAWTELLE (p. 98). [Referring] to the marriage of Peleus, the son of Æacus, and Thetis, the daughter of Nereus, in support of which see *Iliad*, *passim*; Apollodorus 3. 13. 5; *Met.* 11. 217 ff.; Catullus, *Nupt. Pel. et Thet.*

xxiii-xxiv. W. RENWICK (*Spenser Selections*, p. 202). Cf. Servius on *Aen.* 1. 720: "Gratiae . . . quas Veneri constat esse sacratas . . . nudae sunt, quod gratiae sine fūco esse debent. . . . Quod vero una aversa pingitur, duae nos respicientes, haec ratio est: quia profecta a nobis gratia, duplex solet reverti." Spenser reverses this last statement in accordance with Christian courtesy, and raises the whole myth to a higher level; e. g. in comparison with Seneca (*de Beneficiis*, 1. 3 [quoted by JORTIN above; see note on 24. 9 below]).

xxiii. See Appendix, p. 341 and note on 10. 15. 4-6 above.

7-9. See note on 2. 1. 4 above.

xxiv. J. B. FLETCHER (*SP* 14. 162-3) observes Spenser's kinship to Botticelli in his ideal of feminine beauty, his statuesque groupings as in 4. 10. 31-3, and his power of suggesting action and movement. Cf. FLETCHER's note on 1. 5. 2. 1-5 in Book I, p. 224.

EDITOR (F. M. P.). This symbolic arrangement of the Graces in the dance is employed by Botticelli in his famous painting known as "Primavera," but more properly "The Realm of Venus," in the Academy of Fine Arts, Florence.

3. See LEWIS's note on sts. 10 ff. above.

9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). This line seems to reflect Boccaccio, *Genealogiae Deorum* 5. 35: "Et hinc potes advertere duas in te gratias venientes. Tertiam vero a te in illas ineuntem, et sic duae in nos faciem, tertia tergum vertit. Vel aliter, si quid enim in hominem gratum miseris, ab eo in te duplum, seu maius redire videbit, et ob id dicit Ilioneus Didoni apud Virg. [*Aen.* 1. 548]: 'Ne te certasse priorem poeniteat,' quasi velit intelligi, si nobis boni aliquid feceris, et vivat Aeneas, duplicatum ab eo recipies."

xxv ff. HUGHES (1. xc). The picture which Spenser has here given us of his mistress, dancing among the Graces, is a very agreeable one, and discovers all the skill of the painter, assisted by the passion of the lover.

xxv-xxvii. G. L. CRAIK (*Spenser and his Poetry* 3. 78). As Colin Clout is Spenser, so of course this pre-eminently beautiful shepherdess, advanced to be a fourth grace, as Elisa, or Queen Elizabeth, is made to be in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, written many years before, is the Irish beauty who had at last supplanted Rosalind in the possession of his heart, and who was now his wife. Surely never was woman crowned by Love and Poetry with a garland comparable to this. [See notes on st. 16 above.]

xxv. 9-xxvi. 1. See note on 8. 15. 9-16. 1 above.

xxv. 3-5. EDITOR (C. G. O.). See note on 9. 8. 8 above. Perhaps the lines are an unconscious echo of the *Knight's Tale* 1156-9:

Thou wistest nat yet now
 Wheither she be a womman or goddesse!
 Thyn is affecioun of hoolynesse,
 And myn is love, as to a creature; . . .

xxvi. 1-4. HEISE (p. 137) cites *Orl. Fur.* 3. 57; 7. 10; *Orl. Inn.* 1. 3. 69; *Morg. Mag.* 22. 175; *Parl. of Foules* 298 ff.; *Book of the Duchess* 820 ff.; Hawes, *Past. of Pleas.* [Percy Soc. Publ.], pp. 12, 185. See note on 9. 9. 5 above.

W. RENWICK (*Spenser Selections*, p. 202). Hesperus, i. e. Venus as an evening star; or perhaps the moon, from Horace, *Odes* 1. 12. 57-8.

xxvi. 9-xxvii. 1. See note on 5. 1. 8. 9-9. 1 in Book V, p. 164.

xxx-xxxi. If we take this literally, it means that Calidore, whoever he was, left Spenser to return to his love. The nearest known incident in Spenser's life is the visit of Raleigh in 1589; see *Colin Clouts* 180-193. One would have to be very daring indeed to suggest that proud and insolent Raleigh is imaged in Calidore. See Appendix, p. 363.

xxxi. Spenser is likely to urge the poison of Cupid's dart; cf. 3. 16. 13. 7; *Hymne of Love* 120-6; *Hymne of Beautie* 62-3; *Epigrams* 4. Cf. *Sh. Cal.*, March 79-102.

xxxiv. 1-2. J. W. MACKAIL (*The Springs of Helicon*, p. 115). In the beautiful pastoral incident which fills several cantos of the sixth book, Spenser reverts not only to the free and romantic manner of the *Arcadia*, but to a simpler, fresher style and language than that to which he had wrought himself when he planned to make his poem not only a romance but an epic and an allegory of life. [Lines quoted.] How unlike this is to the highly-charged, slowly-wheeling, rich verse that we think of as Spenserian! [Cf. MACKAIL's note on *F. Q.* 5. 6. 7 in Book V, p. 209.]

4. On the tiger cf. 2. 11. 20-3 and OSGOOD's note in Book II, p. 343; note on 5. 9. 49. 9 in Book V, p. 232.

xxxvi. See Appendix, p. 331.

6. COLLIER. It does not appear how Calidore could have hewed off the beast's head, seeing, as Spenser expressly tells us, that "he had no weapon." This difficulty does not seem to have presented itself to the commentators, but they justly observe upon the deficiency of the line without the pronoun "he."

[See "Critical Notes on the Text."]

xxxvii. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the System of Courtly Love*, pp. 49-50). As regards skill in love the contrast between noble and peasant is equally sharp. This difference is illustrated in the wooing of Pastorella by Sir Calidore and Coridon. The shepherd shows his *vilain* birth when he flees a tiger and leaves Pastorella to be rescued by Sir Calidore; whom thenceforth the maiden more and more "affects," leaving Coridon as one "Fit to keepe sheepe, unfit for loves content." In the final test blood tells and as like seeks like Pastorella and Sir Calidore are instinctively drawn together, while the maiden's earlier antipathy to Coridon is

explained and justified. The shepherd fails utterly to evince the qualities of the courtly lover. He is to be regarded not so much a rival as a foil to the knight, who everywhere obeys the injunction of Andreas Capellanus (*De Amore*, Trojel's ed., p. 106): "In omnibus urbanum te constituas et curialem."

[Cf. 5. 1-2 above and Appendix, p. 344.]

8-9. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the System of Courtly Love*, p. 55). The code of courtly love enjoined secrecy.

xxxviii. 2. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the System of Courtly Love*, p. 58). [In the courtly system of love] stress is laid upon the principle of humility. The lover's sense of inferiority makes him humble in his attitude towards his lady. *Court of Love* 365-371:

The tenth statut was, Egally discern
By-twene thy lady and thyn abilitee,
And think, thy-self art never like to yern,
By right, her mercy, nor of equitee,
But of her grace and womanly pitee:
For though thy-self be noble in thy strene,
A thowsand-fold more nobill is thy quene.

7. UPTON. Cebes [7], ["Fortune . . . not only is she blind and frenzied, but she is deaf as well."] Pacuvius apud Auct. ad Heren. [*Fragmenta Poetarum veterum Latinorum*, quorum opera non extant, 1564, p. 254, ed. Henricus Stephanus]:

Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi,
Saxique instare globosi praedicant volubilem,
Quia, quo saxum impulerit fors, eo cadere Fortunam autumant:
Caecam ob eam rem iterant, quia nihil cernat quo sese applicet:
Insanam autem aiunt, quia atrox, incerta, instabilisque sit:
Brutam, quia dignum atque indignum nequeat internoscere.

xxxix ff. TODD. The poet, I think, alludes to the incursions so frequently made by the Scottish and English borderers upon the property of each other; in which, murder was often added to rapine. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, cruelties of this kind still existed. See the *State of the Borders*, prefixed to Burn's *Hist. of Cumb. and Westmoreland*, xcii ff.

M. M. GRAY (*RES* 6. 521-2). The similarity of the carrying off of Pastorella in the tenth canto does, however, suggest the possibility of some real incident of this kind as a source. In the *Calendar of State Papers* a report from an English captain besieged in a castle by the rebels, has this postscript, "I was troubled with certain of my friends in my castle upon the assault, by name my sister, my wife and four gentlewomen of the pale, who wished themselves in their graves." (*Cal. State Papers*, p. 147. 1589, Capt. Bermingham to Sir Lucas Dillon.) Pastorell's captors are thus described [st. 39 quoted]. One of Spenser's schemes for bringing the rebels to order was "the cutting and opening of all places through woods, so that a wide way of the space of 100 yds. might be laid open in every one of them for the safety of travellers, which use often in such perilous places to be robbed and sometimes murdered."

EDITOR. The reference to selling Pastorella as a slave (43. 4-6) would indicate that he had also some such source as Ariosto or Heliodorus in mind. The Irish outlaws did not sell their victims into slavery. See Appendix, p. 372.

xlii ff. See Appendix, p. 371.

xlii. 1. EDITOR (C. G. O.). An unexplored subterranean passage apparently leading to the castle opens out near Kilcolman.

7. UPTON. A "lover" is an opening in a poor cottage at the top, to let out the smoke, and to let in the light. Gall. "l'ouverte," "apertura": "ouvrier," "aperire." Spenser seems to have in view the Irish poor cottages which were thus built in his time.

8-9. WARTON (2. 227-8). After this manner Milton, *P. L.* 2. 406:

And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way.

But the phrase is founded on the following expression of scripture [Exodus 10. 21]: "And the lord said unto Moses, stretch out thine hand toward heaven, that there may be darkness over the land of Aegypt, even darkness which may be felt." It is rendered by the septuagint, *ψηλαφητόν σκότος*. The like expression occurs in Hobbes (*Answer to Gondibert's Pref.*, 1650, p. 137): "To this palpable darknesse I might add, the ambiguous obscurity of expression more than is perfectly conceived."

xliii. 4-6. See the EDITOR's note on sts. 39 ff. above.

xliv. 2. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Spenser doubtless has in mind a formal "complaint" like that of Florimell in the dungeon of Proteus at 4. 12. 5-11, which could be transferred to this episode and moment without any alteration except of "Calidore" for "Marinell." See note in Book IV, p. 277. On the complaint in Spenser see notes on 5. 6. 12, 25 in Book V, pp. 209, 210.

5-7. HEISE (p. 31) cites 6. 2. 35. 7-9. But the image there is the opposite of this, which is really Biblical; see note on 5. 2. 40 in Book V, p. 178; cf. *Amoretti* 79. 14; 3. 9. 39. 9 and note in Book III, p. 281.

8-9. See note on 2. 48. 9 above.

CANTO XI

i. 8-9. Cf. Thomalin's Emblem at the end of the March Eclogue:

Of Hony and of Gaule in loue there is store:
The Honye is much, but the Gaule is more.

Also 4. 10. 1 and notes in Book IV, pp. 216-7; and *Sh. Cal.*, January 54: "Ah God, that loue should breede both ioy and payne."

ii ff. WARTON (1. 217). The distress of Pastorell is somewhat similar to that of Ariosto's Isabel, who is seized by certain outlaws or pirates, and imprisoned in a cave, in order to be sold for a slave ([*Orl. Fur.*] 12. 91 ff.). [See notes on 10. 39 ff. above.]

This pastoral part of the *Fairy Queen* seems to have been occasioned by Sydney's *Arcadia*, and in conformity to the common fashion of the times, which abounded in pastoral poetry. [See notes on 10. 39 ff. above and Appendix, pp. 371-381.]

iii. 9. HEISE (p. 56) cites 3. 12. 28. 8; 4. 10. 52; *Colin Clouts* 505-6.

iv. 8-9. UPTON. Ovid, *Fast.* 1: "Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc agit ille minis." [EDITOR. *Fasti* 2. 806 reads: "nec prece nec pretio nec movet ille minis." Upton, no doubt, had this line in mind.] Ovid, *Met.* 2. 397: "precibusque minas regaliter addit."

vi. 4. UPTON. I. e. for him to be a foe or a friend to her, to foe her or to friend her. The substantive is changed into a verb.

xiii. 3. EDITOR (C. G. O.). See note on 10. 12. 7-9 above. This effect of chiaroscuro is a favorite with Spenser; see 8. 41. 3 and note; 8. 48.

6-9. See note on 9. 12. 1 above.

xvii. HEISE (p. 96) cites *Orl. Fur.* 2. 5:

Come soglion talor dui can mordenti,
O per invidia o per altro odio mossi,
Avvicinarsi digrignando i denti,
Con occhi bieci e piu che braccia rossi;
Indi a' morsi venir, di rabbia ardenti,
Con aspri ringhi e rabbuffati dossi:
Così alle spade dai gridi e dall' onte
Venne il Circasso e quel di Chiaramonte.

[See note on 5. 8. 49. 1-5 in Book V, p. 232.]

xix. 5. The cadence of the *Nun's Priest's Tale* 4048: "Thanne crew he, that it myghte nat been amended."

xx. 7. COLLIER. Todd, in order to show that the word "agreed" was to be pronounced as three syllables, printed it "agreëd"; but surely needlessly, since the measure in such cases speaks for itself: nobody, with an ear, can read the line otherwise.

xxi. 3. A striking instance of an image habitual with Spenser, as is natural in a Platonic poet. It occurs about a score of times.

9. See note on 7. 19. 8-9 above.

xxv-xxxii. On Coridon's unrestrained demonstration of feelings see note on 1. 32. 5 above.

xxv. 5-6. UPTON. To teare or rend the heart is a scriptural phrase, and a metaphor from peoples using to tear their garments, or their hair in affliction. Joel 2. 13, "Rend (or teare) your hearts, and not your garments." Old Homer has the same expression, *Il.* 1. 243: ["Then thou shalt tear thy heart within thee for anger. . . ."] The same allusion our poet has in *F. Q.* 1. 5. 39. [4-5],

Which hearing his rash Sire began to rend
His hair and hasty tongue that did offend.

8-9. UPTON. This simile is scriptural, 2 Samuel 17. 8; Proverbs 17. 12.

DODGE (*PMLA* 12. 204) cites *Orl. Fur.* 18. 35.

HEISE (pp. 14-5) cites eight bear similes in Spenser. For the image of the wild beast deprived of its young he finds (p. 104) precedent in *Il.* 18. 318-322; *Met.* 13. 547; *Theb.* 4. 314-6. But the bear is Biblical.

xxvi. 6. See note on 8. 46. 1-4 above.

xxx. 2-3. UPTON. The construction is designedly embarrassed; for the words are spoken by a man in a fright and hurry.

xxxii. 5. On the polyptoton see notes in Book V, pp. 202, 236, 266, on 5. 17. 1; 9. 19. 7; 12. 31. 7-8.

xxxv. 8. Another symptom of Coridon's low breeding. Cf. note on 7. 4. 9 above.

xliv. See ELTON's note on 1. 3. 31 in Book I, pp. 209-210.

6-9. UPTON. Compare this simile with *F. Q.* 1. 3. 31 and with Homer, *Od.* 23. 233 and Tasso 3. 4.

HEISE (p. 79) adds Statius, *Theb.* 2. 193 ff.; 1. 3. 32.

[See also 6. 9. 31. 3-9 and note above.]

xliv. 7-8. HEISE (p. 59) cites the same image at 4. 7. 21. 3; 5. 8. 48. 5.

xlvi-xlix. UPTON. Here are two similes following each other; the one of the lowest kind, the other great and majestic: the thieves were as deserving of the one image as Sir Calidore of the other. This ordering of various comparisons is agreeable to Homer's manner; for in the second *Iliad* [469-483], where the troops are assembled for battle, he compares the troops to a swarm of flies, and their general to a majestic bull.

xlvi. 1-4. HEISE (p. 116) cites *Il.* 16. 639 ff.; 17. 569 ff.; *Orl. Inn.* 2. 30. 8; 3. 8. 14; *Orl. Fur.* 10. 105; Chaucer's *Persones Tale* 440 ff. See also his note on 5. 11. 58. 1-2 in Book V, p. 261; and notes on 1. 1. 23 in Book I, pp. 187-8.

xlix. 1-2. UPTON. The relative is omitted, which occasions some little embarrassment in the construction: though he might easily have given it,

Like as a lion mongst an heard of deer,
Dispersing them to catch.

HEISE (pp. 107-8) cites many ancient and Italian examples of beast-and-prey similes, of which the most relevant are *Il.* 10. 485-6; 12. 293; 15. 630-6; 16. 752-3; 24. 41-3; *Aen.* 10. 723-8; *Fasti* 2. 207-210.

7-8. EDITOR (C. G. O.). These lines have a certain Biblical quality; cf. I Samuel 13. 6; Isaiah 2. 19-21; Luke 3. 7; Revelations 6. 15-17.

li. 8. WARTON (2. 19-20). It was an instance of Sir Calidore's courage to restore to Coridon his flocks; but not of his courtesie, to carry away his mistress

Pastorell. The poet should have managed the character of his patron of courtesie with more art. Courtesie was one of the cardinal virtues of knight errantry. Of this accomplishment, Sir Gawain, king Arthur's nephew, was esteemed the chief pattern. Chaucer, to give the highest idea possible of the reverence and obeisance with which the Strange Knight, on his brazen horse, salutes Cambuscan and his queen, compares him to Sir Gawaine (*Squire's Tale* 110 [cf. Skeat's ed. 89-97]):

This straunge knight, that come thus sodeinly,
 All armid, save his hede, full royally,
 Saluted the king and queene, and lordis all,
 By ordir as they sittin in the hall,
 With so hie reverence and obeisaunce,
 As well in speche as in countinaunce,
 That Syr Gawayne with his old curtesie,
 Although he come agen out of Fairie,
 He could him nought amendin in no worde.

CANTO XII

i. UPTON. This simile Milton seems to have in some measure imitated, *P. L.* 9. 513-6:

As when a ship by skilful steersman wrought
 Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
 Veers oft, as oft so steers and shifts her sail:
 So vary'd he.

The expression just following, "still winneth way," is used by Milton, *P. L.* 2. 1014-6:

And through the shock
 Of fighting elements on all sides round
 Environd wins his way.

[See GREENLAW in Appendix II, Book V, p. 309.]

HEISE (pp. 79-80) cites 1. 12. 1; 1. 12. 42; and (p. 150) *Georg.* 4. 116 ff.; Ovid, *Remed. Am.* 811 ff.; *Theb.* 12. 809. [See notes on 1. 12. 42 in Book I, pp. 310-1; on 5. 11. 29. 1-5 in Book V, p. 258; 9. 31. 3-9 and note above.]

[See Appendix to Book I, "Plan and Conduct," p. 338.]

iii-xxii. H. H. BLANCHARD (*PMLA* 40. 849-850). The identification of Pastorella as the daughter of Sir Bellamoure and Lady Claribell is an example of the interweaving of material from similar stories in two Italian writers. Koepfel has traced it to Tasso's *Rinaldo* [see note on 7. 7. 7-9 below]. Spenser has, however, remembered Boiardo more than Tasso here. . . .

In Boiardo, *Orl. Inn.* 2. 27. 25 ff., the truth is revealed from the lips of a prisoner whom Brandimarte has captured. The prisoner confesses to King Dolistone and Perodia his wife that he had stolen their daughter years before and sold her to a certain count of Samaria, but that he had since received no knowledge of her. Brandimarte then inquires of the king if his daughter bore any mark of

recognition. Perodia immediately replies that, if she still lived, she bore the figure of a black mulberry upon her right breast. Thereupon Brandimarte reveals that Fiordelisa, his beloved, is their daughter. Requesting all the others to leave the room, he causes Fiordelisa to open her breast and reveal the mark to them.

In comparing these three stories, the following similarities will be noted:

- (1) In Tasso, only the father is present; the mother died with grief when the child was stolen (*Rinaldo* 11. 94).
In Boiardo and Spenser, father and mother both are present; in one case, a king and queen; in the other, a noble lord and his illustrious lady.
- (2) In Tasso, there is no intermediary: the story is much simpler. In Boiardo, the discovery is ultimately made through the agency of Brandimarte (*Orl. Inn.* 2. 27. 27), as in Spenser through that of the nurse Melissa (stanzas 15 ff.).
- (3) In Tasso, the character in question is a son. In Boiardo and Spenser, it is a daughter.
- (4) In both Tasso and Boiardo, the mark is on the breast, as in Spenser.
- (5) In Boiardo, the mark is a black mulberry. *Orl. Inn.* 2. 27. 28-9 [31-2]:

Ha per segnale una voglia di mora;
D'una mora di gelso. . . .

Sotto la poppa avea quel segno nero.

In Tasso, it is a red mark resembling a flower. *Rinaldo* 11. 89-90:

Mi vide un segno che rassembra un fiore.

Da la pelle il segnal rosso traspare
Come da vetro un fior d'orto vermiglio.

In Spenser, it is described as follows (stanzas 7, 15, 18):

She mote perceive a little purple mold,
That like a rose her silven leaves did faire unfold. . . .

The rosie marke, which she remembred well. . . .

The litle purple rose which thereon grew.

- (6) In Tasso, Florindo is lying on the bed. In Boiardo, Brandimarte has Fiordelisa open her breast to reveal the mark; in Spenser, Claribell, in her eagerness, rends open Pastorella's breast for the same purpose. [St. 19 quoted.]

. . . .
Orl. Inn. 2. 27. 30 [33]:

E fatto gli altri tor di quel cospetto,
Però che Fiordelisa avea vergogna,
La fece avanti a loro aprire il petto,
Onde più prova ormai non vi bisogna.

Thus far it will be seen that Tasso's influence enters only in the location and description of the mark. There is one other element taken from Tasso, not pointed out by Koeppel. Melissa explains the origin of Pastorella's original name in her speech to Claribell. St. 18:

For on her brest I with these eyes did vew
The litle purple rose which thereon grew,
Whereof her name ye then to her did give.

In like manner Florindo speaks in Tasso (*Rin.* 11. 92):

E che, forse dal fior ch' avea nel petto,
Venni nel mio natal Florindo detto.

Thus it will be seen by a comparative study of the three stories that two details occur only in Tasso and Spenser, that one detail occurs in all three, and that four details occur only in Boiardo and Spenser.

This general theme occurs also in the *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus and in Robert Greene's *Pandosto* published in 1588. In the recognition scene in which Daphnis' history is revealed (see *Daphnis and Chloe* 1. 2. and 5; 4. 19-24 and 34-6; for this recognition scene, especially 4. 21), both father and mother are present as in Spenser. In both works the truth comes out through an intermediary: in Longus by a shepherd and a goatherd; in Greene, by a shepherd (see *Daphnis and Chloe* 4. 19, 30; *Pandosto*, p. 83, ed. P. G. Thomas, New York and London, 1907). In both works a character of unknown identity is a daughter. In neither work, however, is the means of identification a birthmark. Consequently, in neither work is there an occasion for exposing the daughter's breast. This last detail exists, so far as I know, in Boiardo and Spenser alone. [See notes on 4. 31 ff. above, st. 9 below; and Appendix, pp. 371-381.]

iii-xiii. UPTON. I am apt to imagine that Spenser, beside his moral allegory, has here an historical allusion: and it seems to me that the castle of Belgard hints at Belvoir castle; for "garder," "regarder," is the same as "voir": and the Lord of the castle, viz. the good Sir Bellamoure, by no far-fetched equivocal allusion, leads us to the real name of the Lord of the castle: for the name Bellamoure might contain in its composition "moeurs," manners, as well as "amour," love. Nor does the poet stop here; but carries you still farther into the history of this noble family, who married into the royal house of York. See stanza 4. This lady seems to have been intended for the King of Scotland.

This daughter thought in wedlocke to have bound
Unto the prince of Picteland bordering nere.

But she privately gave her love to Sir Bellamoure. There seems other allusions, which if the reader looks for, perhaps he will find out; if he slights this information, he will see no allusion or allegory, though the poet says his poem is a continued allegory.

CHILD. Upton has ingeniously suggested that the Castle of Belgard is meant for Belvoir Castle, the seat of the Dukes of Rutland, and that the name of Sir Bellamoure may contain an allusion to the real name of the lords of the castle, Manners (Moeurs). The descent of this noble family from the royal house of York might then be signified by the description of Claribel's father in the beginning of the fourth stanza, and we should infer from the sixth verse that the lady whom Claribel would represent (a sister of King Edward IV) had been intended for the King of Scotland.

EDITOR. (I am indebted to Professor Frederick Hard for the following observations.)

That there is still something of a riddle in the passage is suggested by the fact that in the midst of this assuredly conventional situation, Spenser goes out of his way to be rather specific on several points. In the first place, he emphasizes repeatedly the rosy birthmark from which the lost daughter's name is derived. Thus, at the infant's birth the nurse perceived

a litle purple mold,
That *like a rose* her silken leaues did faire vnfold. (Stanza 7)

In Stanza 15, where Melissa recognizes Pastorella, the nurse

Chaunst to espy vpon her yuory chest
The *rosie marke*, which she remembred well
The litle Infant had. . . .

Again, in Stanza 18, Lady Claribel, having been informed of the discovery, asks the nurse how she can be certain. Melissa replies,

For on her brest I with these eyes did vew
The *litle purple rose*, which thereon grew,
Whereof her name ye then to her did giue.

Having received this information, Claribel "ran to the straunger Mayd" and

Rent vp her brest, and bosome open layd,
In which that *rose* she plainly saw displayd. (Stanza 19)

Bearing in mind the suggested identification of Bellamoure with Edward, 3rd Earl of Rutland, I wish to point out that this nobleman bore the title of Lord Roos, Ros, or Ross. His wife was named Isabel, which is not too far a cry from the poetical Claribel, although she was not, as Dr. Long has pointed out, the daughter of a "Lord of Many Islands," but of Sir Thomas Holcroft, of Vale Royal, Cheshire. To the Earl and Countess, who were married about 1573, there was born a daughter who was styled the Baroness Roos. She was old enough, in 1588, to be married to Sir William Cecil (son of Sir Thomas Cecil), and she died in 1591. If in this passage Spenser is not paying a graceful, pastoral compliment to the memory of the Earl and Countess and their daughter, whose name was so suggestive of the rose-motif, the clues which he throws out are remarkably coincidental.

There are two other passages in the episode which seem specific enough in their allusions to call for interpretation in terms of contemporary affairs. In Stanza 3 we are introduced to "the good Sir Bellamoure"

Who whylome was in his youthes freshest flowre
A lustie knight, as euer wielded speare,
And had endured many a dreadfull stoure
In bloody battel for a Ladie deare,
The fayrest Ladie then of all that liuing were.

This suggests a prominence in courtly jousts and tournaments, an exercise in which Rutland was distinguished. He took part, for instance, in the magnificent tournament of June 17, 1572, in the Westminster tournament of 1580, and he is included

in the list of "those Lords and Gentlemen that have been actors in publique exercises of Armes on horsebacke sith her Maiesties raigne" in William Segar's *The Booke of Honor and Armes*, 1590, (Sigs. N 3v, Nn 2v—Nn 3).

This particular qualification assigned to Sir Bellamoure may give point to another specific statement by the poet,—that which indicates the previous acquaintance of Bellamoure with Calidore. This statement occurs in Stanza 11, where Calidore and Pastorella are entertained at the castle:

Both whom they goodly well did entertaine;
For Bellamour knew Calidore right well,
And loued for his prowesse, sith they twaine
Long since had fought in field.

This seems to argue clearly that Bellamoure was a notable participant with Calidore in courtly jousts, and that Spenser's contemporary readers would recognize the fact, making the proper association between the fictitious characters and real persons—an association which has been lost for a long time. With the presumption now strongly in favor of Rutland for Bellamoure, as I believe it to be, it remains to link Rutland conspicuously in chivalric combat with one of the candidates for Calidore's position.

iii. 3. WALTHER (p. 13). Cf. the castle, La beale regard, in Malory, p. 473 [10. 37].

vi. 8. "handmayd." Melissa by name; see below 14. 8 and note.

vii. 7-9. E. KOEPEL (*Anglia* 11. 360) cites Tasso, *Rin.* 11. 89-90:

Da quella parte, ov' ha 'l suo albergo il core,
Mi vide un segno che rassembra un fiore.

Dalla pelle il segnal rosso traspare,
Come da vetro un fior d' orto vermiglio.

[Cf. note on stanzas 3-22 above.]

ix. UPTON. This is taken, as mentioned above [see notes on 4. 17-23; sts. 3-22 above], from the old story of Dorastus and Faunia, from which Shakespeare borrowed his *Winter-tale*; or from the Pastoral of Longus. 'Tis to be observed, that when infants were exposed, they generally exposed with them several trinkets and tokens, by which they might be known hereafter; and these trinkets were as a kind of gratification to those who took up the exposed infant: the Greeks call them *γνωρίσματα*; so Heliodorus 4 and Terence, *Eun.* 4. 6. 15: "Abi tu cistellam, Pythias, domo effer cum monumentis." Shakespeare alludes to them in the *Winters-tale* 3. 3:

Blossom, speed thee well!
There lye, and there thy character; there these
Which may if fortune please, both breed thee, pretty one,
And still rest thine.

See below, stanza 20:

She found at last by very certain signs
And speaking markes of passed monuments.

[See Appendix, p. 371.]

xiv. 8. UPTON. The necessary-women which attended the temple of Ceres were from their industry named *Μελίσσαι*, bees. One of the same name nursed Jupiter. Melissa is likewise the name of a prophetess in Ariosto 3. [Is Melissa here by any chance a disguise for the same lady as her he called Melissa at *Colin Clouts* 480, 895?]

J. W. DRAPER (*PMLA* 47. 102). Has little in common with her namesakes in the classics and in the *Orl. Fur.*

xvii. 7. WARTON (2. 229). "Childing" is used in Chaucer for conceiving, viz. (*Ball. Lady* 133): "Unknowing hym, chylding by miracle." [Lydgate, *A Balade; in Commendation of our Lady* 139; in Chaucer, ed. Skeat, *Supplementary Volume*, pp. 275-280.] Junius observes, that in Wicliff's bible, we frequently find, "And Eve childed," etc. In Shakespeare "childed" is used for "begot" (*King Lear* 3. 6 [.116]):

Ed. When that which makes me bend, makes the king bow;
He childed, as I father'd.

In Lydgate it is to "bring forth," as before us (*Lyfe of our Lady*, R. Redman, 1531, chap. 27. The title of which is most extraordinary; "How Joseph went to fetch a myd-wyf to our Lady."):

And in this while, with her eyen meke
She chylded hath.

xxi. 1-5. UPTON cites Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* 1. 53. [See note on 5. 6, 14 in Book V, p. 209.]

xxiii ff. WARTON (2. 96-7). The Blatant Beast is said to break into the monasteries, to rob their chancels, cast down the desks of the monks, deface the altars, and destroy the images found in their churches. By the Blatant Beast is understood Scandal, and by the havock just mentioned as effected by it, is implied the suppression of religious houses and popish superstition. But how can this be properly said to have been brought about by scandal? And how could Spenser in particular, with any consistency say this, who was, as appears by his pastorals, a friend to the reformation, as was his heroine Elizabeth? [See WARTON'S note on 12. 25. 1-6 below.]

WARTON (2. 230). His description of the Blatant Beast, under which is shadowed Scandal or Calumny, attacking all ranks of life, and making havock in cities, courts, monasteries, and cottages, is exactly similar to this passage in the *Lingua* of Erasmus (Basiliae, apud Froben, 1526, p. 220): "Circumferat quisque oculos suos, per domos privatas, per collegia, per monasteria, per aulas principum, per civitates, per regna; et compendio discet, quantam ubique pestem ingerat Lingua calumniatrix."

xxiii-xxx. See Appendix, p. 384.

xxiii-xxv. LILIAN WINSTANLEY (*Mod. Lang. Quarterly* 3. 110) interprets this incident as the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII. [See notes on st. 23 below.]

EDITOR. In her edition of Book I (see Appendix to Book I, p. 461), Miss Winstanley interprets also the episode of Kirkrapine and the lion as Henry's

suppression of the monasteries. The killing of Kirkrapine by the lion is a highly laudable act and is approved by Spenser. The despoiling of the monastery by the Blatant Beast is to Spenser's mind as despicable an act as the former was laudatory. If Miss Winstanley is right in both instances, Spenser must have changed his attitude between the writing of the first episode and the second, for in the first the act is approved, and in the second, condemned. At any rate, I think we are safe in assuming that Spenser, the scholar and antiquary, viewed the destruction of the monasteries very much as did Fuller and, later, Warton (see notes on 23. 8-9 below).

Those who would see Spenser as a Puritan, or Calvinist, entirely overlook this episode. Mr. C. S. Lewis (see notes on 5. 35 ff. above) says rightly that it is absurd to try to make a Romanist of Spenser from a few passages which show an interest in the symbolism and ritual of the Catholic church, but Mr. Lewis does not refer to this incident. It is equally as absurd to see in Spenser a champion of the fanatical puritan sect, or even an ardent Calvinist, because he denounces the political activity of the Catholic enemies of the Queen. As the late Mr. Greenlaw frequently observed, Spenser's puritanism is more political than doctrinal. His attitude toward both the Roman church and the Puritans is best seen in his *View of Ireland*, where in discussing the reformation of religion in Ireland he says (Globe ed., p. 679): "In planting of religion thus much is needfull to be observed, that it be not sought forcebly to be impressed into them with terroure and sharpe penalties, as nowe is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildeness and gentleness, soe as it may not be hated afore it be understood, and theyr Professors dispised and rejected."

That he refers to the Puritans in the following (Globe ed., p. 680) is without doubt: "Next care in religion is to builde up and repayre all the ruinous churches, wherof the most parte lye even with the ground, and some that have bene lately repayred are soe unhandsomely patched, and thatched, that men doe even shunne the places for the uncomeliness therof; therefore I would wish that there were order taken to have them builde in some better forme, according to the churches of England; for the outward shewe (assure your selfe) doth greatly drawe the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting therof, what ever some of our late to nice fooles saye,—'there is nothing in the seemely forme and comely orders of the church.'"

This whole passage in the *View* and his many references in the *Faerie Queene* and in his last *Hymne* show that Spenser must have had a great respect for the Roman church as an institution, though he hated its political activity.

EDITOR (F. M. P.). Spenser, certainly as a young man, was a Low Churchman, like Grindal, not at all a Puritan in the narrower sense. See my papers, "Spenser and the Puritan Propaganda," *MP* 11. 85-106, and "Spenser and the Spirit of Puritanism," *MP* 14. 31-44. In discussing Calvinism, a careful distinction must be made between the theology of Calvin and his theory of the Church-state. The English Church leaned toward the Calvinistic theology until this tendency was corrected by Hooker, but this was very different from subscribing to Calvin's ideas of the organization of society.

J. J. HIGGINSON (*Spenser's Shepherd's Calender*, pp. 159-160) thinks

rather that this episode may be regarded as "a fling at the Puritan fanatics, the pamphleteers of the *Martin Marprelate* controversy."

EDITOR. 23. 8 specifically mentions "a Monasterie" and 24. 2 "the Monckes." There seems little doubt that the suppression of the monasteries is meant, but there is also "a fling at puritan fanatics" in general.

E. DE SELINCOURT (Oxford one vol. ed., p. liii). Jonson's remark to Drummond that by the Bleating Beast the Puritans were understood is as misleading as most of his statements about Spenser. There can be little doubt that [here] . . . Spenser attacks the iconoclasm of the extreme Puritan; but the Blatant Beast stands for a great deal more than mere iconoclasm. There is no ground for assuming that Spenser ever changed his mind as to the value of the ideal for which the better Puritan stood. It is truer to say that whilst his ideal remained the same the Puritan party developed in practice tendencies with which as poet and thinker he could have no sympathy. And this is indeed suggested by the fact that Sir Calidore, who catches the Blatant Beast at his iconoclasm, is a portrait of Sidney, the former leader of the Puritan party.

EDITOR. Sidney was not noted for religious toleration; Essex was. See Appendix, p. 267.

EDITOR (C. G. O.). One of the elegists for Edward King (1638), probably J. Hayward, a canon-residentiary of Lichfield, seconds Jonson in his elegy (Masson, *Life of Milton* 1. 517):

For our Cathedrals to a beamless eye
Are quires of Angels in epitomie,
Maugre the blatant beast who cries them down
As savouring of superstition.

xxiii. 3-5. UPTON. The beast imaging scandal and calumny made havock among the clergy: i. e. the scandalous behaviour of the popish clergy gave just occasion for calumny; and this their scandalous behaviour was one of the reasons given for the entire suppressing of monasteries and abbies.

8-9. WARTON (2. 247-8). Those who complain of the outrages committed at the dissolution of monasteries, seldom observe, that literature suffered an irreparable loss, in the dispersion and destruction of books, which followed that important event. Bale (in Proem, ad lib. cui tit. *Iter Laboriosum*, &c. Lond. 1549), a notorious and professed reformer, laments the injuries sustained in this article. Many most valuable pieces both printed and manuscript, were either instantly destroyed, or consigned to the most mean and sordid uses. Wood tells us (*Hist. et Antiq. Un. Oxon.* p. 272), that two famous libraries were purchased at the price of forty shillings, by a common shop-keeper at Oxford, for the purpose of waste paper. Some of the books were sold to merchants who carried them abroad (*Hist. et Antiq. Un. Oxon.* p. 272). The spirit of purging the libraries from what they called popery, prevailed so far, that the reforming visitors of the university of Oxford, in the reign of Edward VI, left only a manuscript of Valerius Maximus (I wonder their consciences permitted it to remain, as its initials and margins are finely illuminated and ornamental. It is on vellum, in folio.), in the public library (Wood, *ut sup.* 2. 50). The greatest part of the rest of the books

they burned in the market-place, or sold to the lowest artificers (*ibid.*). Rubrics, mathematical figures, and astronomical demonstrations, were judged to be the genuine characteristics of popish delusion and imposture. For this reason, they took from the library of Merton-college, more than a cart-load of manuscripts (Wood, *ut sup.* 1. 271). The monks at least protected and preserved, if they did not propagate and practice, literature. We are told, that there were no less than a thousand and seven hundred manuscripts in the abbey of Peterborough (Gunton's *Peterborough*, pp. 173 [-224]. See Tanner's *Notit. Monast.* fol. praef. [p. xl, ed. 1744]).

TODD. Fuller thus passionately deplotes the irreparable calamity which literature then suffered. [Cf. ed. 1655, p. 335]: "How many admirable manuscripts of the fathers, schoolmen, and commentators, were destroyed by this means! What number of historians of all ages and countries! The Holy Scriptures themselves, as much as these gospellers pretended to regard them, underwent the fate of the rest.—If a book had a cross on't, it was condemn'd for popery; and those with lines and circles were interpreted the black art, and destroy'd for conjuring. . . ."

xxv. 1-6. WARTON (MS note in ed. of 1617 in British Museum, C. 28. M. 7). One would think that he ought to praise the Blatant Beast for this—he is no favourer of superstitious houses [?] in Abessa's story . . . Q. Elizabeth against abbies—how must this please her?

xxvi. See Appendix, p. 388.

5-7. UPTON. So the beast is described in Daniel 7. 7. Spenser loves to mix the terrible and the ludicrous.

9. See notes on *F. Q.* 2. 12. 41. 7 in Book II, p. 370.

xxvii ff. WARTON (1. 22-3). From this romance (*Morte d'Arthur*) our author also took the hint of his Blatant Beast; which is there called the Questing Beast [1. 17]: "Therewithall the King saw coming towards him the strangest beast that ever he saw, or heard tell off.—And the noyse was in the beasts belly like unto the Questin of thirtie couple of houndes." The Questing Beast is afterwards more particularly described [9. 12]. "That had in shap an head like a serpent's head, and a body like a liberd, buttocks like a lyon, and footed like a hart; and in his body there was such a noyse, as it had been the noyse of thirtie couple of houndes Questyn, and such a noyse that beast made wheresoever he went." (He is also called the Glatisant Beast, *ibid.* [10. 13]: "Tell them that I am the knight that followeth the Glatisant Beast, that is to say, in English, the Questing Beast. . . .") Spenser has made him a much more monstrous animal than he is here represented to be, and in general has varied from this description. But there is one circumstance in Spenser's representation, in which there is a minute resemblance, viz.—speaking of his mouth [st. 27 quoted; cf. 5. 12. 41. 7].

By what has been hitherto said, perhaps the reader may not be persuaded, that Spenser, in his Blatant Beast, had the Questing Beast of our romance in his eye. But the poet has himself taken care to inform us of this: for we learn, from the romance, that certain knights of the round table were destined to persue the Quest-

ing Beast perpetually without success: which Spenser, speaking of this Blatant Beast, hints at in these lines [12. 39 quoted; see UPTON's note on 39. 5-8 below].

WARTON (1. 221-2). It has been before observed, that Spenser took his blatant beast from the questing beast in *Morte Arthur*. But yet I am of opinion, that in representing Scandal under the shape of a monstrous and unnatural beast, at the same time he copied Ariosto, who has figured Avarice and Jealousy under the picture of two hideous monsters; the first of which, like Spenser's blatant beast, attacks all conditions of life alike; enters the palace as well as the cottage, but vents his rage in a more particular manner against the clergy, sparing not even the pope himself. She is supposed at last to be bound by Leo X. while Jealousy is driven to her den by Renaldo. Luther and Calvin have suffered the same significant transformations from the hands of the painters; and are often exhibited, in the churches abroad, under the forms of terrible dragons, and other detestable figures, expiring beneath the feet of triumphant popery. It seems probable, that these allegorical beasts, formed of the most frightful combinations, first took their rise from the beast in the Revelations (13. 1, 2 ff.), which "rose out of the sea, having seven heads, and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy; and the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard, and his feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion."

TODD (2. lxxi). The adventure of the Questing Beast, or, as it is called, La Beste Glatissant, makes a considerable figure in the old romance of *Le Cheualier aux armes dorée*. The description of this Beast, which closely resembles the account in *La Morte d'Arthur*, is also decorated with circumstances, which I am surprised at not finding in the poetry of Spenser. See *L'hystoire du Cheualier aux armes doree*, . . . 4to. Paris, sans date, en lettres gothiques, Sign. F. i. b: "Quand le Cheualier vint aupres de la cauerne, il regarda, et vit lune des merueilles bestes du monde, et la plus terrible quonques auoit veue. Celle beste auoit teste de serpent, et le col dune beste que les Sarrazins nomment Dagglor, et estoit le col tant merueilleux que toutes les couleurs du monde y apparoissoient ordonneement assises et compassees, et vous aduertis que la reuerberation des couleurs qui sentremesloient au ray soleil estoit tant delectable a regarder que. . . ." The chapter is entitled, "Comme le Cheualier aux armes doree se partit pour aller trouuer la pucelle Neronnes sa dame, et par le chemin il trouua la Beste Glatissant, laquelle il subiugua, &c."

[See Appendix, p. 382.]

xxvii. See Appendix, p. 384.

3-6. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Cats do not elsewhere appear in Spenser. As for dogs, see note on 5. 8. 49. 1-5, in Book V, p. 232; 6. 8. 5. 4; 11. 17 above; 36. 9 below; for bears, note on 11. 25. 8-9 above; for tigers, note on 10. 34. 4 above.

xxviii. See Appendix to Book I, "On the Propriety of the Allegory," p. 364.

7. See WARTON's note on 5. 9. 29. 9 in Book V, p. 241.

xxx. 7-9. See note on 8. 12. 1-5 above; on 7. 6. 28. 6-9 below.

xxxii. 1-5. SAWTELLE (p. 67). Among the monstrosities which, according to Hesiod, were the offspring of Typhaon and Echidna, was the Hydra. While Spenser says that the Hydra had a thousand heads, Hyginus, *Fab.* 30, and Apollodorus 2. 5. 2 says that there were nine; Diodorus Siculus [4. 2. 5], one hundred: Virgil, *Aen.* 8. 300, describes the monster, in a general way, as "many-headed." The killing of this monster was the second labor of Hercules.

LOTSPEICH (p. 71) cites *Met.* 9. 71: "Centum numero."

1. TODD. "the hell-borne Hydra." This epithet was in Milton's memory, when he made Satan thus to address Death, *P. L.* 2. [686-7]:

Learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven.

[In his *Milton Variorum* 2. 430 he adds Marston, *Satires*, "subjoined to his *Pigmalions Image*, 12 mo, 1598, p. 79."]

LOTSPEICH (p. 71). The association of the Hydra with hell, easy for Spenser, may come from *Aen.* 6. 576-7.

xxxiv. 5-7. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the System of Courtly Love*, p. 85 n.). Cf. the injunction in the *Romance of the Rose* 2231-3:

And if that ony myssaiere
Dispise wymmen that thou maist here
Blame hym and bidde hym holde hym stille.

xxxv. UPTON. Sir Calidore's taming and leading this monstrous beast, is aptly compared to Hercules, that dragged to light Cerberus. Homer mentions this story, *Il.* 8. 368. I will cite the Greek, because Spenser translates from it: 'Εξ 'Ερέβους ἄγοντα κύνα συγερῶν Ἀΐδαο. [Literally, "From Erebus to bring the dog of loathed Hades."] Compare Virgil 6. 395 and Ovid, *Met.* 7. 412.

LOTSPEICH (p. 46). The closest parallel to Spenser's version is *Met.* 7. 408-15:

Illud Echidneae memorant e dentibus ortum
Esse canis: specus est tenebroso caecus hiatu,
Est via declivis, per quam Tirynthius heros
Restantem contraque diem radiosque micantes
Obliquantem oculos nexis adamante catenis
Cerberon abstraxit, rabida qui concitus ira
Implevit pariter ternis latratibus auras
Et sparsit virides spumis albentibus agros.

1. CHURCH. Hercules, so called from Tiryns, in Peloponnesus, the place of his birth. So in his *Epithalamion* 328-9:

Like as when Jove with faire Alcmena lay,
When he begot the great Tirynthian groome.

C. VAN WINKLE in his note on *Epithalamion* 329 cites Ovid, *Fasti* 2. 305: "iuvenis Tirynthius."

8. See UPTON's note on 2. 5. 22. 7 in Book II, p. 237.

xxxvi. 9-xxxvii. 1. On this particular form of *concatenatio* see Brooke's observation in note on 8. 15. 9-16. 1 above.

xxxviii. 8. See 7. 6. 14. 6 and note below.

xxxix. 5-8. UPTON. He says this in allusion to the knights of the round table of king Arthur's court. Sir Pelleas and Sir Lamoracke are two knights that are frequently mentioned in the history of Prince Arthur. But Sir Palomides is the knight mentioned in part 2, chapter 53 [9. 12], who follows the Questing Beast:

This mean while there came Sir Palomides the good knight, following the Questing Beast, that had in shape, an head like a serpent's head, and a body like a liberd, buttocks like a lion, and footed like a hart; and in his body there was such a noise, as it had been the noise of thirty couple of hounds questing; and such a noise that beast made wherever he went. And this beast Sir Palomides followed, for it was called the Quest. And right so, as he followed this beast, came Sir Tristram and Sir Lamoracke: and to make short tale, Sir Palomides smote down Sir Tristram and Sir Lamoracke, both with one spear, and so departed after the quest [beast] Glatisaunt, that was called the Questing Beast.

What is here meant by Glatisaunt? This silly romance is a collection of many French and Italian romances, put together with no art, by one Sir Thomas Maleor knight, and finished in the ninth year of the Reign of King Edward the IVth, entitled *La Mort d'Arthur*. In the French romance, from which he had this story, the Questing Beast was called Glapissant, i. e. yelping, questing, or barking, from "glapir," to yelp, bark, or quest as a spaniel. But Spenser takes its name from the Latin "Blaterare," or the Italian "Blatterare," to make a noise: and calls it the Blattant or Blatant beast. [Cf. WARTON's note on 27 ff. above.]

6. WALTHER (p. 8). Cf. Pelleas (Pellias) in Malory, p. 143 [4. 20-1]. [He reappears, perhaps with Malory's and Spenser's help, in *P. R.* 2. 361.]

7. WALTHER (p. 8). Cf. Lamorack (Lamerak de Galys [Walys]) in Malory, p. 73 [72; 7. 13]. [See note on 5. 3. 5. 8 in Book V, p. 186.]

EDITOR (C. G. O.). Whomever Spenser may be following here other than his own fancy, it is not Malory. Sir Palamides alone there has the quest of the Beast; neither Pelleas nor Lamorack nor any other takes part in it.

xli. 6. T. BIRCH ("The Life of Mr. Edmund Spenser," p. xv) thinks this line refers to Burghley and cites the story of the pension. He cites also *Mother Hubberds Tale* 901.

UPTON. (*A Letter concerning a new Edition of Spenser's Faerie Queene*, p. 7) identifies this "mighty pere" with Lord Burghley.

WARTON (MS note in ed. of 1617 in British Museum, C. 28 m. 7). Burleigh is here meant, who had been affronted by a line in *Mother Hubberds Tale* [901]: "to have thy Princes grace, yet want her peeres." Probably he alludes to this statesman, B. 4. st. 1.

UPTON. What were these former writs, that brought him into a mighty peere's displeasure? Doubtless his Pastorals, in which he so severely reflects on bishop Elmor in particular; scarcely hiding his satire under the transparent covering of an anagram; and this mighty peere means the lord treasurer Burleigh. There is nothing in *Mother Hubberds Tale* that could give any just offence; for

the satire is there general. But his encomiums on archbishop Grindal, and his several reflections on bishop Elmor, could not but give very just reasons for the lord treasurer to be offended.

R. E. N. DODGE (Cambridge edition). It is noticeable that this second part of the *Faerie Queene* begins and ends with reference to the poet's being out of favor with the great minister [Burghley]. The change in tone from the sonnet to Burghley which accompanies the first part is unmistakable. In the interval had occurred the delay over the pension and the publication of the satiric references in the *Ruines of Time* and *Mother Hubberds Tale*.

EDITOR. Cf. *Sh. Cal.*, Sept. 124; *Ruines of Time* 216, 447-455; *Mother Hubberds Tale* 901, 1137 ff.; *Colin Clouts*, Ded.; *F. Q.* 4. Pr. 1. 1-2 and notes in Book IV, p. 163; 5. 9. 43. 8 and notes in Book V, p. 245; and Dedicatory Sonnet 2. See also DE MOSS in Appendix I to Book V, p. 283, and GREENLAW in Appendix II to Book V, pp. 303-311, especially 307-10. As a reflection of Burghley's extravagance, F. HARD (*SP* 28. 219 ff.) cites *Mother Hubberds Tale* 1171 ff. See the notes on these lines.

Biographers have paid too much attention to the legend that Burghley refused to pay Spenser's pension because of the attack on him in *Mother Hubberds Tale* and too little to Spenser's statement in 4. Pr. 1-2 that Burghley objected to his writing on the theme of love. Spenser's dislike of Burghley was occasioned not only by his political allegiance to the party of Leicester, Walsingham, and Sidney, but also by the Lord Treasurer's attitude toward poetry and learning, his failure to encourage poets and learned men. In *The Ruines of Time* 440, he says that since Walsingham's death "learning lies unregarded, and men of armes do wander unrewarded." In the well-known passage (447-455), Spenser sums up his reasons for disliking Burghley:

For he that now welds all things at his will,
Scorns th'one and th'other in his deeper skill.

O grieve of griefes, O gall of all good heartes,
To see that vertue should dispised bee
Of him, that first was raisde for vertuous parts,
And now broad spreading like an aged tree,
Lets none shoot vp, that nigh him planted bee:
O let the man, of whom the Muse is scorned,
Nor aliue, nor dead be of the Muse adorned.

By his frequent attacks on Burghley, then, Spenser is obeying his own injunction; he is scorning the scorner.

The last stanza of Book VI is not a recantation, but a further defiance. Whether the "hidden meaning" of *Mother Hubberds Tale* was called to Burghley's attention or whether the poems on love caused Burghley's displeasure is impossible to say, but we can see from Spenser's own statements that he and the Lord Treasurer had nothing in common and no reason to like each other. It is unnecessary, then, to assume that Spenser's attacks on Burghley were occasioned by his pique at the Lord Treasurer's refusal to pay his pension.

9. UPTON. He seems to have Horace in view [*Epist.* 1. 17. 35], "Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est."

BOOK VII

(TWO CANTOS OF MUTABILITIE)

CANTO VI

HUGHES (pp. xc-xci). Tho the remaining six books, which were to have completed this beautiful and moral poem, are lost; we have a noble fragment of them preserv'd in the two Cantos of *Mutability*: 'This is, in my opinion, the most sublime and best-invented allegory in the whole work. The fable of Arlo-Hill, and of the river Molanna, which is a digression on this occasion, has all the beauty we admire in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. But the pedigree of Mutability, who is represented as a giantess; her progress from the earth to the circle of the moon; the commotion she raises there, by endeavouring to remove that planet from the sky; and the shadow, which is cast, during the attempt, on the inhabitants of the earth, are greatly imagin'd. We find several strains of invention in this fable, which might appear not unworthy even of Homer himself.

WARTON (MS note in ed. of 1617 in British Museum, C. 28. m. 7). What reason have we to think these two cantos are parcell of the *Fairy Queen*? All that would induce us to think so is a passage in st. 2 . . . which is by no means a proof. He seems to have wrote it to shew the instability of human things, of which he had seen many instances.

[See Appendix, 433-450.]

TODD. By what means this unfinished Canto [8], and the two preceding Cantos were preserved, the first editor of them has left no particulars. They are usually termed the Seventh Book of the Poem. The fragment exhibits a very fine specimen of Spenser's sublime invention.

G. L. CRAIK (*Spenser and his Poetry* 3. 97) remarks of these cantos: "the poetry has none of the marks of imitation, and is not only perfectly in Spenser's manner throughout, but much of it is in his very highest style."

E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, pp. 6-7) uses these cantos as an example of the court of love "setting in nature."

See Appendix to Book III, "The Garden of Adonis," pp. 340-352; and Appendix below, pp. 389-432.

Arg. D. SAURAT (*Literature and Occult Tradition*, p. 202). The subject of canto 6 is set forth in the same terms as that of *The Ruines of Rome* [cf. 121-6]. He speaks "as the common voice" does for three stanzas; and as du Bellay for two cantos.

i. 1-5. E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, pp. 44-5). The poet who contented himself with such definitions, surely devoted but little time and energy to abstract thought when composing his masterpiece. It is to be questioned whether he coined a single new maxim, bearing the personal mark, or went deeper than the surface into any moral problem. He wrote beautifully harmonious verse and painted magnificent frescoes—this is the praise he deserves, and this is enough. His fame is in danger of being injured by those who claim gifts for him that were not his own. And, had not too much been made of him as a philosopher, it would have been useless

to dwell on his philosophy. It was necessary to clear the ground for the study of his poetry.

C. S. LEWIS (*Allegory of Love*, pp. 317-21, 357-360) has a very fine comment on the danger of expecting all Spenser's stanzas to be "beautifully harmonious verse" and magnificently painted frescoes. Spenser is often prosy, not always "poetical." "He can be as prosaic as Wordsworth: he can be clumsy, unmusical and flat." We read the *Faerie Queene* not only for its pretty pictures, but for its allegory of life. The *Faerie Queene* is "like life" — "it is like life itself, not like the products of life. . . . The things we read about in it are not like life, but the experience of reading it is like living." His conclusion about Spenser is (p. 359): "To read him is to grow in mental health."

ii. 3-4. UPTON. Spenser had admission to these most authentic records of fairies and fairy land by favour of the Muse, who alone had the custody of them. We must take his word for the truth of this, as he has so confidently asserted it in many passages throughout his poem.

ISABEL RATHBORNE (*The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland*, pp. 69-78) believes that the so-called Chronicle of "Berosus" in Annius' *Commentaria* and Lemaire's *Illustrations* was the most important of these records to Spenser.

6-9. SAWTELLE (p. 73). The Titans, we are told by Hesiod [*Theog.* 207], were the children of Uranus and Gea, and were called Titans (from *τιταίνω*) by their father, because they stretched forth their hands in violence against him. After the Titans had gained the power, and had placed Cronus, one of their number, upon the throne of their father, they, in turn, were assailed by Jove. Hesiod, *Theog.* 616 ff., relates in a vivid manner the story of this contest, when earth and sea and sky shared in the general upheaval. Jove in the end came off victorious; and the Titans were hurled down from their heavenly abodes and condemned to Tartarus, though their descendants continued to inhabit the earth. [Cf. st. 27 and note for another version.]

7-9. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 541). Cf. Genesis 6. 3 [4?].

iii. WARTON (1: 112). Spenser here makes Hecate the daughter of the Titans. Authors differ about the parentage of Hecate. Onomacritus calls her (*Argon.* 975): ["Hecate, the daughter of Tartarus."]

The Titans were indeed thrown into Tartarus; but it could not be concluded from thence that the Titans were Hecate's parents; although this, I presume, is the best argument our author could have offered for his genealogy. In this stanza Bellona is likewise feigned to be the offspring of the Titans; but Bellona was the sister of Mars, who was son of Jupiter and Juno; or, as Ovid reports, of Juno alone.

3-6. JORTIN cites Hesiod, *Theog.* 411-3.

[The relevant passage is 411-452, beginning: "Hecate whom Zeus the son of Cronos honoured above all. He gave her splendid gifts, to have a share of the earth and the unfruitful sea. She received honour also in starry heaven, and is honoured exceedingly by the deathless gods." Hesiod praises her as ruler of all "born to Earth and Ocean"; as giver of wealth, privilege, wisdom in rule, victory

in arms and games, and of increase to fishermen and herdsmen; and as a good nurse of children. Lines 411-4 and 414-422 are quoted by Natalis Comes (3. 15) and contain enough to give Spenser his information. Cf. notes on 1. 1. 43. 2-3 in Book I, p. 195.]

UPTON. Hecate was the same as Luna, and Luna was the daughter of Hyperion, one of the Titans. See Natalis Comes, *Mythol.* 3. 15. In heaven she was named Luna, on earth Diana, in hell Hecate. Hence Virgil 6. 247:

Voce vocans Hecaten, coeloque Ereboque potentem.

6-9. UPTON cites Homer, *Il.* 5. 333 and 592.

7-9. SAWTELLE (p. 37) cites *Aen.* 8. 703. See LOTSPEICH's note on st. 32 below.

iv. 1. "Titanesse." Apparently Spenser's own coinage.

v. E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, p. 38). That Mutability might be a power exerted for the good of mankind was an idea which never occurred to Spenser. A kind of inborn melancholy, nurtured by ill-health and strengthened by many a deception in his career, made him an incurable malcontent. He was driven to take refuge now in the world of chimeras, now in fairyland, now in pastoral and allegory, and to fly from a world where he saw injustice, corruption, intrigue, ignorance, sloth and misery triumphing beyond all remedy on this side of eternity.

EDITOR. The only evidence on which one can attribute ill-health to Spenser are the records of allowances for illness at Cambridge. Dr. Ernest A. Strathmann, after examining the records at Pembroke College, has come to the conclusion that no such inference can be drawn from them; there are allowances to many other students, and Spenser's are in no way unusual. Dr. Strathmann is of the opinion that these allowances were used as an excuse to give "poor scholars" some extra money. Spenser's health appears to have been no better and no worse than that of any other "poor scholar."

EDITOR (C. G. O.). That "Mutability might be a power exerted for the good of mankind" was an idea that did not occur to most of the men of Spenser's time. See the notes on the Proem of Book V, on pp. 154-6 of that volume, with the references there given, particularly to Richard F. Jones's *Ancients and Moderns*.

C. G. SMITH (*PMLA* 49. 497). Cf. *F. Q.* 4. 1. 29-30.

[See Appendix, pp. 404, 427.]

7-9. CHURCH. I. e. and brought a curse upon those things which God had blessed, and intended, at first, that they should always have continued in a state of happiness. So Milton, *P. L.* 10. 617-9:

which I
So fair and good created, and had still
Kept in that state, had not the folly of Man. . . .

vi. See 5. Pr. 4 and notes in Book V, p. 157.

vii. 6-7. EDITOR (C. G. O.). These lines woke an echo in Milton's youthful *At a Vacation Exercise* 40-1:

Then passing through the Spherse of watchful fire,
And mistie Regions of wide air next under, . . .

viii-xix. W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 243-5). It is with the usurpation by Mutabilitie of the reins of the moon from Cynthia that Spenser's first indebtedness to Ovid in the sixth canto becomes clear, in main outline as well as in close verbal similarities. This story of Mutabilitie as told by Spenser follows that of the disastrous ride of Phaeton in the chariot of Apollo, the god of the sun, described by Ovid with such splendor of imagery and imaginative power at the beginning of the second book of *Metamorphoses*. Both Phaeton in *Metamorphoses* and Mutabilitie in Spenser's poem ascend to the "bright and shining palace" of the deity (7. 6. 8. 3; *Met.* 2. 1-2, "Regia . . . clara micante"), which is guarded by "silver gates" (7. 6. 8. 5; *Met.* 2. 4, "argenti bifoies"), embellished with goodly workmanship, and guarded with lesser deities (7. 6. 8. 4; *Met.* 2. 5 ff.). Both Diana and Apollo sit on thrones, surrounded with symbolic attendants (7. 6. 9. 6; *Met.* 2. 26-30). Both are forced against their will to give up their reins (7. 6. 12. 8; *Met.* 2. 49 ff.) "into inexperienced hands," and the resulting ride through the air causes much commotion over the earth (7. 6. 14; *Met.* 2. 167 ff.), the heavens, and even chaos itself. Mercury is sent to find what the cause of the commotion may be and reports to Jove; the Earth calls upon Jove to end her anguish caused by the wandering course of the sun. The assembly of divinities to discuss the actions and threats of Mutabilitie, daughter of Titan, corresponds to the impressive description of the council of the gods in "the Palatia of high heaven" ["magni Palatia caeli," l. 176] to discuss the impiety of the offspring of the giants (7. 6. 19. 5; *Met.* 11. 167 ff.).

ix. LOTSPEICH (p. 54). Here Spenser is creating his own pageantry, but some of his material is classical. Cynthia is sitting on a "throne" drawn by two steeds, one black, one white. The chair, or chariot, could come from *Aen.* 10. 215-6 or *Theb.* 1. 338. The black and white steeds are found in Boccaccio 4. 16 and Natalis Comes 3. 17.

9. CHURCH. Dryden, in his *Religio Laici* [ll. 1-3], had an eye to this passage:

Dim, as the borrow'd Beams of Moon and Stars
To lonely, weary, wandring Travellers,
Is Reason to the Soul.

x. 9. CHURCH. Alluding to Psalms 136. 9: "The moon and the stars to govern the night."

xiii. 1-5. The Titanesse always obeys the writing over the door in the House of Busirane (3. 11. 54. 3): "*Be bold, be bold, and euey where Be bold.*" But she never saw the writing over the other door (line 8): "*Be not too bold.*" The favorite adjective for her and her actions is "bold." It is her boldness, her audacity, that fascinated Spenser and his readers. See note on 7. 49 ff. below.

6-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). A reminiscence of the cadence of these lines is heard in Milton's *Hymn on Christ's Nativity* 69-70:

The Stars with deep amaze
Stand fixt in stedfast gaze,
Bending one way their pretious influence.

See also 4. 2. 17. 1-2 and note in Book IV, p. 175; 1. 2. 5. 1; 1. 4. 7. 1; 1. 12. 9. 5; 5. 3. 18. 2-7; 5. 3. 26.

xiv. 6. EDITOR (C. G. O.). As the Blatant Beast broke his chain in 6. 12. 38. 8. But here, if not there, it is a fragment of that allegorical chain which has done heavy duty of all sorts from Homer down. Spenser makes repeated and varied use of it. See 1. 5. 25; 1. 9. 1. 1-2; and notes in Book I, pp. 233, 264; 2. 7. 46-8 and note in Book II, p. 261; 3. 1. 12. 8; 4. 1. 30. 8-9; 4. 10. 35 ff.; and notes in Book IV, pp. 170, 227-8; *Hymne of Love* 89 and note on 85-9. Besides the instances cited in these notes, the chain is used by Macrobius as a Platonic symbol of the Divine Mind permeating all things and keeping them in order, "una mutuis se vinculis religans et nusquam interrupta conexio" (*Somnium Scipionis* 1. 14. 15). With Jonson it becomes marriage (*Masque of Hymen*, Works, ed. Gifford and Cunningham, 3. 25), or "true love" (*Epode*, *ibid.* 3. 270); in Drummond Nature, the "golden chain that links this frame" (*Hymn of the Fairest Fair*); and in Pope "the great chain that draws all to agree And drawn supports" (*Essay on Man* 1. 33-4). Less Spenserian are the uses by Bacon (*Advancement of Learning* 3. 2); Shelley (*Defence of Poetry*, ed. Cook, 23. 5-10; cf. Plato, *Ion* 533, 536); and Tennyson (*Morte d'Arthur*, near end).

8-9. CHURCH. It has already been observed that Spenser, when speaking of the heavenly bodies, always follows Ptolemy's system, which here luckily suits with his design. According to that system, Mercury was the planet nearest to the moon, and therefore might be supposed first to have discovered this disturbance in that region: and he was the most proper person (as Messenger of the gods) to carry the intelligence to Jupiter.

SAWTELLE (p. 84). *F. Q.* 7. 6. 14, and 7. 7. 51 refer to Mercury as a planet.

xv. 2. UPTON cites Ovid, *Met.* 1. 175-6.

8-9. LOTSPEICH (p. 113). The names Typhoeus and Typhon seem to be interchangeable in Spenser, as in *Natalis Comes* 6. 22, and apply to one of the Giants who was most active in rebelling against Jove. This is Spenser's chief impression of him; cf. *Georgics* 1. 278-283; *Aen.* 9. 716; *Met.* 3. 303; *Theog.* 821 ff., which is the fullest account of his exploits. *Natalis Comes* 6. 22 interprets his myth as showing "ambitionis furor." [See st. 29 below.]

xvi. 6. LOTSPEICH (p. 54). Cf. 1. 7. 34. 8-9, [which] recalls the association of Luna and Hecate with magic charms and incantations; cf. Theocritus 2; Virgil, *Ecl.* 8. 69; *Natalis Comes* 3. 17 [ed. Padua, 1637, p. 133]: "Hanc (Lunam) crediderunt antiqui e caelo magicis artibus deduci. Quippe cum antiquae veneficae mulieres putarentur solem lunamque abolere."

xvii. 1. LOTSPEICH (pp. 80-1). See *Mother Hubbard's Tale* 1258, and with the phrase "wingd-foot," cf. "alipedus" of *Met.* 4. 756; 11. 312. [See also "wing footed Mercurie," *Ruines of Time* 666.]

xviii. 2-3. See notes on 2. 12. 40-1 in Book II, p. 370; and 4. 3. 42 in Book IV, pp. 186-7.

7. Spenser makes varied uses of the silver bower. It appears a half dozen times, but never elsewhere of the moon.

xx. JORTIN. From Ovid, *Met.* 1. 156-162:

Obruta mole sua cum corpora dira jacerent,
Perfusam multo natorum sanguine Terram
Incaluisse ferunt, calidumque animasse cruorem:
Et ne nulla ferae stirpis monumenta manerent,
In faciem vertisse hominum: sed et illa propago,
Contemtrix superum, saevaeque avidissima caedis,
Et violenta fuit: scires e sanguine natos.

xxi. 6-9. CHURCH. The judicious reader will observe that there is much of Milton's manner in this, and the preceding stanza. That Milton drew from hence is plain; particularly he has copied Spenser (but fallen short of his Master's dignity) in the close of Satan's speech in the Infernal Council, *P. L.* 2. 40-3:

and by what best way
Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate; who can advise, may speak.

[Cf. note on 24 below.]

9. UPTON. Spenser would have avoided this manner of speaking: I believe he gave it, "Areed ye sonnes of Gods."

LOTSPEICH (p. 76). Finally, there is room in the midst of these varied conceptions for the idea that Jove was, anagogically considered, a symbol of the true Godhead. [Here] he addresses "ye sonnes of God," and at *Hymne of Heauenly Beautie* 181 the thunder and lightning usually associated with Jove are under the throne of God. Cf. Boccaccio 2. 2: "Volunt enim aliqui et graves viri quod idem Iuppiter sonet quod iuvans pater, quod soli vero Deo convenit. Ipse enim vere pater est et ab aeterno fuit et erit in sempiternum."

xxii. 2. See UPTON's note on 30. 6-8 below.

LOTSPEICH (p. 75) adds *Met.* 1. 179-180; *Mother Hubberds Tale* 1228.

xxiv. 1-5. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Like Milton's account of the sudden return of Satan to Pandemonium, *P. L.* 10. 449-454, with necessary differences.

5. See note on 4. 2. 17. 1-2 in Book IV, p. 175; on 13. 6-9 above.

xxvi-xxvii. C. G. SMITH (*Spenser's Theory of Friendship*, p. 9). The similarity between Ate and Mutability is equally striking. Ate came "from below, Out of the dwellings of the damned sprights" (4. 1. 19), and so did Mutability, a descendant of Chaos (7. 6. 26-7). In their mischief-making each is aided by "borrowed beautie" (4. 1. 31; cf. 7. 6. 28-30). Ate receives assistance in stirring up strife from Duessa who accompanies her; Mutability, from Bellona, her sister (mentioned in 4. 1. 14). Ate strives to undo the work of Concord; Mutability strives to undo the work of Nature.

xxvi. 5-6. LOTSPEICH (p. 55). Cf. Apollonius Rhodius 1. 1092 ff., and *Theb.*

8. 303, the address to Terra, "O hominum divumque aeterna creatrix. . . ." Boccaccio 1. 8 quotes this and identifies Earth with the "magna Mater," Cybele, Rhea, or Ops (cf. 7. 7. 26), the "rerum omnium creatrix." Cf. "Mother Earth" at 2. 11. 42; 5. 7. 9; 5. 12. 23; *Colin Clouts* 226.

6. LOTSPEICH (p. 46). In making Chaos the parent of Earth, Spenser follows *Theog.* 116.

xxvii. SAWTELLE (pp. 115-6). The story . . . is told by Natalis Comes [6. 20], and is not the usual account of the way by which Saturn obtained the throne of heaven. According to Natalis Comes, Titan was the elder brother of Saturn, who was persuaded to abdicate the throne on condition that Saturn would kill all children who might be born to him. This was in order that Saturn might have no descendants to succeed him. The compact was agreed upon, and Saturn devoured one child after another. Jove, however, escaped the fate of his brothers and sisters; hence Spenser's reference to the "Corybantes slight. . . ." [Explained in notes on 1. 6. 15. 3 in Book I, p. 242.]

This myth, it will be seen, is better adapted to enforce the claims of Mutability than the usual one would be [see note on 2. 6-9 above, and her argument at 7. 16. 5-9 below], and hence it was seized upon by our poet.

EDITOR (C. G. O.). The same myth is cited by Milton at *P. L.* 1. 5. 10-2, who probably had this passage in mind. For the ancient authorities see *MLN* 16. 141-2. Spenser is not very explicit in 27. 3-5. "The younger" seems to mean Saturn; but it was to circumvent him that Jove's mother resorted to the "slight," or rather device, of drowning the lusty youngster's cries by the jangle of the Corybantes. They are not mentioned by Natalis at 6. 20, but in 2. 1 (ed. 1651, p. 80), and the phrase, "simulatis sacrificiis" may have suggested Spenser's phrasing in 27. 4.

xxviii. 6-9. HEISE (p. 11) cites 4. 6. 37. 4-5. He records eight cattle similes in Spenser. Cf. also note on 4. 2. 17. 1-2 in Book IV, p. 175.

xxix. 5. JORTIN. The example of Procrustes is not to the purpose, since he neither offended particularly against Jupiter, nor was punish'd by him. He was slain by Theseus.

UPTON. "I was willing to have thought, that the just punishments inflicted by me, as a reward for their wickedness, either immediately, as on Typhon, Ixion, or Prometheus; (great in wisdom as well as in descent;) or mediately, by the powers I delegated, viz. by Hercules, Theseus, &c. who slew tyrants, and oppressors of mankind, such for instance was Procrustes, etc., etc." Spenser writes "Procrustes," following his usual way of miswriting proper names: and Procrustes is put here for any robber or oppressor of mankind, that met with his due punishment.

SAWTELLE (p. 101). Procrustes was a robber of Attica, who waylaid strangers and stretched them upon a bed; if they were too long or too short, he adjusted matters by cutting off or stretching out their limbs. . . . See Diodorus Siculus 4. 59. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* 38.

LOTSPEICH (p. 102). Spenser may be thinking of him [Procrustes]

somewhat vaguely as a rebellious giant and so fit company for Typhon, Ixion, and Prometheus.

6. See note on st. 15. 8-9 above.

LOTSPEICH (p. 74). Ixion appears in Spenser, as conventionally in the classics, as one of those punished in Hades; cf. *Aen.* 6. 601; *Met.* 4. 461. At 1. 5. 35. 1-6 Spenser has the same order of names as Natalis Comes 6. 16, an order which is not paralleled in the classics. On Ixion Natalis Comes (*loc. cit.*) quotes lines from Tibullus 1. 3. 73-4 which are rather close to 1. 5. 35. 1-2: "Illic Iunonem tentare Ixionis ausi Versantur celeri noxia membra rota."

7. See notes on *F. Q.* 2. 10. 70. 5-9 in Book II, pp. 336-7.

xxx. 4. EDITOR (C. G. O.). This line, with its close Latin construction and cadence, might well be Milton's.

6-8. UPTON. Ovid, *Met.* 1. 179-180:

Terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque
Caesariem, cum qua terram, mare, sidera movit.

Tasso, *Ger. Lib.* 13. 74:

Cosí dicendo il capo mosse: e gli ampi
Cieli tremaro.

Milton, *P. L.* 2. 351-3:

so was his will
Pronounc'd among the gods; and by an oath
That shook heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.

Milton says "by an oath," not by "a nod": for Milton does not give God the Father, human parts or form; besides the expression is scriptural [cf. Genesis 22. 16 and Isaiah 45. 23]: not so other poets: . . . [Homer, *Il.* 1. 528-530: Kronion spake and bowed his dark brow and the ambrosial locks waved from the king's immortal head; and he made great Olympus quake.] This verse Spenser had in view above, st. 22 [2-3]. So Horace 3. 1. [8]: "Cuncta supercilio moventis." And Virgil 9. 106: "Annuit, et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum."

9. W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 245) cites Ovid, *Met.* 1. 253 ff.

xxxi. EDITOR (C. G. O.) Judge Jupiter and Judge Artegall (5. 5. 12-3) are both susceptible, and Spenser's tone is distinctly deprecatory in both passages.

7-9. UPTON. Genesis 6. 3: "My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh." Psalms 78. 39: "Yea many a time turned he his wrath away . . . for he considered that they were but flesh." The construction is somewhat confused, "If gods should strive together with flesh, and if Jove should doe still what he is able to do, then shortly would the progeny of man be rooted out." In Chaucer and our old poets we frequently meet with "yfere," "ifere," "in fere," for together.

TODD. Spenser has, in this passage, very improperly introduced the language of Holy Writ.

xxxii. 4-9. LOTSPEICH (p. 42). [See note on 4. 1. 14. 6 in Book IV, p. 167.] In [this] passage the conception of Bellona as a Titan, which is not found in classical tradition, may be explained as a memory of the early translation (*Visions of Bellay* 15).

xxxiii. 4. See SAWTELLE'S note on st. 27 above.

6-7. LOTSPEICH (p. 59). Their [the Fates'] decree stands for the divine order, here represented by the Olympians. It is so interpreted by Boccaccio 1. 5, citing Cicero and Boethius, "Fatum [id] appello . . . ordinem, seriemque causarum."

xxxv. See Appendix, pp. 398, 412.

C. S. LEWIS (*The Allegory of Love*, pp. 329-330). Nature may be opposed not only to the artificial or the spurious, but also to the spiritual or the civil. There is a nature of Hobbes' painting as well as of Rousseau's. Of nature in this second sense, nature as the brutal, the unimproved, the inchoate, Spenser has given us notice enough in his cannibals, brigands, and the like; and, more philosophically, in the "hatefull darknes" and "deepe horore" of the chaos whence all the fair shapes in the garden of Adonis have taken their "substance." This is what moderns tend to mean by Nature—the primitive, or original, and Spenser knows what it is like. But most commonly he understands Nature as Aristotle did—the "nature" of anything being its unimpeded growth from within to perfection, neither checked by accident nor sophisticated by art. To this "nature" his allegiance never falters, save perhaps in some regrettable compliments to the Queen which accord ill with his general feeling about the court: and when Nature personified enters his poem she turns out to be the greatest of his shining ones. In some respects, indeed, she symbolizes God Himself.

4-6. UPTON. Him the highest father of gods and men,—the god of Nature. But below, 7. 5 [.1] he says,

Then forth issu'd (great goddesse) great dame Nature.

The reader must not be surprised to find in one place a deity called a God, in another a Goddess: for as Milton observes, 1. 423:

Spirits when they please
Can either sex assume, or both.

According to the Orphick verses [*Hymn* 14] Jupiter (i. e. as there intended, universal Nature, or in Spenser's words, "The God of Nature") is of both sexes, male and female; as consisting of active and passive principles. Pan likewise (as the name imports) is said to be the god of Nature: "Pan . . . totius Naturae deus est" (Servius on Virgil, *Ecl.* 2. 31). "Pan ab antiquis diebus fuit deus naturae" (Albricus, *de Deor. Imag.* 9 [Rome, 1510, kiii^v]). Nature is spoken of as the chiefest of the deities in Statius 12. 561-2:

Heu princeps Natura! ubi numina, ubi ille
Fulminis injusti jaculator?

When Lucretius, and the like atheistical writers, speak of Nature, with the epithets "creatrix," "gubernans," "omniparens," &c. they mean some unknown power working blindly for the general good. But Seneca, as a good theist, says, "By Nature I mean the God of Nature" [*De Benef.* 4. 7. 1]. And the Stoics when they address Nature, mean not that blind goddess of the Epicureans, but an universal mind acting for the good of the whole, hereby recognizing a divine nature, or making nature a kind of handmaid of the deity. From these and the like considerations of the various energies of Nature, we may see into the meaning of stanzas 5 and 6 in Canto 7.

M. Y. HUGHES (*PMLA* 41. 555). In this appeal she was echoing the whole conscious movement of thought in Spenser's century from Grotius' resort to the idea of natural law in the field of jurisprudence to Hooker's frank dependence upon the same principle in *The Ecclesiastical Polity*. The issue was as old as Democritus and Epicurus. Boethius (*De Cons. Phil.* 4, meter 6, and 2, meter 8) offered one of the first religious solutions.

9. LOTSPEICH (p. 37). The idea of Apollo as scribe of the gods, for which no authority appears, may be taken as an extension of his office as a singer. [With possibly a touch of Lucianic humor.]

xxxvi ff. P. W. JOYCE (*Fraser's Magazine*, n. s. 17. 330-1). I am persuaded that the idea of making Arlo-hill the scene of these gatherings of the gods was suggested to Spenser by the native legends. For in times of old, in the shadowy days of Irish romance, this hill was very famous; it was the resort of fairies and enchanters, of gods and goddesses, though these last were not the same as those recorded by Spenser; and many stories of their strange doings are still preserved in our old manuscript books, especially in one called "the Book of Ballymote."

It was here, near the summit of the hill, that Cliach, the youthful harper of Connaught, sat for a whole year, pleading his love for the Princess Baina, the daughter of the Dedannan fairy king, Bove Derg. But although he played on two harps at the same time, he was not able by the spells of his fairy music to open the gates of the palace, for the magical power of the king was an overmatch for him; neither did he succeed in winning the love of the princess, whose heart remained hardened against him to the last. So that the earth, at length taking pity on his sorrows, opened up under his feet and received him into her bosom. And the hollow was immediately filled up by a lake, which remains to this day near the top of the hill. The legend adds that "Crotta Cliach," the old name of the Galty mountains, was derived from this love tragedy; for "Crotta Cliach" signifies, according to this account, the *crotta* or harps of Cliach, in allusion to the two *cruits* or harps on which he played.

It was here, too, that another fairy princess, the beautiful Keraber, and her train of seven score and ten damsels, who were bright-coloured birds one year, and had their own shapes the next—here it was, on this very lake, that they spent their time, swimming about year after year while they were birds, linked together in couples with chains of silver.

It is highly probable that Spenser was acquainted with these and other legends about Arlo-hill—why should he not know them as well as he knew the legend of Lough Melvin at the other side of Ireland? [see note on 4. 11. 41. 7 in Book IV,

p. 268]—they were then quite common among the peasantry, as indeed some of them are at the present day; and we may very well suppose that he took from them the hint of the meeting of the gods, and of his beautiful episode of Diana and her nymphs.

W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 245-6). The elements of the story are a union (Spenser delights in a new combination of old myths) of the tales of Calisto (*Met.* 2. 457 ff.), the nymph punished by Diana, Acteon (*Met.* 3. 173), who sees Diana bathing, and, turned into a deer, is torn by his own dogs, and Alpheus and Arethusa (*Met.* 5. 572 ff.), who correspond to the two Irish rivers, Molanna and Fanchin. Many references to these stories Spenser had probably read; but the combination of three stories of metamorphosis into one is an interesting Ovidian influence; and that Spenser knew well the Ovidian version of the Acteon myth upon which the story is based (6. 37 ff.) is clear from his paraphrase of a line from Ovid's account.—"While all her Nymphes did like a girlond her enclose" (3. 6. 19. 9); "Circumfusaque Dianam Corporibus texere suis" (*Met.* 3. 180).

xxxvi. P. W. JOYCE (*Fraser's Magazine*, n. s., 17. 325-6). If there be any reader "who knows not Arlo-hill," the scene of this solemn trial, the following examination will enable him to find it out.

In the neighbourhood of Buttevant and Charleville, in the county of Cork, begins a range of mountains, which runs in a direction nearly eastwards till it terminates near the village of Caher in Tipperary, a distance of about thirty miles. The middle part is low, and interrupted by high plains, but the extremities rise boldly in two well-defined mountain groups; the western portion being called the Ballahoura Mountains, and the eastern the Galties. This eastern portion is also the highest, abounding in peaks, precipices, and gorges; and one particular summit, Galtymore, the most elevated of the whole range, attains a height of 3,015 feet. This last peak rises immediately over the vale of Aherlow, or Arlo, as it was commonly called by Anglo-Irish writers of Spenser's time, including Spenser himself; a fine valley, eight or ten miles long, walled in by the dark steep slopes of the Galties on the south-east side, with Galtymore towering over all, and by the long ridge of Slievenamuck on the north-west. The whole range, from Buttevant to Caher, is what Spenser calls "Mole," or "old father Mole," as will appear very plainly a little farther on.

The mountain mass that culminates in Galtymore is Arlo-hill, on which the meeting of the gods was held; but the name Arlo was applied to the hill only by Spenser himself, who borrowed it from the adjacent valley, and who, after his usual fashion, selected it on account of its musical sound. That Arlo-hill is Galtymore, and no other, is shown by several expressions scattered through this part of the poem. Arlo, we are told, overlooks the plain through which the river Suir flows [54. 5-9 quoted], which indicates that it is among the Galties. For, standing on the summit of these mountains, you have the magnificent plain of Tipperary at your feet, a part of the "Golden Vale," truly designated by the poet as "the richest champion that may else be rid"; while, on the other hand, this plain cannot be seen at all from the western part of the range. The name Arlo connects it with the vale of Aherlow; and that it is the same as Galtymore is placed beyond all doubt by the statement that Arlo-hill

Is the highest head, in all mens sights,
Of my old father Mole.

Spenser tells us, at the beginning of *Colin Clouts come home againe*, that he lived at the foot of Mole [56-9]:

One day (quoth he) I sat (as was my trade)
Under the foote of Mole, that mountain hore,
Keeping my sheepe amongst the cooly shade
Of the greene alders by the Mullaes shore.

This, we know, was where Kilcolman Castle ruins now stand, under the Ballahoura hills, at the western extremity of the range; and as Arlo-hill in the Galties "is the highest head, in all mens sights, of my old father Mole," it is quite plain that by "old father Mole" the poet meant the whole range, including the Galties and the Ballahouras.

A. C. JUDSON (*Spenser in Southern Ireland*, pp. 48-54). The mountain (Galteemore) rose before us gray in the morning haze. In Spenser's day a forest of oaks must have clothed its sides, which are now bare of trees, but the top probably looks today as it looked to the poet, and I felt for the first time that I could appreciate his lines that tell of its

high head, that seemeth alwaies hore
With hardned frosts of former winters ire. (7. 7. 11. 3-4)

. . . If not "the best and fairest hill" we had ever seen, its precipitous, naked slopes observed through the haze possessed a loneliness and a solemn grandeur that moved us. . . . Occasionally a grouse flew up from our feet, and many sheep stared at us in blank amazement. They seemed sufficient proof that the wolves of Spenser's day have vanished along with the forests. . . . At last we stood upon "the highest hights of Arlo-hill." The mountain possesses two peaks, perhaps a quarter of a mile apart, one a little higher than the other, between which lies a broad almost level terrace, or belvedere. Here I imagine Spenser conceived of the marshaling before Dame Nature of "heavenly powers and earthly wights" in such numbers that "Arlo scarsly could them all containe," and it may well be that the shape of the mountain, as well as its height and the tradition that the old Irish gods used it as a meeting place, determined his choice of it for the supremely great scene in the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* in which Dame Nature passes judgment on the arrogant claims of the goddess of change.

The finest vista is toward the northeast. At the foot of the mountain lie the cultivated fields of the Vale of Aherlow, then come low hills that enclose the vale, and beyond, as far as the eye can see, extends the rich dairying country of Tipperary, watered by the Suir. Inevitably the observer recalls Spenser's reference to

that mountaine, which doth overlooke
The richest champian that may else be rid,
And the faire Shure, in which are thousand salmons bred.

Haze and shifting mist limited our view in certain directions, but they did not, I think, diminish the grandeur of the scene. Half southern Ireland seemed to lie at our feet, and the bits of cloud that now and then blew past us seemed to increase the remoteness and the mysterious beauty of our position.

EDITOR (C. G. O.). Arlo Hill appears a third time in Spenser as the original of Mount Acidale in 6. 10. 5 ff. See EDITOR's note on 6. 10. 8. 9 above.

6. TODD. See the same form of expression, *F. Q.* 6. 10. 16. 4:

Poore Colin Clout (who knowes not Colin Clout?)

So Hall, in his *Satires* 3. 6:

When Gullion died, (who knowes not Gullion?)

Hence Milton, in *Comus* 50:

On Circe's island fell: (who knows not Circe . . .).

xxxvii ff. SAWTELLE (p. 49). This . . . intrusion of Actaeon (*Met.* 3. 131 ff.) furnished the basis for the myth concerning Faunus. . . . That he [Spenser] had this in mind is shown by the lines [st. 50, lines 1-4, quoted].

LOTSPEICH (p. 32). In this free adaptation, the chief resemblances to the Ovidian version are (a) the central episode, Diana revealed at her bath in a stream; (b) the reference to Faunus' horns (st. 47. 7): while they are Faunus' natural possession, they may be meant to recall *Met.* 3. 194, where Actaeon's first sign of change is the growth of horns; (c) Faunus, as punishment, is clad in a deer skin and hunted by the nymphs. Here Spenser differs from Ovid and may follow Natalis Comes 6. 24, who mentions as a variant version that Diana clad Actaeon in a deer skin and so had his hounds pursue him.

xxxvii. 5-6. G. L. CRAIK (*Spenser and his Poetry* 3. 104). Arlow, or Arlo, which is also mentioned by Spenser in his *View of Ireland* ("All those counties which, lying near unto any mountains or Irish deserts, had been planted with English, were shortly displanted and lost. As, namely, in Munster, all the lands adjoining unto Slewlogher, Arlo, and the Bog of Allon.") [cf. Globe ed., p. 615], is understood to be what is now called Galtee More, the loftiest of the eastern range of the Ballyhowra hills, called by him the mountains of Mole, forming the northern boundary of his estate of Kilcolman, in the county of Cork. One of the defiles of Galtee More is still called the Glen of Aharlow.

[Cf. *Astrophel* 96, and JOYCE's note on 6. 36 above.]

7. CHURCH. "The Irish were a People anciently (according to the name of the Holy Iland given to Ireland) much devoted to, and by the English much respected for their holiness and learning." See Mr. Selden's Notes on *Polyolb.* [ed. 1613], p. 15. [See the EDITOR's note on 38. 1-3 below.]

9. See PERCIVAL's note on 1. Pr. 2. 1. in Book I, pp. 173-4; and Appendix, "The Muse of the *Faerie Queene*," pp. 506-515.

xxxviii. 1-3. In his *View of Ireland*, Spenser says (Globe ed., p. 626): "for it is certayne, that Ireland hath had the use of letters very aunciently, and long before England." And a little further on we are told that "the Saxons of England are sayd to have theyr letters, and learning, and learned men, from the Irish." See CHURCH's note on 37. 7 above.

xxxviii. 7-xxxix. Cf. 6. 10. 9-15.

xxxviii. 7-8. LOTSPEICH (p. 53). Cf. *Aen.* 9. 405, "nemorum Latonia custos."

9. See note on 6. 8. 19. 1-2 above.

xxxix. 6-8. See notes on 2. 3. 31. 1 in Book II, p. 218; cf. *F. Q.* 1. 12. 7; 3. 6. 17.

7. Cf. 6. 10. 11. 8-9.

xl ff. CHURCH. Compare this story of Molanna with that of her sister Mulla, in *Colin Clouts* [104-155].

[See Appendix, pp. 424-432.]

P. W. JOYCE (*Fraser's Magazine*, n. s. 17. 327-330). The Fanchin, or, as it is now called, the Funsheon, is a small river, rising in the Galty mountains, and flowing by Mitchelstown and Glanworth into the Blackwater, two miles below Fermoy, after a course of about thirty miles.

But no one has yet pointed out the stream that Spenser designated by the name Molanna. Smith, indeed, in his *History of Cork*, attempts to do so; but this careful writer must have been misled in the present instance by some incorrect old map, or by some other erroneous evidence; for in his description of the source of the Funsheon, and in his identification of the Molanna, he is quite wrong, as I shall, I think, be able to show very plainly. After the time of Smith, the editors of Spenser, and other writers who interested themselves in this matter, followed his authority without question or examination.

Smith states that the Funsheon "rises in the county of Tipperary, in a bog a mile south of the mountains called the Galties. Not far from its source it receives a brook called the Brackbawn, which divides the county of Limerick from Tipperary and rises in the Galty mountains." (*History of Cork*, ii. 266.) And in a note at the foot of the same page he states that the Brackbawn is Spenser's Molanna.

To anyone who has not examined the place all this appears satisfactory, and to fall in exactly with Spenser's description. But a walk of three or four miles along the river will at once dispel the illusion. The river that Smith describes as meeting the Brackbawn from a bog in Tipperary, and which he says is the Funcheon, has no existence at all. The Brackbawn, for the whole of its short course of four miles, forms the boundary line between the counties of Tipperary and Limerick; and it so happens that there is no stream joining it from the Tipperary side. On that side, the fall of ground lies the other way, and all the rivulets flow eastward towards the basin of the Suir. The Brackbawn is, in fact, the source or head-water of the Funsheon: it is the main stream—the Funsheon itself—though it is called the Brackbawn (and sometimes the Attycraan) for the first four miles of its course, and the Funsheon from that down. I have said that the Brackbawn is the main stream; I should have said, rather, that it is the only stream: for from the point high up in the mountains where the Brackbawn is formed by the junction of two streams, down to where it begins to be called the Funsheon, it receives no tributary at all, either from the Tipperary or from the Limerick side.

As the Brackbawn is the Funcheon, it cannot be the Molanna, as Smith and his followers assert; for the context of the poem shows clearly that the Molanna

and the Funsheon are two different streams, and that the former is a tributary of the latter.

It is evident that Spenser was well acquainted with all this neighbourhood. It forms part of "Armulla Dale," the valley he himself lived in; it is only about sixteen miles from Kilcolman—within view, in fact, of the castle windows; and he describes the rivers with such exactness and detail, and his descriptions are so correct, that it is impossible to avoid believing that he explored the place himself, and wrote from personal knowledge.

Although I knew this locality many years ago very intimately, I visited it from Dublin on a pleasant day of last June, to examine the rivers and to judge for myself. I walked along the streams up into the heart of the Galty mountains; and anyone who performs the same pleasant pilgrimage, with the poet's description in his mind, and who looks about him with ordinary attention, will identify the Molanna without the least difficulty. There is, in fact, no choice. The whole context of the poem indicates that the Molanna flows from the slopes of Arlo-hill. There are only two streams of any consequence flowing into the Funsheon valley from the Galties. One of these is the Funsheon itself, or the Brackbawn, which, as I have already observed, forms for some distance the boundary between Limerick and Tipperary. Its source is high up among the mountains, about a quarter of a mile east of the summit of Galtymore; and it flows from several springs along the glen, one on the boundary line of the counties, others on the Limerick side, but none, as far as I could see, on the east or Tipperary side.

The other stream is the Behanna, (it is now called Beheena by the natives; but a generation ago it was called Behanna, and this is the name perpetuated on the Ordnance maps) which rises in "Arlo-hill," a little to the west of the summit of Galtymore, and, after a course of about four miles, joins the Funsheon at the hamlet of Kilbeheny. This is the Molanna. We have, as I have said, no choice in the matter; there is no stream but the Behanna flowing from the Galties into the Funsheon, except mere tiny brooklets that could not claim a moment's consideration; and in every respect it answers the poet's description of the Molanna. It is formed by the junction of two streams far up in the mountains, each flowing through a deep glen, with a high hill (Knocknadarriff, or the hill of the bulls) jutting out boldly between them. The eastern branch is named Carrigeen (little rock), from a rock extending along the side of the glen through which it flows, which is also often called Doocarrig, or black rock. The other or western branch is called Coolatinny (the recess of the fox), or more commonly the Pigeon Rock stream. Rising over the side of this western glen is a great precipice called Carrignagloor, or the rock of the pigeons, which gives the name of Pigeon Rock to the stream.

Each stream has its own rock towering up on the side of its glen; and this is obviously what the poet had in his mind when he described the Molanna as "springing from two marble rocks." The "grove of oakes high mounted" over the double source is gone indeed; but so are the dense woods that once clothed the Galties — "all those faire forrests about Arlo hid" — for which these mountains were noted in times not very remote. When you look from a point on the Behanna, a little below the junction of the two streams, upwards into the two rocky glens winding into the heart of the mountains, you can hardly help believ-

ing that in Spenser's time the grove of oaks that so struck his fancy, crowned the summit of Knocknadariff, which rises abrupt and bare between the two streams to a height of 2,000 feet straight before you.

The "many woods and shady coverts" that crowned the silver channel of the Molanna three hundred years ago, are also gone; but down to a very recent period a wood extended along both sides of the river for about a mile below the junction of the two tributary streams. This was called Coolattin wood, and was a modern plantation; but it was doubtless the successor of a forest of ancient growth. Coolattin wood was cut down seven or eight years ago, but abundant vestiges of it still remain—roots and stumps of trees, and an occasional undergrowth of oak, ash, hazel, and birch.

After tumbling down from its mountain channel, the Behanna emerges sharply on the plain, through which it winds gently for the last mile of its course, among level meadows and cornfields, till it joins the Funsheon near the bridge of Kil-beheny; thus corresponding exactly with the words of the poet:

So now her waves passe through a pleasant plaine
Till with the Fanchin she herselfe do wed,
And, both combin'd, themselves in one faire river spred.

The stream is very steep in the first part of its course; and the winter torrents have, in the course of ages, rolled down vast quantities of large stones and gravel, and deposited them in the level part of its bed. The people, indeed, often come specially to the river during heavy floods to listen to the great noise made by the stones as they are rolled down by the torrent, tearing, crashing, and grinding against each other. The poet has figured this feature of the river bed, under a thin veil, in the passage where he tells us that the nymphs, at the command of Diana, overwhelmed Molanna with stones. So that here, as elsewhere, his accurate delineation of local features helps us to identify the stream; and when we have succeeded in this, our knowledge of the place heightens our appreciation of his beautiful allegory. He is no less truthful when he writes:

But this Molanna, were she not so shole [shallow],
Were no lesse faire and beautifull then shee [i. e. than the Mulla]:
Yet as she is, a fairer flood may no man see.

For the Behanna never becomes deep and slow in its movement like the Mulla, but flows brightly and quickly along, winding and dashing among the stones that everywhere strew its bed, and showing, all along, the clear gravel at the bottom. And as to beauty, I question whether the poet was not prejudiced in favour of his own beloved Mulla, when he pronounced it superior to Molanna; for even though "so shole," the Molanna is a very lovely stream.

In the early part of its course, the river forms many crystal pools, each under a little rocky cascade; and it was in these that

Diana used oft,
After her sweatie chace and toilsome play,
To bathe herselfe.

When I was walking along the stream, on a sultry evening in June, I could not help thinking how delicious it would be to imitate the goddess.

As "Molanna" is a fictitious name, it may naturally be asked what was the circumstance that suggested it to the poet's mind; for the reader will have observed that all Spenser's fictitious names were adopted from some local features; and the origin of this name appears quite clear. The poet tells us that Molanna was "sister unto Mulla faire and bright"; for both were daughters of "old Father Mole," and, according to the poet's fancy, took their names from him. But the latter part of the name Molanna, I think it very obvious, was suggested to Spenser partly by the native name *Behanna*, and partly also perhaps by the fact that on the eastern bank of the stream there is a small lake giving name to a townland, called to this day *Lough-an-anna*.

A. C. JUDSON (*Spenser in Southern Ireland*, pp. 37-43). Before us rose Galteemore, and many lesser peaks; beside us murmured the river (Behanagh), tumbling, in truth, through "flowery dales," but no longer, as in Spenser's day, through "many woods." In the bed were the boulders thrown into the stream at Diana's command, and in many places the water formed pools tempting alike to goddess or man. It was altogether a lovely stream, sparkling and crystal-clear. . . . About noon we reached the confluence of the Carrigeen and Coolatinny streams, which unite just at the foot of Bull Hill to form the Behanagh. . . . Bull Hill, rounded and covered with heather at the top, is now bare of woods, but I noticed several small oaks near its base which may be remote descendants of the grove that so moved Spenser. . . . Reflecting upon what we had seen, we concluded that Spenser had given, in his account of Molanna and Funcheon, another proof of his powers of keen observation, which the characteristically fanciful details of his story by no means obscured.

xl. 3. See *Colin Clouts* 108 ff. and note.

5-6. In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, published in 1595, but dated, "From my house of Kilcolman the 27. of December. 1591." Cf. lines 103-155. See Appendix, pp. 441, 442, 448.

xli 1. Cf. 5. 11. 5. 9 and note, Book V, p. 255.

2. See stanza 11 of 7. 7 and note below.

3-5. Cf. *Epithalamion* 148-157; 6. 9. 8. 3-5 and note above.

6-8. See 6. 10. 7 above and notes on lines 2 and 7.

xl.ii ff. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 285-6). The episode is partly based on the story of Acteon.

In connection with [Natalis Comes's] interpretation of this myth and the following one, it should be kept in mind that Spenser was surely thinking of the state of Ireland and of recent events connected with it when he wrote the closing stanza of 7. 6. The benefits which England conferred on Ireland were hardly of a kind to commend the interpretation today, but we have Spenser's opinion in his own words; furthermore, he may well have been thinking of others beside the Irish.

Natalis Comes 6. 24 on Acteon: "Of all benefits those are best which are conferred on good and grateful men; while those conferred on the bad and

ungrateful are altogether badly conferred. Bad men are not impelled to return benefits in kind, but in return for them lie in wait for pretexts for hostility or feign to be angry on the slightest occasion."

LOTSPEICH (p. 60). [Cf. *F. Q.* 2. 2. 7-9 and notes in Book II, pp. 196-7.] In both these passages Faunus is true to the character given him by Horace, *Odes* 3. 18. 1, "Faune Nympharum fugientum amator."

xlii-xlv. C. W. LEMMI (*PQ* 8. 285). This episode is based chiefly on the myth of Arethusa and Alpheus, as a careful comparison with *Metamorphoses* 5 will show. (Cf. 7. 58.)

Natalis Comes 6. 24 on Alpheus: "Others have explained this myth as symbolical of the divine forces in our souls and the nature of virtue; for as matter desires form as its only good (for by itself it is useless), so our souls seek virtue as their form. This is the reason why Alpheus was said to follow Arethusa: ἀλφός means stain or imperfection, and ἀρετή means virtue."

xlii. 4. TODD in a note on "dainty limbs," *Comus* 680, in the *Milton Variorum*, 1809, 6. 350, cites 1. 11. 32. 8. "The expression is repeatedly used in the *Faerie Queene* [at 1. 3. 4. 3; 1. 9. 13. 8; 3. 6. 17. 6; 3. 11. 32. 5]; and in G. Wither's *Mistresse of Philarete*, 1622. See also Sir H. Wotton's *Short History of William I*: 'He was not of any delicate texture; his limbs were rather sturdy than daynty.'" Spenser combines "limbs" with a large variety of epithets.

xliii. 6. See *Sh. Cal.*, June 43 and notes.

xliv. 5. COLLIER. Ovid (*Met.* 3. 155 ff.) tells us that Actaeon was torn to pieces by his dogs, not when he was "in hunter's hew," but when he had been changed into a stag.

xlvi. 5. The same salacious laugh as is heard at 3. 7. 57-8; 4. 5. 18. 2. Cf. OSGOOD's note on 1. 6. 20 ff. in Book I, p. 245.

xlvi. UPTON. This simile is of the same ludicrous turn and comic cast as that in Ariosto 4. 22 where the necromancer Atlanta, intending to take Bradamante by the help of his enchanted shield, is compared to a cat, and Bradamante to a mouse.

EDITOR (C. G. O.). It may be. Yet one cannot be insensitive to the fine idyllism that permeates this stanza, the exquisite play flavored with the homeliness of *genre* which one meets sometimes in Theocritus or Chaucer or Goldsmith or Keats, but which here has also the peculiar sweetness of Spenser's irresistible cadence.

1. TODD. "busie care." We have the same expressions, *F. Q.* 1. 2. 45; 4. 1. 43, which Mr. Upton proposes to alter to "busie cure." But "care" requires not to be altered: it is an ancient phrase. Thus, in *The Destruction of Troy* 1. 38 [ed. 1663, p. 148], it is said of Jupiter: "All his delight and busie care was in beholding the Ladies."

1. 3. WARTON (MS note in ed. of 1617 in British Museum, C. 28. M. 7). A very immodest proposal for Diana's Virgin attendants. [Cf. SAWTELLE's note on 37 ff. above.]

4. LOTSPEICH (p. 59). By wood-gods, Spenser probably meant Pans, Sylvans, and Satyrs as well as Fauns.

lii. 7-9. See note on 6. 8. 46. 1-4 above.

liv. 7-9. See note on 6. 10. 8. 9 above; JUDSON's note on st. 36 above.

9. See note on 5. 5. 42. 6-9 in Book V, p. 206; *Epithalamion* 56-9 and notes.

lv. WARTON (2. 250-2). In *Colin Clouts come home again* [312-9], where he is praising England, he does it by an enumeration of some of the miseries of Ireland.

No wayling there, nor wretchednesse is heard,
No bloodie issues, nor no leprosy;
No griesly famine, nor no raging sweard:
No nightly bordrags, nor no hues and cries,
The shepherds there abroad may safely lie
On hills and downes, withouten dread or danger:
Nor ravenous wolves the good mans hope destroy,
Nor outlawes fell affray the forrest ranger.

Spenser, speaking of the massacres committed upon the people of Munster, in Ireland, after the rebellion, paints in the strongest colours, though in prose (Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, Works, ed. 1750, 6. 154). "Out of every corner of the woodes and glennes they came creeping forth upon their handes, for their legges could not bear them: they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghostes crying out of their graves; they eat the dead carrions, happy were they could they find them, yea, and one another soon after; insomuch, as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves. And if they found a plot of water-cresses, or shamrocks, there they flocked, as to a feast, for the time; yet not able long to continue there withall," &c.

4-9. See *Epithalamion* 69 and note.

CANTO VII

i-ii. EDITOR (C. G. O.). The language of these opening stanzas is very close to that of the *Hymnes*. Compare particularly *Hymne of Beautie* 1-7; *Hymne of Love* 27, 107-119.

i. See Appendix to Book I, "The Muse of the *Faerie Queene*," p. 507.

7. TODD. Perhaps alluding to Virgil's "paullo majora canamus" [*Ecl.* 4. 1].

EDITOR (C. G. O.). Spenser likes the phrase: see *Sh. Cal.*, Oct. 46; *Dedicatory Sonnet* to Walsingham 14; *Virgils Gnat* 11, where it renders *Culex* 8: "Posterius graviore sono tibi Musa loquetur."

ii. 5-6. See *Teares of the Muses* 499-522, describing in similar terms the function of Urania.

6-8. UPTON. The poet, reassuming his subject, calls upon the assistance of the Muse, in imitation of his brother poets. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 2. 484-6. See likewise Virgil 7. 641, and Milton, *P. L.* 1. 27:

Say first, for heav'n hides nothing from thy view.

iii-lix. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, pp. 99-103). The so-called legal function or organization of the court of love seems to have been an outgrowth of several logically distinct influences. The first of these is the love-debate of the "Altercatio" type, in which the interlocutors finally refer their case to the god or goddess of love for decision. In the *De Phillide et Flora* (Camden Soc., o. s. 16) two maidens, Phillis and Flora, arise one spring morning and betake themselves to a meadow, where, seated beside a rivulet, they hold a debate on the relative merits of the clerk and the knight as lovers. Unable to decide the question themselves, they mount a mule and a horse respectively and ride to the grove where Cupid holds his court amongst his fauns and nymphs. The god greets them and asks to be informed of their mission. After making obeisance they state the case. Cupid desires delay that the court's deliberations may be conducted with all due ceremony. Thereupon the judges, Nature and Use, take the case, and after due consideration (311-2),

secundum scientiam et secundum morem,
ad amorem clericum dicunt aptiorem.

The god approves the decision and the maidens retire, each, however, resting firm in her first opinion.

Another source of influence, springing from mediaeval life rather than from literature, is the quasi-judicial tribunal constituted by Marie de Champagne—and imitated by others—for the trial of cases involving the statutes of love. The description of the proceedings in these courts given by Andreas Capellanus (*De Amore*, ed. Trojel, Copenhagen, 1892, pp. 271 ff.) forms the principal basis of the argument for the existence of a feudal court of love with legal powers. While the theory that such courts were serious institutions is no longer generally held, it is undoubtedly true that as social organizations formed to carry on the elaborate discussions of intricate love-problems, which were among the most popular diversions of the age, they exerted a distinct influence upon literature. The question whether a lover should be disowned for defending his lady's honor contrary to her orders, or, whether a lover who has deserted his lady for another and later returns to the first should be received, is of a kind with the subtleties proposed and debated in such Renaissance works as Boccaccio's *Filocolo*, Cardinal Bembo's *Gli Asolani*, Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, and Lyly's *Euphues*.

To these influences must be added the natural tendency and temptation—once the code and court of love are well defined—to apply to them familiar legal machinery. We find legal phraseology used to excess for humorous or picturesque effect in such works as Martial d'Auvergne's *Les Arrêts d'Amours*, where the whole point of the series of "arrests" turns on the elaborate use of legal terminology. There are some fifty-odd love decisions rendered in the parliament of love presided over by a president. Sometimes this president is the God of Love himself, for the conception of Cupid as a feudal baron implies the exercise of a quasi-judicial function in affairs of love. (Spenser makes use of this conception in *Amoretti* 10:

Unrighteous Lord of Love, what law is this,
That me thou makest thus tormented be,
The whiles she lordeth in licentious blisse
Of her freewill, scorning both thee and me?)

In the Court of Nature a court of love setting is used as a background for a formal debate or philosophic discussion. It belongs to the "Altercatio" type and hence is only partly judicial in character. . . .

([The] use of the procession of the seasons may have been suggested by a passage in the *De Planctu Naturae* of Alanus de Insulis. tr. Moffat, p. 28: "In addition to these, see how the universe changes its appearance with the various successions of seasons—how now it rejoices in the boyhood of spring, now advances in the youth of summer, now matures in the manhood of autumn, now whitens in the old age of winter. Like change of season, and the same variety, alter the age of man." Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2. 25-30, where the seasons, months, hours, etc., are in attendance upon the court of Apollo.)

In making Nature the presiding judge of the conclave Spenser is, of course, following both his immediate and his ultimate sources—Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* and the *De Planctu Naturae* of Alanus de Insulis. The situation presented when the claimants come forward and urge their right to preëminence bears a certain resemblance to the classical judgment of Paris. More to the point, however, is a parallel from Hawes' *Example of Virtue* (*The Dunbar Anthology*, ed. Arber, London, 1901, pp. 217 ff.). Dames Fortune, Hardiness, Sapience, and Nature appear before Dame Justice, "pleading at Bar" for preëminence. After each has argued at length for her own superiority over the others, Dame Justice decrees that they shall all unite to please and aid man (p. 255): "With loving heart and true affection." All formally agree to the sentence. Then Dame Justice arises and bids the ladies farewell. "Nature's sergeant," Order, holds practically the same office as does Order the marshall in the Palace of Mercilla. As to the use of the title "sergeant," we may observe that in Rolland's *Court of Venus* 3. 7-9 (ed. Rev. W. Gregor for the Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh and London, 1884) there are four court officials called sergeants.

The same mixed allegory of the "Altercatio" type is found in the early Elizabethan drama and dramatic spectacles. Such a scene forms the first act of *Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, a play acted before the queen about 1581 (*Old English Plays* 6. 145 ff., ed. Dodsley-Hazlitt, London, 1874). Before the assembly of the gods, Jupiter presiding, Venus and Fortune dispute for supremacy. Dumb shows of famous legends—showing alternately the power of love and of fortune—are ushered in by Mercury. The stories include those of Troilus and Cressida, Alexander, Dido, Pompey and Caesar, and Hero and Leander. This procession is used for the same purpose as the procession of the seasons, months, and other personifications in Spenser's account; that is, they are introduced as evidence to support the contentions of the claimants. Mercury here performs the same function as Order in the Court of Nature. The emphasis upon the fickleness of Fortune suggests a close correspondence of this character to Spenser's Mutabilitie.

iii. 9. See notes on 2. 7. 53 ff. in Book II, p. 264. On Proserpina as queen of Hades, LOTSPEICH (p. 103) cites *Theog.* 768; *Aen.* 6. 138; *Theb.* 4. 520 ff.;

also *Ruines of Time* 373; *Virgils Gnat* 461-4; *Daphnaida* 19; *F. Q.* 1. 1. 37; 1. 4. 11; 3. 11. 1.

iv. 6. UPTON. "Order" is introduced as a marshal in 5. 2. 23. 8. [See notes, Book V, p. 239; and FOWLER's note above.]

v. ff. WARTON (1. 160). The ninth stanza is no obscure hint, that our poet had been consulting Chaucer's *Assembly of fowles* for this description of Nature. But Spenser has given many new and delicate touches to Chaucer's rough sketch, as will appear upon comparison (*Assemblie of Fowles* 298-318):

Tho' was I ware, where there ysate a quene,
That as of light the sommer sonne shene
Passith the sterre, right so ovir mesure,
She fairer was than any other cature.
And in a launde, upon a hill of floures,
Was set this quene, this noble goddesse Nature,
Of branchis were her hallis and her boures,
Irought aftir her craft and her mesure. . . .
And right as Alaine in the plaint of kinde
Deviseth Nature of soche araie and face,
In such araie men mighten her there finde.

v-xiii. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, pp. 72-3). In the Court of Nature the goddess herself presides. The conception of Nature in this rôle Spenser borrows from Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*, to which as well as to Chaucer's original—Alanus de Insulis' *De Planctu Naturae*—he refers (*F. Q.* 7. 7. 9). Spenser also follows Chaucer in referring the reader to Alane for a detailed description of the goddess. Of the general situation Chaucer simply says (302-3):

And in a launde, upon an hille of floures,
Was set this noble goddesse Nature.

Spenser says that she was placed [sts. 8-10]

In a fayre plaine upon an equall hill. . . .
And all the earth far underneath her feete
Was dight with flowres, that voluntary grew
Out of the ground, and sent forth odours sweet.

Both Chaucer and Spenser compare the brightness of Nature's face to the sun. Further than the resemblances indicated the parallel does not seem to go. Chaucer emphasizes Nature's fairness (298-301); Spenser, her tallness (st. 5). In the same stanza Spenser says—oddly enough—that her sex could not be determined because her face was veiled. Chaucer makes no mention of this. (Nor does Alanus unless it be implied in the following passage: "Yet I have determined to cover the face of my might in very many ways, preserving its mystery from commonness, for fear lest, if I should impart to man a close knowledge of myself, those matters, which at first are prized among men because unknown, would afterward, when known, be held of very little worth"—Moffat's trans., p. 29. But elsewhere he describes every feature of her face, cf. pp. 5 ff. The idea seems to be a purely allegorical touch on Spenser's part, suggested possibly by the conception of Venus covered with a veil to conceal her bi-sexual nature. Originally it was the goddess Isis who was veiled.)

Spenser says that (st. 7)

Her garment was so bright and wondrous sheene,
That my fraile wit cannot devize to what
It to compare, nor finde like stuffe to that.

Of this Chaucer has nothing. The diadem of sun and stars, described at great length by Alanus, is entirely omitted by both Chaucer and Spenser. Neither poet was interested primarily in the appearance of the goddess. Each gives only those conventional touches necessary to the presiding deity in a courtly setting.

LOTSPEICH (pp. 87-8). Spenser's conception of Nature as a goddess is a part of a long tradition. (For very helpful studies of the tradition of *Natura* in classical and medieval literature, see E. C. Knowlton, "The Goddess *Natura* in Early Periods," *JEGP* 19. 224 ff.; "Nature in Middle English," *JEGP* 20. 186 ff.; "Nature in Old French," *MP* 20. 309 ff.). He conceived of her primarily as the creator, nurse, and orderer of life (cf. *Sh. Cal.*, Nov. 123; *Teares of the Muses* 499-502; 1. 11. 47; 2. 2. 6; 2. 6. 15, 16; 2. 12. 23; 3. 6. 30; 4. 6. 24; 4. 9. 16; 4. 10. 21; *Daphnida* 337). The frequent references to "Dame Nature" are a part of this conception. Nature's part in the creation of the world may be gathered from *Teares of the Muses* 499-502, which follows *Met.* 1. 21 ff. A corollary to the idea of Nature as the nurse and orderer of life is the antithesis of Nature and Art, of which Spenser is fond (cf. 3. 6. 30; 3. 6. 44; 6. 10. 5 and 2. 12. 46, 48, 50); cf. *Met.* 3. 158-9.

Definitely personified as a character in the action, Nature plays her most important rôle in *Mutabilitie*. She is not only the arbiter of Mutability's claims, she is throughout the representative of law and order, without which, in Spenser's mind, life could not go on. Mutability has upset "all which Nature had established first In good estate, and in meet order ranged" (7. 6. 5). Nature's "sergeant" is called Order (7. 7. 4). The description of her at 7. 7. 5-13 is intentionally vague and mysterious, but seems to show some points of indebtedness to earlier treatments of the goddess. From Alanus de Insulis, *De Planctu Naturae*, Prose 1, he seems to have taken a suggestion for comparing her face to a lion. Alanus says that one of the jewels in *Natura*'s crown was like a lion. Otherwise the two descriptions are quite different. [See Greenlaw in Appendix, pp. 396-8]. Spenser seems to be indebted to Chaucer for the comparison of Nature with the splendor of the sun (cf. *Parlement of Foules* 299-301) and for the point that she is on a hill covered with trees and flowers (cf. *Parlement of Foules* 302). For the veil which covers Nature and suggests that she is of ambiguous sex, Spenser probably used Plutarch's description of the statue of Isis (*De Iside*, chap. 9), which he also used at 4. 10. 40. 7. 7. 13 gives something of her inner qualities. She is "great grandmother of all creatures bred . . . ever young yet full of eld" and "still mooving, yet unmoved from her sted." Upton compares Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* 3, Metre 9, on the God of Nature, "Stabulisque manens, das cuncta moveri." The Orphic Hymn to *Natura* and Alanus provide illustrative parallels to the matter of this passage and to Spenser's larger conception of Nature as described above. "Orpheus" addresses her as "Nature, the parent of all . . . 'daedale' mother, . . . first born, . . . without end, . . . father and mother of all things (cf. 7. 7. 5. 6), . . . nurse, . . . eternal and ever moving (cf. 7. 7. 13. 3)." Alanus Metre

4 is similar and may be based partly on "Orpheus": "O offspring of God, creator of all things, . . . bond and firm chain of the universe, order, . . . pattern of the world, . . . at whose nod the world grows young, the forest is curled with leafy locks and, clothed in its tunic of blossoms, the earth exults" (cf. 7. 7. 10). Finally, the idea that Nature is the "viceregent of God the creator," found in Alanus Prose 3, whence it passes into *The Romance of the Rose* 16970 and Chaucer, *Physician's Tale* C 19-21, is implicit in the rôle which Nature plays in *Mutabilitie* and explains the transition at the end from Nature to the God of Sabbath.

v-vi. See Appendix, pp. 396-8, 412-3.

v. 9. Cf. Una's veil, 1. 1. 4. 4.

vi. 8-9. EDITOR (C. G. O.). These lines contain Biblical reminiscences. Cf. Matthew 17. 2 and st. 7; Acts 26. 13; 1 Corinthians 13. 12; 2 Corinthians 3. 18.

vii-xlvi. See Appendix, pp. 394-5, 409-10.

vii. 3-9. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 451). Cf. Mark 9. 2-6. [Matthew 17. 1-8 is closer. The sun (st. 6, l. 8) is mentioned only in that account, and the mountain is glossed as Tabor in the Geneva version. But "their wits forget" may refer to Mark 9. 6.]

viii-x. See Appendix, p. 396.

viii. 1. See note on 6. 10. 16 above.

5-9. E. B. FOWLER (*Spenser and the Courts of Love*, pp. 25-6) notes that "the natural arbor formed by the knitting of the branches of the trees is not unknown to the court of love environment," and cites in connection with this passage Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules* 304-5:

Of braunches were hir halles and hir boures,
Y-wrought after hir craft and hir mesure.

5-7. UPTON. He explains what he means by "herself," viz. of her own motion, spontaneously. So the Greeks use *αὐτὸς*, and the Latins "ipse": and in a familiar passage, Virgil, [*Ecl.*] 4. 23:

Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.

"Ipsa," i. e. "sponte sua." And in verse 21:

Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
Ubera.

"Ipsae," i. e. "sponte sua." Compare a like image in Lucretius 1 [.8]: "Tibi suaves daedala Tellus summittit flores." And in Homer, *Il.* 14. 347. From whom Milton, in 8. 513 [and 4. 690-703]. So our poet again in st. 10.

LOTSPEICH (p. 55) adds *Theog.* 194 and notes that Spenser translated the Lucretius passage at 4. 10. 45. 1-2. [Cf. *Amoretti* 4.]

7. TODD. Compare Milton's sublime address to all the works of God, *P. L.* 5. 193:

Wave your tops, ye Pines,
With every plant, in sign of worship wave.

ix. UPTON. This stanza I think misplaced; it seems to me that it should be put after the 12th stanza [or 7th]. For see how regularly they follow each other.

[See Appendix, p. 396.]

ix. 4. Same image at 4. 2. 32. 8; see notes in Book IV, pp. 178-180.

5-9. UPTON. He refers to a treatise written by Alanus de Insulis, *De Planctu Naturae contra Sodomiae vitium*. This book was never (so far as I can find) printed, nor even seen by Spenser, which makes him say:

Which who will read set forth, so as it ought,
Go seek he out that Alane, where he may be sought.

There is a MS of this Alane, *De Planctu Naturae*, of the plaint of kinde, or of Nature, in the Bodley Library, which begins thus:

In lacrymas risus, in luctus gaudia verto,
In planctum plausus, in lacrymosa jocos.

[See WARTON's note on 5 ff. above.]

EDITOR. An English translation by D. M. Moffat was published in the Yale Studies in English, No. 36, New Haven, 1908.

x. See FOWLER's note on *F. Q.* 2. 12. 42 ff. in Book II, p. 371; and Appendix, pp. 397-8.

1-2. JORTIN. 'Tis a common thing among the poets to call forth flowers and make them spring up spontaneous to honour the gods, or persons of distinction. Homer led the way, and thus sings upon a certain occasion [*Il.* 14. 347-9] . . . , Hesiod, *Theog.* 194-5. Claudian is very profuse of grass and flowers: *Cons. Pr. et Ol.* 115 [-6]. . . . See *Nupt. Hon. et Mar.* 188; *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 71 [-2]; *Laud. Serenae* 89 [-91].

See UPTON's note on 8. 5-7 above.

3. With the cadence cf. Milton's *Nativity Hymn* 23.

8-9. WARTON (2. 230-4). In the age of the poet, tapestry was the most fashionable furniture of halls and state-rooms; as it was when Milton wrote his *Comus* [321-4] who mentions tapestry as a circumstance of grandeur.

Courtesie,
Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds,
With smoaky rafters, than in tap'stry halls
And courts of princes.

As the general fashion of furnishing halls, and grand apartments, is at present entirely different from this, the reader passes over the expression, "tapestry-halls," without feeling any striking idea of the thing conveyed to him, because the object from whence it is drawn, does not at present commonly exist: and we may observe, from this passage, how much of their force and propriety both expressions and descriptions must necessarily lose, when the objects, or customs, or manners, to which they allude, are disused, and forgotten. There is another reference to tapestry

in Milton, which is not immediately felt and understood by a modern reader (*El.* 6. [39-40]):

Auditurque chelys suspensa tapetia circum,
Virgineos tremulâ quae regat arte pedes.

In Hentznerus (*Itinerarium* 1568), may be seen some curious descriptions of rich tapestry in queen Elizabeth's palaces. Bacon [*Of Building*], describing a cabinet, or closet, at the end of a gallery, which is to be furnished and finished in the most delicate taste, directs, that it be "daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glasse, a rich cupola in the midst, and all other elegancie that may be thought upon." Harrison, who wrote a Description of England (prefixed to Hollingshed's *Chron.*, p. 183) about the middle of queen Elizabeth's reign, observes: "Certes in noblemens houses it is not rare to see abundance of arras, rich hangings of tapestrie, &c. . . . Likewise, in the houses of knights, gentlemen, &c. it is not geson to behold generallie this great provision of tapestrie." Before the use of tapestry became very common, they painted the walls of their rooms. Chaucer tells us, that the room in which he slept, in his *Dreme*, was painted with the history of the *Romaunt of the Rose* (*Dreame of Chaucer*, ed. Urry, p. 406, 322 ff., or Speght, fol. 228 verso, col. 2):

And soothe to saien my chamber was
Full well depaintid. . . .
And all the walls with colours fine
Were paint, both text and glose,
And (with) all the Romaunt of the Rose.

The interior walls of the churches were also frequently painted. Thus the author of *Pierce Plowman's Crede*, describing a church:

Walles well heye,
That mote bene portraid, and paint, and pulched full clene,
Again,
The pilers weren ypaint, and pulched full clene.

Though this last instance may mean plain colouring, as was the fashion. The cloysters of monasteries were often decorated with paintings. Thus the same author (ed. Owen Rogers, 1561, sig. A. iii):

Then cam I to the cloyster, and gaped abouten,
Wough it was pilered and peint, and portreyed full clene.

The *Dance of Death*, painted in the cloysters of St. Paul's, about 1440, I have mentioned above. Hearne imagines, that the cloysters of the nunnery at Godstowe were curiously painted (*Gul. Neubrig.* 3. 773). (This was written before I had seen Mr. Walpole's valuable and entertaining anecdotes of antient painting.) The roofs of the churches were often painted with fantastic decorations, those I mean, that were flat and not vaulted, as at St. Alban's, and Peterborough. A common ornament of the roofs of state-rooms, was a blue ground, sprinkled with golden stars. Queen Elizabeth's chamber, in the palace at Woodstock, had such a roof. (It remained almost complete, about fifty years since. It was destroyed with the magnificent ruins of the old royal manor, when Blenheim-palace was built.) The ceiling of the Bodleian library, and picture gallery at Oxford, are curious

remains of this stile. . . . Taste and imagination make more antiquarians, than the world is willing to allow. One looks back with a romantic pleasure on the arts and fashions of an age, which "Employ'd the power of fairy hands" (Gray).

[See FREDERICK HARD's "Spenser's Clothes of Arras and of Toure" in Appendix 8 to Book III, pp. 394-9. It appears that the poet's eye was attracted to the peculiar rich treatment of flowery turf which fills much ground in the old tapestries. Cf. also A. H. R. Fairchild, *Shakespeare and the Arts of Design*, University of Missouri Studies 12. 1, pp. 5-7 *et freq.*]

xi. 8. CHURCH notes that the Mole is gray in *Colin Clouts* 104. See note on *Epithalamion* 68; JUDSON's note on 6. 36 above. With line 5, cf. 7. 6. 41. 2 above. Evidently Spenser delighted in the vast oak forest about Kilcolman. Cf. notes on *Epithalamion* 18; 6. 8. 46. 1-4 above.

xi. 9-xii. 1. See note on 5. 1. 8. 9-9. 1 in Book V, p. 164.

xii. 3. JORTIN. It was not Hæmus, but Pelion, where the gods met upon that occasion.

UPTON. He says the bridale of Peleus and Thetis was celebrated on Hæmus (a hill on the confines of Thessaly) because Ovid reciting the amours of Peleus and Thetis (*Met.* 11. 229) begins: "Est sinus Haemoniae," etc. And Peleus is called Haemonius Peleus, by Tibullus [1. 5. 45]. But Apollodorus says expressly, p. 218 [3. 13. 5] that the marriage was celebrated on mount Pelion. And Catullus who wrote the *Epithalamium* (Spenser alluding to it says "Phoebus self did sing the spousall hymne") begins with: "Peliaco quondam," etc. [64. 1].

7. LOTSPEICH (p. 98) cites "the quotation from a lost play of Aeschylus in Plato, *Republic* 383 B."

xiii. See Appendix, pp. 397-8.

1-2. UPTON. This great grandmother of all creatures that ever were bred or born, viz. great Nature, &c. He seems to call Nature great grandmother, &c. in imitation of Orpheus' hymn to Nature [9. 1]. See the note above on 6. 35. [4-6; also LOTSPEICH on 7. 5-13]. And speaking of Nature, "still moving, yet unmoved from her sted," he seems to have Boethius in his eye, who thus addresses the God of Nature [3. 9. 3]:

Stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri.

xiv. 4. See UPTON's note on 5. 9. 36. 4 in Book V, p. 243.

xv-xvi. Cf. 1. 5. 25.

xv. See Appendix, p. 410.

xvi. 7-8. EDITOR (C. G. O.). From time to time in these Mutability cantos one is tempted to recognize allusions to the all-engrossing but taboo subject of the succession. Cynthia's throne is threatened. Mary Stuart based her claim to it on descent from Henry VII her great-grandfather. A careful study might arrive at interesting conclusions.

8. See 6. 27 above and notes.

xvii ff. JORTIN. What follows concerning the mutability of all things, may be compared with the discourse of Pythagoras upon that subject in Ovid, *Met.* 15. 165 ff.

Omnia mutantur: nihil interit. . . .

Spenser certainly had it in view.

xvii-xxv. W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 247) cites Ovid, *Met.* 15. 239-249.

xvii-xviii. See Appendix, pp. 394-5, 402-3.

xviii. See notes on 1. 1. 21 in Book I, pp. 184-7; and Appendix below, p. 409.

xix-xxv. See Appendix, pp. 394, 402, 409.

xix. 1-4. E. GREENLAW (*SP* 17. 457). Spenser's complaint that the beasts are the victims of man's cruelty . . . fits in with the idea that it is the chief purpose of Ovid's version of Pythagorean doctrine to convey. [See especially *Met.* 15. 103-142.]

W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 246) cites Ovid, *Met.* 15. 175.

1. UPTON. 'Tis a happy expression to call man and beasts joint tenants of the earth. Sidney very elegantly calls the beasts "The wild burgesses of the forest." And Davenant in *Gondibert* 2. 6. 69, with Spenser, perhaps, in his eye, says,

Each humbled thus his beasts led from aboard,
As fellow passengers and heirs to breath,
Joint tenants to the world, he not their lord.

The thought was too pretty to escape the notice of Mr. Pope, hence in his *Essay of Man* 3. 152:

Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the shade.

7-8. See Appendix, p. 394.

xxi. EDITOR (C. G. O.). The fish and waterfowl are Spenser's own illustrations added to Ovid's account and drawn from his own diversions. See note on 5. 5. 42. 6-9 in Book V, p. 206; note on 6. 2. 32. 1-4 above.

7-8. W. RIEDNER (*Spensers Belesenheit*, p. 19). Cf. Luke 12. 24.

xxiv. 6-9. See notes on 26. 4 below.

xxv. 1-2. UPTON. The poet had his eye on Pythagoras' doctrine in Ovid, *Met.* 15. 239:

Quatuor aeternus genitalia corpora mundus
Continet.

xxvi. 4-5. SAWTELLE (pp. 122-3). Spenser declares Vesta to be the goddess of ethereal fire, in distinction from Vulcan, the god "of this with us so usuall." "Ethereal" is here used in the sense of "celestial," "spiritual," and the line, therefore, means that Vesta was the goddess of consecrated, holy fire, while Vulcan

was the divinity of fire in its ordinary, practical uses; and this is consistent with classical authority.

The origin of the name Vesta (Greek Hestia) from ἑστία, a "hearth," reveals the fact that she was the divinity of the hearth. We know from Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 305 ff., as well as from other authorities, that the hearth was the center of the life of the home—a sacred spot: "Before the hearths," says Ovid, "it was the custom formerly to sit together on long benches, and to believe that the gods were there at the board." In both Greece and Rome the idea was extended, and there were public hearths, or sanctuaries of Vesta. The Romans believed that the sacred flame of Vesta had been brought from Troy (*Aen.* 2. 296). It was considered to be the symbol of the goddess herself, and was kept continually burning in the temple of Vesta. Ovid, *Fast.* 6. 295 ff., says: "Long did I, in my simplicity, imagine that there were statues of Vesta, but afterwards ascertained that there were none under her concave dome. The fire that has never been extinguished lies hidden in that temple."

4. LOTSPEICH (p. 117). Vesta is goddess of "fire aethereall." Cf. *Fasti* 6. 291-2 and *Natalis Comes* 8. 19, who quotes this and says [ed. Padua, 1637, p. 471], "Cum igitur aeternus sit ignis aetherius, iure optimo Vesta aeterna vocata fuit."

[*Fasti* 6. 292, "Nataque de flamma corpora nulla vides" is rendered and developed in 24. 6-9.]

5. SAWTELLE (p. 123). The Roman Vulcan was identified with the Greek Hephaestus: he was, as Spenser says, the sovereign of the fire "with us so usuall," that is, of fire as a means in manufactures. Thus does he appear in the works of Homer as the artificer of the gods. *Il.* 18. 369 ff. may be referred to as a typical passage, describing, as it does, the Olympic workshop of Vulcan, with anvil, bellows, etc. Here he made the celebrated armor of Achilles, also described, as well as other wonderful works. Cf. *Aen.* 8. 407 ff. See *Muiopotmos* 63. [Cf. *F. Q.* 4. 5. 4.]

[*Natalis Comes* (2. 4, ed. 1651, p. 147) particularly makes the point that Vulcan is god of fire used in manufacture.]

6. SAWTELLE (p. 92). Spenser mentions Ops as the goddess of the earth, a statement authorized by Macrobius, who says (*Saturnalia* 1. 10. 20) that Ops was regarded as the wife of Saturn, "quos, etiam nonnullis caelum ac terram esse persuasum est, Saturnumque a satu dictum, cuius causa de caelo est, et terram opem, cuius ope humanae vitae alimenta quaeruntur, vel ab opere per quod fructus frugesque nascuntur."

LOTSPEICH (p. 93). Boccaccio 3. 2, largely dependent on Macrobius, would be more accessible to Spenser. Boccaccio identifies her with Cybele, Berecynthia, and Rhea, as "deorum Mater," presiding over the earth and representing its powers. "Sceptrum autem quod manibus defert, regna, divitias, et potentiam imperantium super terra monstrabat."

LOTSPEICH (p. 76). Thus [Juno] is "the queen of heaven" (cf. 1. 5. 35), whose special dominion is the air. . . . This is supported by *Natalis Comes* 2. 4; Boccaccio 9. 1; Servius, *ad Aen.* 4. 122.

7. LOTSPEICH (p. 92). It is the association of Nymphs with water that Spenser develops most fully. [See note on 4. 11. 52. 8-9 in Book IV, p. 276. He cites also *Sh. Cal.*, Apr. 37; 2. 1. 55. On this passage he quotes Natalis Comes 5. 12: "Cum ex his veribus (Nymphs) omnia oriuntur, quae primum videbantur se in flumina diffundere, fluviorum matres dictae sunt." Spenser is here thinking of the nymphs as elemental, as a 4. 11. 52.]

xxviii-xlvi. E. LEGOUIS (*Spenser*, pp. 107-8). Here, again, he shows a marvellous wealth of words and colours, fearing neither length nor monotony. He surely vies with the magnificent pageants he has seen with his own eyes, wherein the greater the number of the actors the stronger and livelier their impression upon the lookers-on. But here we have the proof that it is impossible for one of the arts to match another on its own ground. Here Spenser almost goes beyond the limits of poetry, which can only show personages and details one by one, while in a real pageant all can be embraced in one glance, though of course each figurant in turn takes on a special importance when coming into nearer view. In this pageant of Nature it takes him twenty stanzas to present all the personages, first the four Seasons, then (with magnificent contempt of all monotony) each of the twelve months, then Day and Night, then the Hours, then Life and Death. But the effect in his verse, however rich and varied, remains after all very inferior to that of a real pageant, since it can only give a *successive*, instead of a *simultaneous* impression of the scene. Spenser has splendidly illustrated the almanac or calendar—yet we feel all the time that a more satisfying entertainment would be to see the procession itself; that poetry, after all, requires more intellectual substance, less outward display, that it ought not to proceed by enumeration, however splendid the pageant may be, but by an appeal to the feelings or, by less material means, to the imagination.

[See Appendix, pp. 394, 409-10.]

xxviii-xxxi. UPTON. These four seasons are characterized as persons in Ovid, *Met.* 2. 27 [-30], 15. 206 [-13]; Lucretius 5. [737-47]. And in Spanheim's notes on Callimachus, p. 726, there is an engraving of a medal, representing the four seasons with their proper symbols.

[See Appendix, p. 409.]

W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 247-8) cites also Ovid, *Met.* 15. 197-213.

xxviii. See note on 6. 1. 38.

7-8. See note on 33. 6-8 below.

xxix. 1. TODD, in a note in his *Milton Variorum*, 1809, 6. 446, on Milton's "jolly Hours" (sonnet, *To the Nightingale* 4) thinks that the epithet may have been suggested by its occurrence here or at 35. 1. He quotes also Crashaw, *Poems*, ed. 1670 ["Out of Virgil" (*Georg.* 2. 323-345)],

An everlasting spring the jolly year
Led round in his great circle.

The Latin has no corresponding epithet. Spenser uses it thirty-six times.

xxxi. 4-5. See WARTON's note on 1. 4. 30-2 in Book I, p. 221.

7. W. P. CUMMING (SP 28. 248) cites the "tremulo . . . passu" of *Met.* 15. 212. In fact the whole stanza is a vivid elaboration of this line. Whereas Ovid distinctly points the analogy between the seasons and the four ages of man, Spenser does so only with winter.

xxxii-xliii. W. P. CUMMING (SP 28. 249, n. 29). Ovid's *Fasti* as well as his *Metamorphoses* is used in the procession of the months. . . . The various signs of the zodiac are mentioned under the different months with appropriate reference to their mythological story. The *Fasti* contains an explanation of the constellations, although the *Metamorphoses* sometimes tells the story more fully. *Fasti* 3. 1-13 and 4. 23-6 explain the position of March as the first month in the Roman calendar; *Fasti* 2. 47-9 refers to the position of February as last; *Fasti* 4. 23-20 has an explanation of April as second. The story of the ram, which Spenser refers to under March, is found in *Fasti* 3. 851-876. April riding on a bull, whose horns were decorated with wreaths of flowers (*Met.* 2. 867-8), has [is?] an almost literal translation from the Europa story, a story which Spenser uses also in the Prologue to Book V and in 3. 11. 30. For the story of the Gemini, see *Fasti* 5. 693-720; and for Capricornus (December) *Fasti* 5. 111-128.

LOTSPEICH (pp. 118-9). Chiefly in two passages, Spenser uses the signs of the zodiac mythologically. In the first of these (5 Pr. 5-6) he uses this material to express his pressing sense of the world's change and degeneration (cf. also 7. 7. 47 ff.). In the second (7. 7. 32-43) he uses it for pageantry and spectacle, with a skillful interweaving of the physical and the mythological. . . .

As models for this passage as a whole, Spenser had *Met.* 2. 25 ff., . . . and probably also the fuller treatment of the same material, more nearly in the spirit in which he himself wrote, in the Induction to *The Mirror for Magistrates*.

xxxii. 3. CHILD. March first, because the legal year, at the time of the poet, began with the twenty-fifth of that month.

W. RENWICK (*Spenser Selections*, p. 203). "First . . . March." The official year began on Lady Day, March 25th, until 1753, but January 1st began the year in popular usage, for which reason *The Shepheardes Calender* begins with January.

[See the long discussion in the General Argument of *Sh. Cal.* and notes on 42-110; notes on dedication of *Colin Clouts*.]

4-5. See notes on 3. 11. 30. 5 in Book III, pp. 292-3.

xxxiii. 2. HEISE (p. 12) cites 1. 6. 14. 4.

3-4. See notes on 3. 11. 30. 6-9 in Book III, pp. 292-3.

6-8. W. P. CUMMING (SP 28. 248) observes that this detail is transferred from Ovid's description of spring, *Met.* 2. 27: "Verque novum stabat, cinctum florente corona," and adds *Met.* 2. 867-8, which seems more relevant: "cornua sertis Impedienda novis."

xxxiv. 4-6. LOTSPEICH (p. 77). 3. 11. 32, describing Jove's seduction of Leda, in the shape of a swan, is elaborated from *Met.* 6. 109. . . . *Ruines of Time*

386 and 7. 7. 34 refer to Castor and Pollux as the "twins of Leda." [See LOTSPEICH's note on 5. Pr. 6. 2 in Book V, p. 158; and *Epithalamion* 269.]

4-5. See Appendix to Book I, "On the Propriety of the Allegory," p. 365.

9. See WARTON's note below on 46. 6-9.

LOTSPEICH (p. 50). We may class also as a part of the medieval conception . . . the association of Cupid with springtime (*Sh. Cal.*, March 22; *Amoretti* 4, 7, 19).

xxxv. 2. TODD. This is an allusion perhaps to some particular character, which had appeared on the stage, in Spenser's time, arrayed in green leaves. The history of the English stage has not furnished me with any example in point. And, I believe, this passage in Spenser has not been noticed by those commentators on Shakespeare, who have minutely examined, and faithfully delivered to us, so many curious anecdotes of the old English drama.

COLLIER. This [Todd's conjecture] is a mistake, for when Elizabeth was at Kenilworth, in 1575, Gascoigne pronounced some dramatic speeches to her, clad "like a savage man, all in ivy." See his *Princely Pleasures*, edit. 1587, Sign. A iij. Spenser may have himself been present; and it is much more likely than that Shakespeare should have been there, as some may have imagined.

EDITOR. Cf. Gluttony in the masque of the Seven Deadly Sins (1. 4. 22. 1): "In greene vine leaues he was right fitly clad." Artegall, as the Salvage Knight (4. 4. 39), has his armour "With woody mosse bedight, and all his steed With oaken leaues attrapt."

EDITOR (F. M. P.). When the Earl of Hertford entertained the Queen at Elvetham in 1591, Sylvanus and his attendants appeared in a pageant. "His followers were all covered with ivy-leaves, and bare in their hands bowes made like darts." Cf. John Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 15 of "Entertainment at Elvetham."

EDITOR (J. G. M.). The Savage man in a mid-thirteenth century tapestry in the Folger Library is clad in leaves. The figure is a conventional one.

4. TODD. "Yrons" is here contracted into a monosyllable, as it also is by Milton [*P. L.* 2. 878; 3. 594; 11. 565]. Spenser often thus converts dissyllables into monosyllables.

5. See Appendix to Book I, "On the Propriety of the Allegory," p. 365.

9. WARTON (2. 234-5). He seems here to have intended a satirical stroke against the puritans who were a prevailing party in the age of queen Elizabeth; and, indeed, our author, from his profession, had some reason to declare himself their enemy, as poetry was what they particularly stigmatised, and bitterly inveighed against. In the year 1570, one Stephen Gosson wrote a pamphlet, with this title, "*The School of Abuse*, containing a pleasaunt invective against poets, pipers, plaiers, jesters, and such-like caterpillars of a commonwealth." This was soon followed by many others of the same kind. . . .

CHILD. Warton thinks that this is meant for a stroke against the

Puritans, but they certainly feigned no grace at all. It may possibly allude to an affected manner of retiring from a room without turning the back.

HEISE (p. 86). Die Worte sind wohl vielmehr gegen ungnädige Frauen gerichtet (?).

EDITOR (C. G. O.). Is it not, as Child suggests, the same crew as that for which Spenser so often expresses his loathing? See *Mother Hubberds Tale* 891-914; and especially 730-1: "with kissed hand belowe the knee, As that same Apish crue is wont to doo." Also *Colin Clouts* 688-770; 1. 4. 14-5; 2. 7. 47; 6. 5. 38. 7-9.

xxxvi. 2. W. P. CUMMING (SP 28. 248) observes that this detail is transferred by Spenser from Ovid's description of Summer—"stabat nuda Aestas," *Met.* 2. 28.

5-7. LOTSPEICH (p. 118) observes that Hyginus also identifies Leo with the Nemean lion, *Astronomia* 2. 24, which Spenser does again at *Daphnida* 165. He refers also to *Sh. Cal.*, July 21, Dec. 57 with E. K.'s notes; *Mother Hubberds Tale* 6; 5. Pr. 6. See *Muiopotmos* 71-2.

xxxvii. 3-9. UPTON. See the picture of Virgo in Hyginus [*Poet. Ast.* 3. 24]. She is there pictured with "three eares of corne" in her right hand.

W. P. CUMMING (SP 28. 249). August leads a "lovely maid." . . . This was Astraea, described by Ovid just before the narration of the battle of the giants (*Met.* 1. 149-50):

Victa iacet pietas; et virgo caede madentes
Ultima coelestum terras Astraea reliquit.

LOTSPEICH (p. 40). Astraea as Virgo is most fully treated. Here she is "a lovely mayd" whose lily hand is "crowned with ears of corn." This is not the more usual picture; Spenser may be following Natalis Comes's quotation (2. 8, p. 168, ed. 1602) from Manilius, "Spiciferae est Virgo Cereris" [2. 442].

[See LOTSPEICH on 5. 1. 5-11 in Book V, p. 164.]

All ladies in romances have lily hands. Cf. 1. 3. 6. 2; 3. 4. 41. 1; 3. 5. 33. 3; 4. 10. 53. 9; 4. 12. 33. 3; 5. 11. 17. 1; *Amoretti* 1. 1.

5. CHURCH. Alluding to Psalms 129. 7: "Whereof the mower filleth not his hand."

6. CHURCH. So in *Mother Hubberds Tale* [1-4]:

It was the month in which the righteous Maide,
That for disdaine of sinfull world's upbraide
Fled back to heav'n whence she was first conceived,
Into her silver bowre the Sunne received.

See too 5. 1. 2. [Cf. *F. Q.* 5. 1. 5-11 and notes in Book V, pp. 163-5.]

xxxviii-xliii. RUSKIN (*Stones of Venice* 2. 7. 52-3) makes an elaborate comparison of this passage with the sculptures of the months in St. Mark's and with the descriptions in medieval Calendars and Books of Hours.

xxxviii. 6-9. See 5. 1. 11; notes on 5. 1. 5-11 and 5. 2. 30 ff. in Book V, pp. 163-4, 176.

6-7. JORTIN. *Huetiana* 394: "La Balance est (aujourd'hui) représentée avec ses deux bassins, posée simplement sur la terre. Manile y joint un homme qui la soutient, et la tient en action: 'Humana est facies Librae,' dit il [2. 529]. Les anciens Calendriers la faisoient soutenir par la Vierge: mais cet emploi fut délégué à Auguste par les flatteurs de son temps. Les Égyptiens attribuoient cette fonction à un homme, qui soutenant la balance de la main droite, tenoit de la gauche une perche ou mesure d'arpenteur."

xxxix. 2-3. W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 248) observes that this detail is transferred to October from Ovid's Autumn; *Met.* 2. 29: "Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis."

2. W. RENWICK (*Spenser Selections*, p. 203). "his noule." A reminiscence of Chaucer, *Reve's Tale* 333:

My hede is totty of my swink tonight.

7-8. JORTIN. Why unjust? since Orion had provoked her by attempting to ravish her. But according to some authors, he did nothing that deserved punishment.

UPTON. Orion was a famous hunter, in love with Aurora (or the morning, as hunters generally are). Diana out of a fit of womanish jealousy, because she was not the sole object of his care and love, sent a scorpion that killed him. Her doom was therefore unjust.

CHURCH. Dacier says (Horace, 3. 4 [.70]) that some are of opinion that Diana slew Orion because he would force her to play with him at quoits; and others, because he attempted to ravish the nymph Opis. Be that as it may; I am fully persuaded that our poet, who never gives the least countenance to an immorality which is universally condemned throughout his whole poem, and more particularly in the legend of Britomartis, did not believe that Orion made any attempt upon the person of Diana; and that he thought Orion did nothing that deserved punishment.

[See notes on *F. Q.* 2. 2. 46. 1-2 in Book II, pp. 204-5.]

LOTSPEICH (p. 94). The version of [Orion's] death given [here] does not agree exactly with any of the classical versions and probably follows *Natalis Comes* 8. [13, ed Padua, 1637, p. 458]: "Dianae quoque, cum una venaretur, aiunt vim inferre voluisse, quare illius iussu occisum fuisse, ut in his testatur Euphorion, . . . 'Dea irata scorpion e terra excitavit, qui illius talum percutiens interemit.'"

EDITOR (C. G. O.). *Natalis* adds that, according to Corinnus Delius, Orion boasted his skill in hunting to Latona and Diana to the effect that no wild animal could escape him. Diana in an envious rage hid a scorpion under a rock where Orion was about to pass and it killed him. Overcome with remorse, however, she contrived to have both scorpion and Orion translated among the stars. The recollection of this tale might account for Spenser's epithet "unjust."

xl-xli. WARTON (1. 162). In describing these figures, Spenser seems to have remembered some circumstances in Chaucer's picture of Janus, or January (*Frankeleyn's Tale* 2808) [Skeat's ed. 1252-5]:

Janus sit by the fire with double berde,
And drinketh of his bugle horne the wine;
Before him stant brawn of the tuskid swine,
And nowil (i. e. Christmas) singeth every lustie man.

xl. 2-5. See Appendix to Book I, "On the Propriety of the Allegory," p. 365.

4. See WARTON's note on 1. 4. 30-2 in Book I, p. 221.
Cf. Gluttony, 1. 4. 22. 4.

9. JORTIN. He [Chiron] was son of Saturn and Philyra daughter of Oceanus.

[See notes on 3. 11. 43 in Book III, pp. 296-7.]

SAWTELLE (p. 53). This seeming discrepancy is explained by the fact that Spenser here employs Nais (a Greek generic noun, meaning "water-nymph") as a proper name to denote Philyra, a usage which may have been suggested by Apollonius Rhodius 4. 813, where Philyra is referred to as a Naiad. [But she isn't! 2. 1239 is nearer.] See also Schol. Apollonius Rhodius 4. 813.

[Or Spenser may have noticed, in association with November's crop-farming, Boccaccio's etymology: "Phillyrae dictus est filius, quia Philadros, id est, aquae custos vel amator, eo quod ad irrigationem hortorum plurima uteretur (*Gen. Deor.* 8. 8)."]

LOTSPEICH (p. 100) adds *Theog.* 1001-2; *Met.* 6. 126.

[Both Boccaccio and Natalis Comes mention Chiron's stellification as Sagittarius.]

xli. 4. GRACE W. LANDRUM (*PMLA* 41. 541). Cf. Luke 2. 10.

5. Lechery (1. 4. 24. 2) rode "vpon a bearded goat," with "rugged haire."

6-7. JORTIN. He confounds Capricorn with Amalthea's Goat.

UPTON. The mythologists (Hyginus [*Poet. Astr.* 2. 28] and Eratosthenes [*Catast.* 27]) inform us that Capricornus was made a constellation, because he was educated with Jupiter: and when Jupiter assumed the throne of heaven, he placed Capricorn and the goat his foster-mother among the stars. Capricorn is called Caper in the verses describing the names of the Zodiac. Hence perhaps Spenser, in the hurry of a poet, took the goat that nourished Jupiter for the goat that was nourished with Jupiter [*Ovid. Fast.* 5. 115-6]:

Naïs Amalthea, Cretæa nobilis Ida,
Dicitur in silvis oculuisse Jovem.

So that "Iaeon mayd" is probably an error of the press for "Idean mayd."
[See Variants.]

7. LOTSPEICH (p. 118) cites Natalis Comes 7. 2, where Spenser perhaps found all his information on the subject.

8-9. Cf. Gluttony, 1. 4. 22. 6-7.

xlii. 8-9. JORTIN. "The Roman flood," I suppose, is Eridanus: but Eridanus and Aquarius are two distinct constellations.

UPTON. "Earth-pot steane," viz. "Amphora." So the constellation is named in the well-known verses that mention the twelve signs of the Zodiac: by Eratosthenes called οἰνοχόη, by Ovid [*Fast.* 2. 457] and Manilius [4. 259], Urna. Spenser's spelling, "steane," is agreeable to the Belgic word "steen," a steen-pot. Aquarius is painted pouring out from his steen-pot or urn, a flood, χύσις ὑδάτων, effusio aquae, which Spenser calls "the Roman flood": not to be confounded with the constellation called by various names, viz. ὁ ποταμός, Pluvius, Oceanus, Nilus, Eridanus, Padus, &c.

LOTSPEICH (p. 119). It was commonly held that Ganymede became Aquarius. No explanation appears for the reference to the "Roman flood." [Unless Spenser has found some hint of association of Ganymede with Rome through the eagle. Cf. notes on 3. 11. 34 in Book III, p. 294. Both Boccaccio (6. 4; 9. 2) and Natalis (9. 13) speak of his stellification.]

xliii. See Appendix to Book I, "On the Propriety of the Allegory," p. 365.

xliv. See note on 6. 1. 38.

5-6. LOTSPEICH (p. 91). The black mantle . . . appears also at 1. 11. 49. 7-9; *Epithalamion* 321; cf. Euripides, *Ion* 1150, quoted by Natalis (3. 12) . . . A suggestion for this [mace] may have come from Claudian, *Rapt. Pros.* 2. 363, where Night is "clad in starry raiment." [See notes on 1. 5. 20-44 in Book I, pp. 229-231; 3. 4. 55-8 in Book III, pp. 243-4.]

xlvi. UPTON. Spenser says they were daughters of Jupiter and Night, i. e. of day and night. Our poet has a mythology of his own. Hesiod says, of Jupiter and Themis, *Theog.* 900, they were "porters of Heaven's gate." So Homer, *Il.* 5. 749. Ovid introduces Janus in his *Fast.* 1. [125], saying that he and the Hours together were porters of Heaven,

Praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis.

Milton, likewise, who could not keep himself from mingling his mythological lore with his more divine subject, assigns the Hours an office in Heaven; and 'tis remarkable that he gives it an angel's sanction, for Raphael speaks, 6. 3. . . .

SAWTELLE (p. 66). Cf. *Epithalamion* 98-102. These two passages really agree in regard to the parentage of the Hours, since the Jove of the one and the Day of the other are identical. The domain of Zeus being "the wide heaven, in clear air and clouds" (*Il.* 15. 192), he was sometimes identified by the ancients, as by Spenser, with the Upper World and the light, as contrasted with the Lower World, the darkness.

In making Day and Night the parents of the Hours, Spenser is original. . . . Homer authorizes Spenser also in making them allot the seasons. See *Od.* 10. 469.

LOTSPEICH (p. 70). He may have got a suggestion from Boccaccio 4. 4, who makes them daughters of Sol and Cronis (Time) and says that this is

because "they are made from a definite measurement of time by the progress of the sun." Spenser's train of thought was similar.

EDITOR (F. M. P.). The Graces and the Hours, "all attired in gowns of taffeta scarcenet of divers colours, with flowrie garlands on their heads, and baskets full of sweet hearbs and flowers uppon their armes," strewed flowers in the path of the Queen on her entry to Elvetham. Cf. John Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 10 of "Entertainment at Elvetham."

xlvi. 2-5. CHURCH. Mr. Thyer observes [note on *P. L.* 2. 666 supplied to Thomas Newton's edition] that Milton borrowed his poetical description of Death from Spenser. *P. L.* 2. 666-673:

The other shape,
If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either; black it stood as night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.

5. THYER (note supplied to Thomas Newton's edition of *P. L.* on 2. 185: "Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd"). This way of introducing several adjectives beginning with the same letter, without any conjunction, is very frequent among the Greek tragedians, whom Milton, I fancy, imitated. What strength and beauty it adds need not to be mentioned.

TODD (note in *Milton Variorum*, 1809, 2. 387). It was a common practice among our own poets. Thus Spenser 7. 7. 46. 5. [Add 2. 10. 5. 4; 4. 7. 40. 6; cf. *Astrophel* 136; *Daphnida* 79; 2. 7. 3. 4; 3. 10. 29. 7; *Hymne of Heavenly Beauty* 68.] And Fairfax, *Tasso* 2. 16:

Unseene, unmark'd, unpitied, unrewarded.

Many passages might be adduced. Milton was certainly fond of the practice. See *P. L.* 3. 231; 5. 897; *P. R.* 3. 429. And even in his prose, 1. 255, ed. 1698: "But he, that will mould a modern bishop into a primitive, must yield him to be elected by the popular voice, undiocest, unrevenued, unlorded." This practice appears to me to be ridiculed in Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 230:

Ungoverned, uncardinall'd, unlorded,
Outed of all his hopes, but not unworded.

A. W. VERITY (note on *P. L.* 2. 185 in his edition 2. 405). Cf. . . . *Samson Agonistes* 1422; *Hamlet* 1. 5. 77. Compare the repetition in the Greek dramatists of adjectives compounded with the negative prefix α . . . ; e. g. Euripides, *Hecuba* 669, ἄπαις, ἄνανδρος, ἄπολις, ἐξεφθαρμένη, and Sophocles, *Antigone* 1071, ἄμοιρον, ἀκτέριστον, ἀνόσιον νέκυν.

6-9. WARTON (1. 160-1). Chaucer thus represents Cupid (*Romaunt of the Rose* 888-891):

But of his robe to devise
I dread encumbred for to be;
For not yclad in silk was he
But all in floures, and flourettes.

But the antients have left us no authority for such a representation of Cupid. Our author, st. 34 [line 9] above, gives him a green vest. . . . Which is equally unwarrantable. Though Catullus has given him a yellow vest (*Ad Manlium* [*Carm.* 68^b. 133-4.]):

Quam circumcursans huc illuc saepe Cupido,
Fulgebat crocina candidus in tunica.

Where Scaliger remarks from Julius Pollux, that Sappho attributes a purple vest to this deity; but according to the general sense in which πορφύρεος is sometimes used, she may probably mean a rich mantle.

EDITOR. Cf. the angel who kept watch over Guyon (2. 8. 5-6). He was "a faire young, of wondrous beautie and of freshest yeares . . . Like as *Cupido* on *Idæan hill*." See E. K.'s glosse on *Sh. Cal.*, March 79; notes on *Colin Clouts* 768 ff.

xlvi. See Appendix, pp. 394-5, 409, 414.

2-9. W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 252) quotes Ovid, *Met.* 15. 234-7:

Tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas,
Omnia destruitis vitiataque dentibus aevi
Paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte!

xlvi. ff. WARTON (2. 239-240). Our old poets take all opportunities of displaying their skill in astronomy. It was the favorite study of the dark ages, which have left us a very great number of manuscript systems, in various branches of this science. In the statutes of a certain college, at Cambridge, founded in the reign of Henry VI, some of the fellows are directed, "intendere studio astronomiae." In the magnificent reign of Henry VII it was not deemed strange to exhibit an entertainment before the court, formed on this abstruse science, in honour of the marriage of prince Arthur, and the princess Katharine (Bacon's *Historie of Henry VII*, ed. 1622, p. 205). "In all the devises and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of astronomie. The ladies being resembled to Hesperus, and the prince to Arcturus; and the old king Alphonsus, that was the greatest astronomer of kings, and was ancestor to the ladie, was brought in, to be the fortune-teller of the match. And whosoever had these toyes in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical."

H. DELACY (*JEGP* 33. 541-2). That Spenser has turned the gods to planets is patent. With but one exception made for dramatic purposes, the gods are considered in the Ptolemaic order of planets, starting outward from the earth. The first, Cynthia, is mortal born, to be sure, but equated with the moon. Mercury alters his course; Venus is fair at night and does not shine by day; Phoebus is often eclipsed; Mars fares without his usual sphere—clearly all these are planets. Grim Sir Saturne, usually stern of aspect and crabbed in appearance, in lieu of astronomical description, is given his astrological characteristics. But most significant of all Mutability's charges is in the fifty-fourth stanza. She contends that that power of which Jove spoke—notice Mutability's interpretation of Jove's phrase "vertue from our heavenly cell"—that influence which he exerts upon mundane matters is changed, yes, and that the very nature of the planet is changed by its position and by varying aspects to its fellows.

xlvi-liv. See Appendix, pp. 393-424.

xlix ff. See Appendix II, pp. 439-450.

EDITOR. The commentators have been so concerned with freeing Spenser from the charge of atheism with which Mr. Greenlaw was supposed to have tainted him in suggesting that he probably was acquainted with Lucretius, that they have entirely overlooked the boldness and skill with which Mutabilitie attacks Jove and the lameness of Jove's defence. They pass over in silence the attack on religion in st. 49. It is easy, says the Titanesse, to claim credit for the gods for things which we cannot see, but she proposes to show that the gods in reality have nothing to do with these things. Jove has no answer. The emphasis throughout is on Mutabilitie's attack; it is her case which is presented with sympathy. Whether Spenser were a Lucretian materialist, a neo-platonist, a Christian advocate, or what not, does not alter the fact that it was Mutabilitie's challenge which interested him. Whether he accepted Nature's decree or not is hard to determine from the two stanzas of the unfinished eighth canto, but that judgment (sts. 58-9) was not the excuse for writing this episode. See notes on 8. 1-2 below and Appendix, pp. 393-424.

xlix. See Appendix, pp. 394, 403.

5. EDITOR (C. G. O.). Mutabilitie argues as the literal realist. For Spenser's own counter, see 2 Pr. 1-4.

1-lv. S. EVANS (*Macmillan's Magazine* 42, pp. 149-50). Spenser's system of the universe, it will be observed, is the popular one of his time. The earth is

In the middle centre pight,
In which it doth immoveable abide,

[F. Q. 5. 2. 35] surrounded by the "regions" of the air and the fire, through which the Titaness passes before she arrives at the "circle" of the moon. The planets, among which the sun still retains the middle place, are ranged in the old order, except that Jupiter, for the sake of the allegorical proprieties, usurps yet once again the dominion of Saturn, and holds the last and highest rank. Beyond the circles of the planets is only the crystal sphere of Anaximenes, "thick inlaid with patines of bright gold." But Spenser knows something of the problems which perturb the souls of his astronomical contemporaries. Mercury is "of late far out of order gone." "Mars, that valiant man, is changed most." The starry sky remains still, "yet do the starres and signes therein still move; and even itselfe is mov'd, as wizards saine."

One of the "wizards" referred to is no doubt "the learned Ptolomæe," who tells us "that inasmuch as the stars maintain their relative distances we may justly call them fixed, yet inasmuch as the whole sphere to which they are nailed is in motion, the word 'fixed' is but little appropriate"; but it is most likely that Spenser here refers more particularly to his own lines, prefixed to the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*, in which he speaks at large of the phenomena connected with the precession of the equinoxes. In these introductory lines too he remarks

that "most is Mars amisse of all the rest," which is exactly paralleled by the sneer of Mutability at the unsteadfastness of "that valiant man." The notices of Saturn, however, in the two passages do not agree, and nothing at all is said of Mercury in the one from the *Faerie Queene*, circumstances tending to show that the cantos of Mutability were written at a later date.

l-iii. See Appendix, pp. 389, 410.

1. 3-5. SAWTELLE (p. 48). Cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 140.

LOTSPEICH (p. 53) cites also 2. 3. 31. 2; E. K. on *Sh. Cal.*, April 82.

6-8. UPTON. He seems to have in view Pythagoras' speech in Ovid, *Met.* 15. 196:

Nec par aut eadem nocturnae forma Dianae
[Esse potest umquam semperque hodierna sequente,
Si crescit, minor est, maior, si contrahit orbem.]

This last line particularly has something of the movement and cadence of Spenser's line.]

li. 2. See GOUGH's note on 5. Pr. 8. 8 in Book V, pp. 159-160.

liii. JORTIN. The heathens that were learned in their own theology, reckoned up three Jupiters, one of Crete, two of Arcadia. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* 3. 21: "Principio Joves tres numerant ii, qui theologi nominantur: ex quibus primum et secundum natos in Arcadia: . . . tertium Cretensem." There is a Theban Jupiter often mention'd in Herodotus, and so call'd because he had a temple at Thebes in Ægypt. You may find an account of a Jupiter born at Thebes, in *Natalis Comes* 2. 1.

UPTON. *Spanhemius ad Callim.* [5. 7, p. 6]: "Praeter Cretam, et Arcadium, Bæotia etiam, ac in ea Thebae, natales et incunabula Jovis sibi vindicarunt."

SAWTELLE (p. 72). There is, indeed, this disagreement among the ancients in regard to the birthplace of Jove. The commonest tradition accords with Hesiod's *Theogony* [478 ff.] which calls him the son of Cronus and Rhea, and his birthplace Crete. Callimachus, however, in his *Hymn to Jove*, speaks of various places as claiming to be his birthplace; and Tzetzes, *Lycophron* 1194, mentions Thebes among the number.

LOTSPEICH (p. 75). Mutability makes a point of the conflicting traditions as to Jove's birthplace. *Natalis Comes* makes the same point at the beginning of his chapter on Jove (2. 1): "Modo in Creta, modo Thebis, modo in Arcadia, modo apud Messenios natus esse dicitur." [After a full discussion of the matter, *Natalis* concludes: "Ut summatim rem colligamus, incertum adhuc est, et omni contentione plenum, ubi natus sit Iupiter."]

lv. 7-8. Cf. *Hymne of Heavenly Love* 22-8.

lvii. See Appendix, p. 398.

1-7. See note on 6. 5. 24 above.

4. TODD. How are we to reconcile this assertion with what is said of Nature in stanzas 5 and 6? The whole of this stanza, however, is remarkably grand and impressive.

lviii-8. ii. See Appendix, pp. 411, 415, 416-9.

lviii. W. P. CUMMING (*SP* 28. 253-4) cites Ovid, *Met.* 15. 249-258.

[See Appendix, pp. 420, 423.]

M. Y. HUGHES (*PMLA* 41. 555). The key to Spenser's statement that things by changing dilate their being and work their own perfection and ultimately "raigne over Change, and doe their states maintaine" is probably furnished on a chance reference by Burton (*Anatomy of Melancholy* 3. 2. 5. 3, ed. J. W. Moore, Philadelphia, 1847, p. 543) to the "ewig Weibliche" as "varium et mutabile" and as "capable of any impression as 'materia prima' itself that still desires new forms."

3-7. See Appendix, pp. 397, 402-3.

5-9. See Appendix, pp. 416-8.

lix. 4-5. UPTON cites 1 Corinthians 15. 51.

CANTO VIII

i-ii. ANON. (*Blackwood's Magazine* 99. 222-3). And with these two stanzas a mightier will than ours has chosen that Spenser's great work should end. They are to us the last of the "Fairy Queen."

My extracts from this greatest of Spenser's allegories have been necessarily brief. To do it justice, it should be read as a whole. It is throughout magnificent; almost Homeric in its combined sublimity and simplicity. Its wealth of imaginative riches is, even for Spenser, astonishing; doubly so, when we recollect the prodigal variety of the descriptions he has scattered with lavish hand through the preceding books. The germ of one of the grandest things in the English language, Milton's *Death*, is discernible in the 46th stanza, so sublime in its spectral terrors.—Above all, how marked is the contrast between this allegory and Ariosto's! [*Orl. Fur.* 14. 78 ff.]. Who can compare the two without feeling convinced that if the dust which now sleeps in the Benedictine Church at Ferrara once enshrined the richest fancy that ever endowed a poet, a yet deeper sense of beauty thrilled the brain, and far nobler pulsations stirred the heart, which lie awaiting the resurrection in our great *West Minster*, beneath Spenser's simple tomb! We saw how Ariosto, in *his* allegory, dealt with the holiest names in a thoroughly pagan spirit. We have now seen Spenser produce one far nobler by an exactly reversed process. From its proposed subject, we might have expected only to find in it the commonplaces of heathen poets on the changeful and disappointing character of earthly things, cast by genius into a new and striking shape. But Spenser is not content with doing this; nor does he cease until he has let in a radiance borrowed from revelation upon the ever-shifting forms and ruins of Time. Ariosto lays the foundations of *his* allegory in the heaven of heavens, and yet does not succeed in producing any religious impression on his reader's mind. Spenser lays *his* on the

fabled Olympus, but stays not till, having extracted deep truths from the lips of its inhabitants, he can end it by echoing the lofty strains in which prophets and apostles bid us look forward to "the rest which remaineth for the people of God."

And how noble those two concluding stanzas are in themselves! Could even Spenser's genius have devised a fitter close for his great poem? How well the lament of the first over the fleeting nature of earthly joys (uttered doubtless from the bitter depths of its author's own experience) befits the last lines of a poem which has all along treated "the glories of our birth and state" as "shadows" of better and more "substantial things" than themselves! And how magnificent is the *Sursum Corda* of the second! composed, it might seem, fresh from the perusal of St. Augustine's noble commentary on the opening verses of the second chapter of Genesis. How does it stir our hearts by its solemn harmonies, as it calls us to avert our eyes from the fading glories of earth, that we may fix them steadfastly on the brightening splendours of "the day of restitution of all things!"

Thinking of these two stanzas, and of all the others which have been, like them, witnessing to us the religious superiority of Spenser's England over Ariosto's Italy; who would not earnestly hope that they express, not alone the faith of the age in which their writer flourished, but the unfeigned confession also of the faith which filled his own heart? that so his Master, cutting short his beautiful poem at the line in which he so earnestly supplicates a share in the true rest of the people of God, may seem to have signified His gracious acceptance of his prayer, by reserving it for Himself to add unto it the last Amen: so be it.

D. BUSH (*Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*, p. 107). Virgil has a more truly religious and sympathetic imagination. And Spenser is nearest to Virgil not when he is borrowing something, but when, contemplating the ruthless course of time and change, he feels the "lacrimae rerum" and utters the moving cry [sts. quoted] . . . Yet even this is not Virgilian, for Spenser has no language but a cry. His mood touches that of disillusioned romantics who turn from life to rest in the bosom of the church. When the world fails him Spenser yearns to fall asleep, and then the care is over.

(Pp. 120-1.) For his answer to the question of the one and the many, the question whether unity lies behind the eternal flux, Spenser, in the true vein of Renaissance reconcilers, seeks a compromise. That compromise is half "scientific," half Christian. All things work out the law of their being, not in the naturalistic sense, but under divine control; but there will come the eternal stability when all shall be changed for the last time. Yet the solution, however conventional, does not seem to have been wholly satisfying to Spenser. After Nature's reply come the two stanzas that were quoted above; they are the voice of an infant crying in the night. Keats, writing in an era of Revolutionary optimism, made the defeat of the Titans by the gods a symbol of progress, but in the late sixteenth century the theory of progress was just coming to birth. From a world of medieval fixities Spenser contemplates the spectacle of endless change, and his answer comes more from his heart than his head. He was facing the Renaissance version of the doctrine that Whirl is king, and our own answers do not allow us to be patronizing.

[See Appendix I.]

- i. 8-9. On the Scriptural imagery see 5. 2. 40 and note in Book V, p. 178;

also 5. 3. 1. 1 and note in Book V, p. 162; 3. 6. 38. 8; 3. 9. 39. 9 and note on p. 281.

ii. F. J. FURNIVALL (*Academy* 7. 325). A lady at Bedford, No. 16 in the audience at my lectures on Elizabethan Literature in that town, has called my attention to a most interesting point in Spenser's *Faery Queene* that no biographer of his has yet noticed, so far as I have examined. It is this, that the latter stanza of the two which constitute the fragment of Canto 8 of Book 7, may well be, and most probably is, the last lines that Spenser wrote, on, or in view of, his sad death-bed in King Street, Westminster; so well do the lines breathe in words the wish, the prayer that he, after the last change in his life, the burning of his Irish home and one of his children, must have uttered [st. quoted].

The singular appropriateness of these lines as Spenser's last, will, I believe, be gladly acknowledged by all students and lovers of him; and they will feel grateful, with me, to the Bedford lady who adds this memory of prayer and peacefulness of spirit to the poet's sad end.

The same lady suggests that the last line of Canto 6, Book 7—"which too-too true that lands indwellers since have found"—may also have been written after, and in allusion to, the plunder of Spenser's house, or castle, at Kilcolman, in October, 1598; but robbery and spoil of the kind were too frequent in his time in Ireland to allow the point to be pressed; and Spenser names "Woods and all that goodly Chase" only, as abounding "with Wolves and Thieves." These words would not apply to the plunder and burning of Spenser's castle by men only.

[See Appendix, pp. 407-8, 416-8.]

8-9. UPTON. These verses are not printed right in any of the editions, because there is not a distinction observed between "Sabaoth" and "Sabbath." The former word means hosts or armies, as in Romans 9. 29, "the Lord of Sabaoth." So in the hymn called *Te Deum Laudamus*—*Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth*. Hence that expression, God of Hosts, God of Armies, &c. The other word, "Sabbath," signifies "rest." These verses therefore should thus be written:

With him, that is the God of Sabaoth hight:
O that great Sabaoth's God, grant me that Sabbath's sight!

i. e. grant me a sight of that day of rest: that great Sabbath and eternal rest.

CHURCH cites James 5. 4: "And the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

JOSEPHINE W. BENNETT (*SP* 30. 190-1, n. 65). It has been said that in these lines Spenser confused *Sabaoth* meaning hosts, with Sabbath meaning rest. . . . I believe that he intended a play upon the two words. . . . It is not unlikely that he was remembering those famous lines in the *Sibyllina Oracula* which describe the last judgment:

Tum vero Sabaoth Adonaeus, fulminis autor,
Defunctos reddet vitae, Parcasque resoluat,
Coelesti residens solio. . . .

(quoted from the edition of Paris, 1607, p. 205). This work, like the Orphic hymns, was very popular during the Renaissance. The translation I quote was made by Sebastian Castalio, and seems to have been first printed at Basle, n. d. (ca. 1550).

The use of the word Sabbath to mean Eternity, or the eternal world, was not uncommon. Reuchlin, in his *De Arte Cabalistica* (Basle, 1494, p. 3102), explains that Sabbath means both the day of rest, and the eternal rest, where there is neither time nor motion. . . . The lack of a second *b* in the spelling of the last Sabaoth may indicate that it was not intended for the same word as Sabbaoth.

APPENDIX I

THE PLAN AND CONDUCT OF BOOK VI

(Discussions of the plan and conduct of Book VI and of Spenser's conception of the ideal courtier are so interrelated that they are grouped together in this appendix.)

KATE M. WARREN (Introduction to her edition of Book VI, pp. vii-xxiii). In character, however, while bearing of necessity a general resemblance to the rest of the *Faerie Queene*, it [Book VI] stands very much alone. It is differentiated from the other books of the poem by a simplicity of idea and of execution.

The finest portion of its narrative, the story of Pastorella, is a picture of the simple pastoral life which Spenser had used, many years before, as a background for his poem of the *Shepherd's Calendar*, while nearly all its other incidents are laid out of doors in the primitive forest or the plain. There is in the poem scarcely a touch of the life of the city or the court. The castle of Briana, the scene of a long adventure, stands alone upon a rocky hill, "hard by a straight" or narrow pass; young Tristram, the centre of another incident, is a ranger of the "forest green," not yet a bearer of knightly arms. Calepine and Serena, the hero and heroine of a third story, second only in importance to that of Pastorella, are first met with in the woods, and when in trouble are succoured by a "salvage," who is himself a lonely dweller in the forest. During their sojourn with this wild host one is kept in mind of the primitive country around them. Calepine is separated from Serena by his pursuit of a bear, which comes upon him as he saunters out one morning, after illness, "to take the ayre and heare the thrushes song." Serena being left in grief is succoured by Prince Arthur. He places her under the care of a hermit, who, being weary "of warres delight, and world's contentious toyle," has given up the arms of knighthood, and freed himself from "all this world's incombrance," that he might retire to a solitary life of devotion amid the loneliness of nature. He entertained his visitor in sincere and simple fashion—

Not with such forged shewes, as fitter beene
For courting fooles that curtesies would faine,
But with entire affection and appearaunce plaine.

The rest of this story also is laid in the "wylde deserts." Serena falls into the hands of "salvages," who are about to offer her in sacrifice, when Calepine, roving in search of her through the solitary country, effects a rescue.

Again, Calidore, the champion knight of the book, passes most of his time with the shepherds. The enemies that fall upon these shepherds are those which belong to solitary places—"brigants" and travelling merchant-thieves. The poem, then, is one of the free air and the uncultivated country, and, more than any of the others, would seem to have been influenced by Spenser's Irish neighbourhood.

Still further it may be said that there is no scene of elaborate pageantry described in this book, such as the Procession of Pride, the Cave of Mammon, the Mask of Cupid, or the Marriage of the Rivers, as are found elsewhere. Instead of these

pageants we have here a dance of the Graces, clothed only with their own fairness, in a lovely and lonely woodland spot.

In more abstract matters, we find the same quality of simplicity. There is no involved or elaborate allegory of any sort in the book. The main allegorical contention—the pursuit of the Blatant Beast of Calumny by the Knight of Courtesy, and the adventures which arise out of it—is as easily understood and applied as any portion of the allegory in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The historical references, too, are generally clear. In this legend, moreover, we have a passage in which Spenser clearly advocates the living of a simple life in the country in opposition to the complex life of the city and the court. He puts this theory of life into the mouth of the old shepherd Melibee, and we shall return to it presently.

A simplicity, then, of "motive" and of execution would seem to be the special mark of the sixth book. How far this was caused by Spenser's own condition of mind and state of life while writing the poem is a question all the more fascinating because the answer eludes us. That this strong element of simplicity in the poem has its root in the poet's condition at the time cannot be fully proved. We do know, however, something definite of Spenser's life while he was engaged upon this book. It was not published until 1596, but from his eightieth sonnet in the *Amoretti* it would seem that he had finished the six books of the *Faerie Queene* before he wrote that series of sonnets to the lady who had then consented to become his wife, and whom he married in 1594. There seems no doubt that in the Pastorella of this book we have a picture of this lady, who at that time was probably betrothed to the poet.

We may then imagine something of the poet's inner life. Possessed by the pure, strong love of a woman who was to him an ideal of beauty within and without, he was living for a time in touch with both heaven and earth. His lady was a real woman, but yet he saw in her also the embodiment of all that he had dreamed of the fair women of his imagination as he drew them in the *Faerie Queene*. Even the lover of ideal beauty is, for a while at least, satisfied and at rest.

If, then, during the writing of this book, Spenser was feeling deeply the happiness of a great love, it is not surprising that his poem should have that quality of simplicity which naturally belongs to the central depths of feeling. The Legend of Courtesy is simple because Spenser was happy in his love.

In this way we may trace an autobiographical element in the general tone of the poem. But more directly personal than this are some of the incidents and characters described in it. We have already spoken of the undoubted allusion to the poet's lady love in the person of Pastorella; critics also seem certain that in the story of Mirabella we have an allegorical account of his earlier and unhappy love for the fair Rosalind, and it is quite clear that he alludes to his three great friends—Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Grey de Wilton, Sir Walter Raleigh—in the persons of Sir Calidore, Sir Artegall, and Sir Timias. Again, he introduces himself very unmistakably in this book under the name of Colin Clout, a name used by him in the *Shepherd's Calendar* and in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*. Less clearly, but not less certainly, he alludes to himself when he makes Sir Calidore the lover of Pastorella. The closing stanzas of the poem contain a pointed reference to his own verses. The book is also autobiographical in the view it takes of the result of the conflict of its hero with his chief enemy, the Blatant Beast. Sir Calidore muzzles

the Beast at last, but not for ever. After some years it breaks loose and cannot again be captured. Sir Calidore's success is shown to be only a half-success; slander is rampant once more when he has passed away from the scene. The Legend of Courtesy ends with no picture of triumph. This is out of Spenser's own experience. In the years while he was engaged upon the *Faerie Queene* he was learning, little by little, one of the hardest truths that the lover of the ideal has to learn in this life—the enormous strength of evil in the world, of cruelty, hypocrisy, injustice, falsehood, jealousy, malice, and all the rest; and how infinitely small is the headway that any single man or woman can make against it. We may trace somewhat the growth of this knowledge in Spenser's mind if we look at the books of the *Faerie Queene* in their order. In Book I the Champion Knight of Holiness, though frequently rebuffed and baffled, is at last completely the victor: he fells the dragon dead—the thing he set out to accomplish—and leaves the people of the country rejoicing and at peace, followed by their blessing. In Book II Sir Guyon, the Champion of Temperance, accomplishes his quest—the destruction of Acrasia's garden—with equal thoroughness; but over that no note of rejoicing is heard, only a repining and abusive voice arises from one of the indwellers of the garden who would gladly have retained the bestial shape from which the Palmer had set him free. At the end of this book we leave Sir Guyon and his companion gravely surveying the devastation they have made in the loveliness of the place before leaving it for ever. In Book III, though Britomart at last is able to free Amoret from the enchanter's spell, the joy of these two is turned into grief, when, emerging from the castle, they find that Scudamore, Amoret's lover, whom they looked certainly to see, has disappeared. In the fourth book there is no great quest to be followed, but in Book V the note of defeat is heard boldly behind that of apparent success. Artegall, the Knight of Justice, does accomplish the overthrow of the tyrant Grantorto, but he passes off the scene pursued by the hags of envy and detraction and the barking and baying of the Blatant Beast. In Book VI Artegall appears for a moment "returning yet *halfe sad* from his late conquest which he gotten had." It is impressed upon us by the poet at the very beginning of the new book that the result of victory is not by any means a matter of rejoicing to the victor. How different is this view of things from the shouts of joy and the honour which (in Book I) hailed the victory of the Red Cross Knight. Spenser has learned now that his idealist scheme of life—that the good are quickly rewarded and the evil quickly punished in this world—will not fit the facts. Things are not so nicely meted out; there is no rule, but apparent confusion; the Blatant Beast, he discovers, bites "good and bad alike."

If this were his view with regard to the greater life of the world outside him, it is little wonder that he should turn with relief to picture the peaceful joy of a life with nature, where (as it seemed to him) the Blatant Beast and all his evil were unknown. And this simple life he urges with all his might in a celebrated passage, to which I have already alluded. The old shepherd Melibee lives a plain, contented, self-contained life in the country, keeping his flocks, envying no one and envied by none, enjoying the "silver sleep" of the nights and the simple duties and pleasures of the day. But he had not been always so. Once he had disdained the simple life, and, seeking the royal court, had for ten years "in the princes garden daily wrought." Cloyed at last, however, with the "vainenesse"

he found there, and, deluded by idle hopes, he returned gladly to his lowly state, and from this experience he says:

I from henceforth have learn'd to love more deare
This lowly quiet life which I inherite here.

We may conclude here that Spenser is partly recalling his time at Court and his wasted efforts to gain promotion there. He has put the matter much more strongly, though, in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*.

But though he advocates the life of simplicity removed from town, he is no fanatic upon it. He is sane enough to see that this withdrawal from the world, while healthy and right in certain cases and at certain times, is not the best for those who have a duty to fulfil in the midst of men and for the sake of men. He tries to express this in the story of Sir Calidore, who, having fallen in love with Pastorella, the reputed daughter of the Shepherd, is naturally drawn on that account to wish to join the rural life. As he listens to old Melibee's account of himself, he eagerly explains how much he wishes he had been or could be placed in the Shepherd's "low degree." But Melibee is far-seeing and sagacious, and tells him frankly that "the heavens know best what is the best" for every man and

fittest is, that all contented rest
With that they hold; each hath his fortune in his brest. . . .
It is the mynd that maketh good or ill.

Sir Calidore, however, begs to be allowed to rest with the shepherd community for at least a time until he can decide whether he will turn his back for ever upon the troubles of the larger world, or whether he will throw himself again into the battle. So he stays there in much pure joy, wooing and winning Pastorella, until disaster, falling upon the little community, recalls to him his neglect of his own quest—the pursuit of the Blatant Beast.

The moral implied here is simple enough, and is not unlike the teaching that was given to the Knight of Holiness when he wished to dwell upon the Mount of Contemplation. The world is a battlefield, and we cannot withdraw from it without a neglect of duty, even though the condition into which we would withdraw be, in itself, a noble one. It is intensely interesting to find that Spenser brings this subtle temptation of withdrawal from the world upon four of his typical champion knights, who are men, though Britomart, the woman-knight, is exempt from it. The Knight of Holiness is enthralled by the delight of Contemplation; the Knight of Temperance is allured by Phaedria, the lighter and more delicate pleasure of the senses, who urges him to "withdraw from thought of warlike enterprize." The Knight of Justice is drawn out of his course by the consequences of a rash vow, which, with a perverted sense of honour, he determines to fulfil. But the Knight of Courtesy has to meet the most strong and subtle of all the forms of temptation to leave the world. The appeal of the pastoral life comes to him through his high and pure love for Pastorella, and, in that love, touches all that is most delicate, refined and noble in his nature—it is an appeal that seems to come from both earth and heaven. Moreover, as the embodiment of Courtesy—the ideal Courtesy of Spenser—all that is tranquil, gracious, simple, in the life both of the body and the soul especially allures him. But there are rougher things in the world than these, which are the enemies of men, and the Knight of Courtesy

must not ignore them; otherwise, in the end, the very practice of the courtesy he stands for will be made impossible by their ravaging.

Reviewing the whole of the *Faerie Queene* in this way, it does not seem too fanciful, while making some allowance for the conventional allegory in the poem, to trace in it some portion of Spenser's spiritual history, and more particularly, perhaps, in this Legend of Courtesy.

What, however, has especially marked out the sixth book in popular estimation is that it has added to our roll of well-known heroes created by literature the name of Sir Calidore. We know him by name almost as well as we know the Red Cross Knight. Of all the figures of knighthood drawn by Spenser these two have been chosen by time to be the best remembered, but the poet himself took more interest in the drawing of Sir Calidore than of St. George. As a rule Spenser, not caring much about his knights except as types of the virtues, makes them colourless, with no marked characteristic save skill in battle. The two exceptions to this are Calidore and Artegall, each of whom we know was representative of a loved and honoured friend of the poet. Yet even here no dramatic vividness is given to them—Spenser is seldom dramatic—but some care is taken to make them both vital characters. In the case of Sir Calidore, indeed, this was not difficult to do. The personal charm which the poet conceived as the foremost characteristic of his Knight of Courtesy is a quality which we can all recognise. It is more than a quality, it is an atmosphere that sheds its grace on all that is said and done by the person who possesses it. It is to a character what "the light that never was on sea or land" is to a work of art, and we can no more define it than we can define genius; it is, indeed, almost always an accompaniment of genius. When it is allied with moral, intellectual or spiritual greatness, or its possessor is in some position of worldly importance, then a noble popularity attends it, and the figure of the man stands out on the pages of even the dullest of historians with a romantic light. St. Francis of Assisi, Sir Thomas More, and Sir Philip Sidney are well-known examples of this. To the great heroes of romantic story, such as King Arthur, this quality of personal charm has always been assigned.

It is not surprising, then, that Sir Calidore is more of a real character to us than any other knight of the *Faerie Queene*. The virtues of Holiness, Temperance, or Justice, when embodied in a knight, are not so personal, nor do they mark out a personality so clearly, or affect his personal intercourse with others so strongly, as the virtue of courtesy. Courtesy is always felt to be supreme in our intercourse with the persons who possess it. And Spenser had felt this—as all others did—in contact with Sir Philip Sidney. He is, then, describing a real character in Sir Calidore, and describing it with more wholeness than he described that of Sir Artegall, who also had his origin in a real character. In describing Lord Grey de Wilton as the Knight of Justice he omitted—since he clung closely to his own conception of that virtue—nearly all the more purely human and lovable elements in the character of the nobleman, as we know from contemporary accounts, but he is not thus limited in his picture of Sir Calidore. In the Knight of Courtesy he can embody the virtue of courage or of justice without any fear of spoiling the impression of courtesy he wishes to make.

But before we consider Spenser's ideal of Courtesy, it must be noticed that Calidore is not the only person who does the work of that virtue in the book.

There is Sir Calepine and there is Prince Arthur, who are each upholding it. As to Prince Arthur, while his work may be here looked upon as illustrating ideal courtesy, we are forced to see that the poet's interest in him has waned. He is now altogether colourless. Sir Calepine, as a person, is of rather more importance, and his chivalrous attendance upon his lady Serena, with other adventures, somewhat individualize[s] him, and take[s] up a large portion of this book. It will be noticed, however, that neither he nor Sir Calidore meet with Prince Arthur, whose adventures are conducted with entire independence of these two knights of Courtesy.

We may here turn aside for a moment to point out that the call thus made upon us in the poem to divide our interest between three almost unconnected series of adventures, accomplished by the three chief warriors for Courtesy, is one more instance of what we recognise as the weakness of some of the poems which make up the *Faerie Queene*—their want of unity in form, and sometimes in thought. The form of this sixth book is a compromise between the fairly traceable unity of Books I, II and V, and the formlessness of Books III and IV, in which there are no wholly central figures nor any very clear central thought. This Legend of Courtesy, on the other hand, falls into two, or three, distinct parts, but not more than three. The history of Sir Calidore runs through the first three cantos and then disappears until the ninth, when it continues to the end of the poem. In between, we have the story of Sir Calepine and Serena, and the doings of Prince Arthur, who is introduced as the helper of Serena when divided from her lover. In spite, however, of the disjointed structure of the poem the central idea of the virtue of Courtesy is fairly preserved throughout. What, then, is the poet's ideal here is the next matter to consider.

In his opening description of Courtesy, gentleness of spirit, "comely guise," graciousness of speech, "stealing men's hearts away," are the first things belonging to Sir Calidore. Of course he has bravery, strength and renown in battle. Then the knight used his graciousness

To please the best and th' evill to embase;
For he loath'd leasing and base flattery,
And loved simple truth and steadfast honesty.

Nothing, again, is more blameful to a knight who professes courtesy than "pride and cruelnesse," while "inhumanitie" is an utter shame in him.

For seldome yet did living creature see
That curtesie and manhood ever disagree.

Sincerity is insisted upon as the first necessity of one who would be truly courteous, sincerity in small as well as large matters. The Hermit, in lines I have already quoted, is praised by the poet for the "entire affection" with which he entertained his guests, not with such "forged shoves" as are fit only for "courting fooles that curtesies would faine." Deceit and treachery are the marks of the "discourteous knight" Turpine, who veils himself under a falsely courteous aspect. And in the lines I quote it is made once more plain that by courtesy Spenser means all that belongs to nobility of intercourse with one's fellows.

Like as the gentle hart it selfe bewrayes
In doing gentle deedes with frank delight,

Even so the baser mind it selfe displayes
In cancred malice and revengefull spight:
For to maligne, t'envie, t'use shifting slight,
Be arguments of a vile donghill mind,
Which, what it dare not doe by open might,
To work by wicked treason wayes doth find,
By such discourteous deeds discovering his base kind.

True courtesy, too, will teach men some of the lesser graces of life—"the complements of curtesie"—such as "comely carriage, entertainment kind, Sweet semblaunt, friendly offices that bynde"; and how "we should ourselves demeane to low, to hie, To friends, to foes; which skill men call Civility." These gifts are bestowed on the truly courteous by the Graces themselves, the poet says, in a fine passage describing the attendants of Venus. Spenser, however, is an Elizabethan aristocrat, and he implies at times that "gentle manners" naturally go along with "gentle blood," and that "noble carriage" is rarely found apart from good breeding. But he is not always consistent in this view, since the old peasant shepherd is made a pattern of courtesy, though the goodness and humanity of the "salvage man" who waits upon Serena are ascribed to the "noble blood" that is in him. But the shepherd Coridon is a little unfairly treated when he is allowed neither bravery nor magnanimity. In fact, the contrast between the lowly Coridon and the well-born Calidore (if we view it as anything more than a conventional device of pastoral poetry) is sentimentally overdone; and the effect of it is to make us sympathize with Coridon when Calidore outstripped him in the wooing of Pastorella. [Centuries and revolutions since Spenser are chief begetters of such sympathy.] It was easy for Calidore to show the courteousness of magnanimity when in contact with the young shepherd; he had all the advantages on his side, and he knew it, and he was not too scrupulous as to the means he used for encompassing his ends. Indeed we like him better as the pursuer of the Blatant Beast than as the wooer of Pastorella, when he is forgetting the quest committed to him. In spite of Spenser's sayings to the contrary, there is a suspicion of condescension towards the shepherds in Sir Calidore's behaviour, when he moves among them. We owe him a grudge, also, for his somewhat clumsy disturbance of one of the loveliest scenes in the book—the dancing of the Graces to the pipe of Colin Clout.

But to return to him as Courtesy, it is to Calidore that is committed the war against the deadliest enemy of that virtue—the Blatant Beast of Slander, both public and private. And here it is well to look carefully at this creature, because the chief opposing force which Spenser sets up against each of his typical virtues tells us a good deal, in a negative way, about his conception of the virtue itself. When we find, for example, in the Legend of Friendship that the enemy most insisted upon in the poem is Discord, we know that Spenser's Friendship probably implied what we now mean by Concord. So here, when we see that the greatest enemy to be overcome by the Knight of Courtesy is calumny, slander, evil-speaking, backbiting, call it whatever we like, we realize that Spenser's courtesy is a more spiritual quality than that to which we now give the name. The Blatant Beast is plainly allegorical, and he is not pictured with as much realistic detail as the dragon of Book I. The two physical points about him that are insisted upon are his innumerable tongues of every kind, and his teeth. A thousand tongues

of dogs, cats, bears, tigers, serpents, barking, quarrelling, snarling, growling, spitting out venom, and all vile and hateful things, belong to him,

But most of them were tongues of mortall men,
Which spake reproachfully, not caring where nor when.

And this

Of good and bad alike, of low and hie.

All who came within the range of this creature were either "blotted with infamy" or bitten with "his baneful teeth." Neither public place, such as monastery or church, or private life, was safe from his havoc. This thing, then, of cruel tongues and venomous teeth, spiteful and yet stupid, was in Spenser's eyes the impersonation of the worst *social* evil of his time and of all time. For courtesy was to him the great *social* virtue, the fine art of living together nobly with all other human beings—the most difficult art of all, the art of life itself. It is no courtesy of lip or manner merely that Spenser puts forward, but a courtesy whose

seat is deepe within the mind,
And not in outward shows, but inward thoughts defynd.

And the fruits of this deep-rooted courtesy are sincerity, courage, pity, long-suffering, faithfulness, gentleness, helpfulness to all and honour to all. And while there are many foes to courtesy, such as inhuman customs, railing moods, churlishness of many kinds, deceit, malice, cruelty, ignorance, all of which the Knights of Courtesy are shown in this Legend as overthrowing, the one great enemy to be met is calumny—slander of human beings by human beings, who by this very act take to themselves something of the brutish nature. The tongues of the Blatant Beast are not only those of men but of other animals. And Spenser saw deeply when he made this enemy the great enemy of civilized life. Were the spirit in which slander is conceived to prevail everywhere, there would be an end to all the peaceful intercourse of individuals and societies. Of all spirits it is the most non-social, for it breaks up all trustfulness between man and man; love, friendship, esteem, honourable work, try as they will, cannot stand against its venom. It calls good evil, and finds ugliness in the very face of beauty. Goodness is defenceless against its attack. There is no fortress that it cannot spoil. The holiest of holies is not safe from it. A pure, simple human soul may abash it for a brief time, as did Sir Calidore when he muzzled the Beast, but only for a time; very soon it is ranging through the world again. In no part of the *Faerie Queene* is the moral allegory more weighty than it is here. The sixth book is closer to real life than the first.

Spenser's ideal of courtesy, then, is very comprehensive, and to appreciate it fully one must read with some care the various adventures of the knights who fight for it. These adventures are of many kinds; and while Spenser used them all as means of illustrating the practice of Courtesy, he was not at all equally interested in the stories themselves. And we can tell this by the variation in vividness as he writes. When his interest flags, when the allegorical dominates the human or romantic element, his imagination dies down, his narrative fails in invention and liveliness. In this sixth book we have several stories of this character. The incident of Calidore with Crudor and Briana; and with Priscilla and Aladine; the story of Prince Arthur and Timias; of Arthur and Turpine; and even of Mira-

bella (said to be one of the "lost poems" of Spenser, the *Court of Cupid*), are not to be compared for imaginative quality with the picture of Serena among the savages and her rescue by Calepine, or still less with the whole story of Calidore and Pastorella, or even, in a smaller way, with Calepine's rescue of the babe from the bear, or Calidore's pursuit of the Blatant Beast. But in spite of this unevenness of imagination, the sixth book has, on the whole, a quality of chastened strength, of delicacy, of tenderness, and of an even more refined sense of beauty than we find in the other books of the *Faerie Queene*. The picture of Pastorella among the shepherds, or amid the dancing of the Graces, stands quite alone among Spenser's work. Pastorella is not interesting as a human being; she never opens her mouth once in the story, but she is more purely and innocently lovely than any other Spenserian woman. Then there is Serena, of the same type, in that scene among the savages to which we have alluded. We have in this book, too, a charming picture of Sir Tristram, a "slender slip" of seventeen years, in youthful purity and courage, whose relationship to Calidore reminds us of that of Gareth to Arthur in the *Idylls*. And in Sir Calepine's half humorous yet wholly tender attention to the babe rescued from the bear, we have a pretty hint of the poet's sense of fatherhood. On the whole these passages stand alone, nothing quite like them is found elsewhere in Spenser.

It is fairly easy, of course, to find "the original" of most of these delightful stories, and commentators on Spenser have given much time to working out the comparison between the poet's work and that of others. It is interesting, but it does not much affect our regard for Spenser, for we find that, whether he used Ariosto or Malory as his original, his work is always Spenserian; the manner and spirit of it are his own. No original gives the story in the way and in the verse in which he clothed it. And this is especially true of the sixth book, which is nearer to pure romantic sources than any of the others.

It is difficult to agree with Professor Courthope when he says of the Legend of Courtesy "that it has no very salient features"; and that "its allegory is chiefly remarkable for its covert reference to the amour of Sir Walter Raleigh, which brought upon him the displeasure of the Queen." [See Courthope, *History of English Poetry* 2. 268.] Such a criticism is best answered by a careful reading of the book itself.

WILLIAM FENN DEMOSS ("Spenser's Twelve Moral Virtues 'according to Aristotle,'" pp. 36-38, 264-5). Finally, concerning Courtesy, the subject of Spenser's sixth book, Jusserand says: "Courtesy may be held to correspond, if to anything, to Aristotle's friendliness, but not without a considerable extension and modernization of the word. . . . Aristotle's description of friendliness best suits, however, without matching it exactly, the modern notion of courtesy." The *New English Dictionary* reveals nothing inconsistent in Spenser's discussing under the name of Courtesy the virtue which Aristotle says is most like Friendliness. But what really counts, a comparison of Spenser's book on Courtesy with this Near-Friendliness, shows that the two really do match. The sphere of Aristotle's Near-Friendliness is "human society, with its common life and association in words and deeds." The virtue is a mean between flattery, obsequiousness, complaisance, on the one hand, and surliness, disagreeableness, contentiousness, on the other. Aristotle says (*Ethics* 4. 12): "It most resembles Friendliness; for the

person in whom it exists answers to our idea of a virtuous friend, except that friendliness includes affection as well. . . . He will so act alike to strangers and acquaintances," etc. Thus Aristotle's Near-Friendliness is a kind of Golden Rule: In your association with others, including strangers, speak to them and act toward them as a virtuous friend would do.

Spenser's virtue of Courtesy matches this Aristotelian ideal exactly. It allows neither flattery, on the one hand, nor contentiousness, on the other. It consists in acting towards others as a virtuous friend would act. It should be remembered, however, that with both Aristotle and Spenser friendship includes love; and also that, in accordance with Aristotle's and Spenser's tendency to make any given virtue include all the others, Courtesy and Discourtesy will include other virtues and vices.

For seldome yet did living creature see,
That curtesie and manhood ever disagree.

That the virtue of Spenser's sixth book does consist in acting toward others as a true friend would act is shown by the characters and the episodes. Calidore, Tristram, Calepine, Prince Arthur, and others represent Courtesy, or Friendliness. Maleffort, Crudor, and Briana, who maltreat strangers (c. 1); the "proud discourteous knight" whom Tristram slays (c. 2); the contemptible Sir Turpine, who will not give lodging to Calepine and his wounded lady, or help the wounded woman over the ford, and who even attacks the defenseless knight (c. 3, 6, 8); Mirabella, who delights in the sufferings of her lovers (c. 7); the "salvage nation," which preys upon strangers (8. 35 ff.); and the "theeves" who lead Pastorell into captivity (c. 9, 11)—these are some of the examples of Unfriendliness, of not acting toward others as a virtuous friend would act. And, finally, the Blatant Beast is not Slander, as it is sometimes named, nor yet the Puritans, as it is oftenest named. It is the Spirit of Unfriendliness; it is Malice, Malevolence, Envy, Despite, Slander, Contentiousness, and is represented in one place, no doubt, by the most contentious element among the Puritans. (With 5. 12. 28-43, and 6. 1. 7-10, in which passages the Blatant Beast is identified with Envy and Detraction, the latter including Malevolence, and with 6. 5. 12-22, in which the Blatant Beast is identified with Malice, Deceit, and Detraction, compare the author's comment, or literal exposition of Discourtesy, in 6. 7. 1-2.) The Blatant Beast, like Duessa,

could d'on so manie shapes in sight,
As ever could cameleon colours new.

Besides, Spenser more than once shows by the speeches of his characters, combined with the plot, that he is keeping before him Aristotle's ideal of acting toward others as a true friend would act. For example, in 3. 15, Aldine is talking to Sir Calidore, the Knight of Courtesy. The two are strangers, having seen each other but once before. We are told:

In th'end his [Calidore's] kyndly *courtesie* to prove,
He [Aldine] him by all the bands of love besought,
And *as it mote a faithful friend behove*,
To safeconduct his love, and not for ought
To leave, till to her fathers house he had her brought.

. . . Spenser's sixth virtue, Courtesy, is not only treated as a mean, but is exactly Aristotle's mean in regard to Friendliness. As we have already seen, Aristotle makes Friendliness consist in acting as a true friend would act. He makes its extremes Surliness, Contentiousness, Unfriendliness, on the one hand, and Flattery and Obsequiousness, or Complaisance, on the other. His friendly man is pleasant to live with, for he is free from Surliness or Contentiousness; but he will not yield his approval or withhold his condemnation when wrong conduct is under consideration. This is why he is like a true friend. Here we have exactly the character of Spenser's Knight of Courtesy, as is shown, for example, by Spenser's literal exposition of Sir Calidore's Courtesy, in 6. 1. 2-3. It is plain that the Blatant Beast, which Calidore, the Knight of Courtesy, is to bind, is one extreme in regard to Courtesy. Blandina represents the opposite extreme. Calidore is, of course, the mean. Clearly Spenser puts the emphasis on Surliness, Contentiousness. We have already seen that Spenser develops the virtue of Courtesy by showing its opposites and by presenting various phases of the virtue and of its opposites. Further, that Reason is the determiner of the right course in regard to this virtue Spenser repeatedly makes clear. Enias, for example, appeals to Arthur, who here represents Courtesy, to rescue—

Yond Lady and her Squire with foule despight
Abusde, against all *reason* and all law.

Thus I have shown, beyond question, I hope, that Spenser follows Aristotle in essentials.

E. DE SELINCOURT (Oxford one vol. ed., pp. xlix-1). The sixth book, of Courtesy, has for its hero Sir Calidore. He has been enjoined by the Faerie Queene to bind the Blatant Beast, who, as the embodiment of Scandal, is the greatest foe to true Courtesy. In his adventures by the way Sir Calidore has many an opportunity to prove his fitness for the task. Of knightly courage he has the necessary equipment and with ease he vanquishes the merely brutal tyranny of Maleffort and Crudor, and rescues Pastorella from a band of robbers. But the virtue for which he stands appears less in acts of prowess than in his personal demeanour:

For a man by nothing is so well bewrayd,
As by his manners; (6. 3. 1)

and the essence of Courtesy is

to beare themselves aright
To all of each degree, as doth behoue. (6. 2. 1)

Under the insults of Briana he shows a sweet reasonableness, in his victory over Crudor he thinks more of his foe's reformation than of his own triumph, turning his victory to so good account that Briana is "wondrously changed." He encourages young Tristram in the path of knightly honour, and his relations with Sir Calepine and Serena, with Aladine and Priscilla, reveal the true character of a mind that thinks no evil of them, and spares no pains to save them from the wilful misconception of others. In the humbler society of the shepherd world, with its refinement and innocent pleasures, he finds such delight that he wellnigh forgets his quest. The churlishness of Corydon he overcomes as easily as the violence of Crudor: in Meliboe and Colin Clout he sees the reflection of his own ideal. Among

simple folk he becomes himself simple, and, doffing his armour, wins the heart of Pastorella, who

Had euer learn'd to loue the lowly things. (6. 9. 35)

Prince Arthur performs his part in the book by his subjection of Turpine and the defeat of Disdain and Scorn, the sworn allies of the Blatant Beast; and other characters are introduced, in the manner of the third and fourth books, to throw light upon the main theme. The salvage man shows that courtesy, though reaching its perfection in the refinements of social life, is a natural instinct, and not an acquired virtue; Timias and Serena illustrate the harm inflicted by the Blatant Beast on those who too rashly court its attack, Mirabella the bitter punishment of a scornful and discourteous woman. But this book has its own distinctive character. The pastoral world was deeply associated with Spenser's own personal experience; and as he turns to it again, though his story has still the character of naive impossible romance, its setting and its atmosphere grow at once more tender, more natural, more intimate. Sir Calidore is here a welcome guest, but it is the home of Colin Clout; and in a beautiful yet surprising episode Colin is himself introduced piping for the dance of the Graces and his own fair bride, and celebrating her as his ideal of womanly courtesy. The contrast with the relentless conception of justice which precedes it, gives an enhanced beauty to the virtue enshrined in the sixth book.

W. L. RENWICK (*Edmund Spenser*, pp. 159-160). Spenser drives home his lesson by repeated variations, adding additional illustrations by additional characters and episodes. Sir Calidore, to take the simplest instance, represents Courtesy: his principal task is to restrain malice and evil speaking—the "Male-Bouche" of the chivalric allegorists—he also teaches mercy and mildness, championship of woman, tenderness to the sick, politeness to honest inferiors (1. 40 ff.; 2. 14; 2. 47-8; 9. 6-7, 18). Cruelty, haughtiness, inhospitality, treachery, insincerity, are his opposites, though not necessarily his personal opponents in the story (Crudor, Briana, Maleffort, Turpine, Blandina). Tristram and the Hermit show that Courtesy, though rightly "named of court," belongs to "the gentle blood" and not to worldly position; the Savage Man, that goodwill and right instinct are its primary conditions. Incidental illustrations are given in the old knight Aldus, who tempered his grief for his son's wounds

and turned it to cheare,
To cheare his guests, whom he had stayd that night,
And make their welcome to them well appeare: (3. 6)

and in the quaint worldly-wise diplomacy of Calidore's explanation of the lady Priscilla's absence from home (3. 12-19). Courtesy, again, is allied to Justice in Prince Arthur's punishment of Turpine (6. 18—7. 27), its place in the sphere of Love illustrated by the episode of Mirabella (7. 27—8. 30), its interpretation extended by the vision of the Graces and Colin Clout's explanation (10. 21-4). Nor does this very rapid analysis by any means exhaust the complexity of Spenser's conception, which appears often in a phrase or even a pregnant word.

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHERJE (*Studies in Spenser*, pp. 81-93). It is proposed to show by a detailed examination of Book VI of the *Faerie Queene* how far the characteristic marks of the new Italian ideal as set forth in the *Cortegiano* appear

in its champion knight. Some trace of this ideal is also noticeable in the burlesque *Mother Hubberds Tale* where courts and courtiers are subjected to bitter sarcasm.

The *Cortegiano* does not state explicitly that a cultured man, such as it attempts to portray, should be in the service of a Prince. But there are hints and remarks in it which seem to suggest unmistakably that, in Castiglione's opinion, culture can flourish only in royal courts and cultured men are to be found invariably amongst courtiers. He was himself in the service of Guid'Ubaldo di Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino and, after his death, of his heir and successor, Francesco Maria della Rovere, and all the men referred to in the *Lettera Dedicatoria* as worthy of admiration and respect, were courtiers at Urbino. He professed to owe all that was best in him to them and his work was informally dedicated to their revered memory and to that of his former patron Duke Guido. Book I of the *Cortegiano* gives a detailed account of the court of the deceased Duke Guido and of his courtiers. Spenser's opinion of royal courts seems to be similar to Castiglione's and he says expressly that the court affords the most congenial soil for the growth of the virtue of "courtesie" and of good manners.

Of court, it seemes, men courtesie doe call.
For that it there most useth to abound;
And well beseemeth that in Prince's hall
That vertue should be plentifully found,
Which of all goodly manners is the ground,
And roote of civill conversation:

Consistently with this theory, Calidore, the Knight of Courtesie, is put in the court of Gloriana.

There are differences of opinion amongst the authors of the Italian courtesy-books as to the necessity of high ancestry in the case of a courtier. Guazzo (in his *Civile Conversation*) regards it as all-important and complains against the indifference with which it was regarded in his days. Muzio sails in the same boat with Guazzo. Castiglione, however, is not very positive as to its absolute necessity, though he naturally looks upon it as a desirable asset. He, however, presents the cases for and against it with equal emphasis and when Spenser expresses himself in no uncertain terms in its favour, he seems to have been moved by the eloquent and persuasive speech of Conte Ludovico da Canossa and possibly by the arguments of Muzio, Guazzo and others of their way of thinking. The explanation why good birth is necessary in a courtier is found by Castiglione and others chiefly in the law of heredity, *viz.*, that good habits in parents produce in their children a facility for virtuous action. It is also asserted that in the very nature or blood of men nobly descended lies actually the seed of virtue, just as mettle is ingrained in an excellent breed of horses. Spenser almost always [invariably?] connects good and valiant action with noble ancestry. Calidore guesses the parentage of Tristram from his honourable and daring conduct (*viz.*, in killing the discourteous knight) and then dubs him a Squire (2. 24):

He praysd it much, and much admyred it;
That sure he weend him borne of noble blood,
With whom those graces did so goodly fit.

Even the rustic who so faithfully serves Serena is at last discovered to be descended

from noble parents. Castiglione's illustration of a breed of horses is also seized on by Spenser:

—seldome seene a trotting Stalion get
An ambling Colt, that is his proper owne:
So seldome seene that one in basenesse set
Doth noble courage shew with curteous manners met.

Though the Hermit is not a Courtier, his kindness towards Serena and the Squire of Prince Arthur is regarded as the effect of his high ancestry:

well it seem'd that whilome he had beene
Some goodly person, and of gentle race.

Physical beauty is essential in a courtier and Count Ludovico, the first speaker on the virtues of the courtier in Castiglione's work, insists on his having "*bella forma di persona e di volto*." Spenser bestows on Sir Calidore "*comely guize*."

It was, however, far from the intention of Castiglione to encourage vanity and foppishness, the two vices of Italians "*of mode*" which repelled foreigners and, as a matter of fact, created a strong prejudice against them in England. Castiglione rates other qualities higher than personal beauty. Grace of manners, of speech and of movement is of far greater worth, inasmuch as it readily impresses itself upon the minds of others and wins their respect and affection; and the Count is never weary of dilating on the value of this inexplicable accomplishment.

The Count is not content without verifying the truth of his remark by an illustration (1. 14): "*Vedete il signor don Ippolito da Este cardinal di Ferrara, il quale tanto di felicità ha portato dal nascere suo, che la persona, lo aspetto, le parole, e tutti i sui movimenti sono talmente di questa grazia composti ed accomodati, che tra i più antichi prelati avvenga che sia giovane, rappresenta una tanto grave autorità, che più presto pare atto ad insegnare, che bisognoso d'imparare; medesimamente, nel conversare con omini e con donne d'ogni qualità, nel giocare, nel ridere e nel motteggiare tiene una certa dolcezza e così graziosi costumi, che forza è che ciascun che gli parla o pur lo vede gli resti perpetuamente affezionato.*"

Spenser's portrayal of Calidore follows strictly the lines laid down in this extract. Referring to the Knights who adorned the Court of Gloriana, the poet says,

mongst them all was none more courteous Knight
Then Calidore, beloved over-all,
In whom, it seemes, that gentlenesse of spright
And manners mylde were planted naturall;
To which he adding comely guize withall
And gracious speach, did steale mens hearts away.

This grace which opens the doorway to every heart cannot, according to Castiglione, be acquired through human effort. It is the gift of Fortune, the supreme dispenser of all good; it is through her favour that some persons are endowed from their very birth with an attractiveness of speech, action and movement. This is admitted by the two antagonistic speakers, Count Ludovico and Gaspar Pallavicino (1. 15).

In Spenser's champion knight "*manners mylde were planted naturall*." Nature's influence is further recognised in canto 2 of Bk. VI where Spenser notes,

in the manner of the two above-mentioned speakers, the vain attempts made by unfortunate people to make up their congenital defects:

great helpe dame Nature selfe doth lend;
For some so goodly gracious are by kind,
That every action doth them much commend,
And in the eyes of men great liking find,
Which others that have greater skill in mind;
Though they enforce themselves, cannot attaine.

In Bk. VI Calidore, though represented as beautiful, does not appear to be invertebrate or wanting in backbone and grit. Though he "stole men's hearts away,"

Nathlesse thereto he was full stout and tall.

Tristram who was made a squire by Calidore was "a tall young man," very different from the delicate courtier who is afraid to go out in the sun.

It is not enough that a courtier should not be delicate and effeminate: it is indispensable that he should be fully qualified to bear arms and to enter the thickest of the fray. The importance attached to martial attributes was, of course, due to the lingering influence of chivalry. It should be noted that the advance of civilization had not quelled in the Italians the fire and ardour of their forefathers. "Ma per venire a qualche particolarità, estimo che la principale e vera profession del cortegiano debba esser quella dell' arme." In the *Faerie Queene*, Calidore's skill in arms is especially mentioned. He was

well approv'd in batteilous affray,
That him did much renowne, and far his fame display.

When he is first presented to the reader,

he was in travell on his way,
Uppon an hard adventure sore bestad.

Young Tristram is seen

Fighting on foot, . . .
Against an armed knight that did on horseback ryde.

Calidore's martial qualities and prowess are again emphasised when they are set in relief against the helplessness and pusillanimity of the shepherd Coridon, his rival for the hand of the fair Pastorella. When the tiger darted against her in the forest, Coridon, ignorant as he was of the use of arms, thought it most prudent to save his own life first, while Calidore, though he had no weapon except a shepherd's hook, came forward bravely and saved the life of the girl (10. 36). Again, Coridon fled from the island of the robbers, leaving his beloved to her fate, whereas Calidore openly met the brigands and fought with them for her rescue (11).

Besides having skill in the use of arms, Castiglione's courtier was expected to be proficient in various other physical exercises, *e. g.*, riding, running, jumping, swimming, wrestling, etc. (1. 21). About wrestling the author of the *Cortegiano* says, "Estimo ancora, che sia di momento assai il saper lottare, perché questo accompagna molto tutte l'arme da piedi. Appresso, bisogna che e per sé e per gli

amici intenda le querele e differenze che possono occorrere, e sia advertito nei vantaggi, in tutto mostrando sempre ed animo e prudenza." Calidore's skill in wrestling is shown in the crushing defeat he inflicted on Coridon who, as a rustic shepherd, was supposed by all to be an adept in the art and was fondly expected by his friends to get the better of a fine gentleman like his opponent. The knight's skill in riding and running need not be pointed out. He followed the Blatant Beast over mountain and valley and through a thousand places, without a moment's rest, till

Him in a narrow place he overtooke.

In *Mother Hubberds Tale* also the qualifications of the good or ideal courtier include proficiency in arms, riding, running, wrestling, etc. . . .

Though far above the common run of men in accomplishments and culture, the "Cortegiano" was not required to remain in lordly seclusion and at a respectable distance from them. On the contrary, it was expected that he should mix with them freely and also take part in their recreations and amusements like balls, dances and pastime in the open air. "Voglio che'l Cortegiano descenda qualche volta a piú riposati e placidi esercizi, e per *schivar la invidia e per intertenersi piacevolmente con ognuno*, faccia tutto quello che gli altri fanno, non s'allontanando però mai dai laudevoli atti, e governandosi con quel buon giudicio che non lo lasci incorrere in alcuna sciocchezza; ma *rida, scherzi, motteggi, balli e danzi*, nientedimeno con tal maniera, che sempre mostri esser ingenioso e discreto, ed in ogni cosa che faccia o dica sia aggraziato" (1. 22). While pursuing the Blatant Beast, Calidore met a merry group of rustics who offered him their homely food and drink.

The knight was nothing nice, where was no need,
And tooke their gentle offer:

and enjoyed with them the festivities that were held in honour of Pastorella's beauty. A few days later, when the Knight had settled temporarily amongst the shepherds, he was asked to "lead the ring" with the fair shepherdess. The Ape in *Mother Hubberds Tale* passes himself off as a courtier and the accomplishments Spenser bestows on him are also derived from the *Cortegiano*.

For he could play, and daunce, and vaute, and spring,
And all that els pertaines to reveling.

One of the questions discussed by Castiglione towards the end of his treatise, is whether a courtier should be a lover. Bembo answers the question in the affirmative, but says that the courtier's love must be different in kind from the commonplace passion which bears that name. The courtier is the real lover in the true sense of the word; but he does not enjoy the beauty of his beloved through his sense of touch or his palate, but only through his eyes and ears. "Cosí come udir non si pò col palato, nè odorar con l'orecchie, non si pò ancor in modo alcuno fruir la bellezza nè satisfar al desiderio ch'ella èccita negli animi nostri col tatto, ma con quel senso del qual essa bellezza è vero obietto, che è la virtù visiva. Rimovasi adunque del cieco giudicio del senso, e *gòdasi con gli occhi quel splendore, quella grazia, quelle faville amorose, i risi, i modi e tutti gli altri piacevoli ornamenti della bellezza; medesimamente con l'audito la soavità della voce, il*

concento delle parole, l'armonia della musica" (4. 62). Sir Calidore was content merely to have a sight of Pastorella now and then and to hear the music of her voice. True love, according to Castiglione, gives peace and repose and is a stranger to the pangs of jealousy. "Dal possedere il ben desiderato nasce sempre quiete e soddisfazione nell'animo del possessore, se quello fosse il vero e bon fine del loro desiderio, possedendolo restariano quieti e soddisfatti." Again, "Sarà il nostro Cortegiano non giovane fuor di tutte le amaritudini e calamità che senton quasi sempre i giovani, come le gelosie, i sospetti, li sdegni, l'ire, le disperazioni, e certi furor pieni di rabbia dai quali spesso son indotti a tanto errore, che alcuni non solamente batton quelle donne che amano, ma lévano la vita a sè stessi" (4. 66). It was Coridon who put on a frowning appearance at the sight of Calidore whom, as a rival lover, he looked upon as his mortal foe. But Calidore suffered no sting of jealousy and allowed Coridon to be Pastorella's partner in the dance. Love had given Calidore contentment, his ambition and vanity had disappeared, his soul was suffused with a new light and filled with a new treasure. Hence he could say to old Meliboe [9. 31]:

Give leave awhile, good father, in this shore
To rest my barcke, which hath bene beaten late
With stormes of fortune and tempestuous fate
In seas of troubles and of toylesome paine.

H. S. V. JONES (*A Spenser Handbook*, pp. 278-293). In the matter of structure Book VI has its points of likeness with those already criticized. For example, as often before, a transition from the preceding book is made by bringing the respective protagonists together in the opening canto. Here, in Calidore's conversation with Arthegall, the main objective of the action is, according to Spenser's original plan, brought clearly before us:

The Blattant Beast, quoth he, I doe pursew,
And through the world incessantly doe chase,
Till I him overtake, or else subdew:
Yet know I not or how or in what place
To find him out, yet still I forward trace.

There is, too, a rescue by Arthur in the eighth canto; it is not, however, the hero who is there saved, but the persons of a minor episode—Timias and Mirabella.

Less in accordance with the original plan is the relation of the hero to the plot. In this respect we may compare the sixth book with the third. During about half of the action the principal character is, in each case, off the stage. . . .

Looking broadly at the narrative of Book VI, we may note that it falls into three main parts. The first, extending to the 27th stanza of the third canto, presents Sir Calidore as the champion knight of courtesy; the second, reaching from this point to the ninth canto, replaces him in this rôle with Arthur and Timias; and the third, bringing the book to an end, restores him to his place as the chief character in the action.

The "Legend of Sir Calidore" opens with *exempla* of discourtesy and courtesy, illustrating in Briana the discourtesy of women and in Crudor that of men. The contrast here between the virtue and the vice gains point by placing Sir Calidore and the discourteous knight of the Sir Tristram episode in similar situations; for

in each case the knight comes unexpectedly upon a couple in a "covert shade" (2. 16 and 3. 21). . . .

The Calepine-Serena episode here introduced constitutes the main interest of the second part of the book. Once again, the discourtesy of both women and men is illustrated in the persons of Mirabella and Turpine. To match Calidore's hurried exit from the story in pursuit of the Blatant Beast is Calepine's equally impetuous departure in pursuit of a bear that is carrying off a child; and then, taking her turn, Serena, having seen Timias overcome, "fled away with all the speed she mought." Further use of similarity and contrast appears in setting the savage who befriends Calepine and Serena over against the hostile savages who in canto 8 take Serena captive. The gentle savage, be it noted, illustrates no democratic or equalitarian faith on Spenser's part; but, on the contrary, the conviction maintained throughout the book that blood will tell (5. 1-2).

In its progress from the first adventures of Calepine and Serena to their reunion in canto 7 the story of this second part, through the separation of its characters, radiates in a fan-like structure along several lines of interest. Out of the Calepine-bear episode grows the Matilda-Bruin story. Then the savage man, Serena, Arthur, and Timias, first grouped together at the hermitage, pair off, the Serena-Timias adventures leading first to the Mirabella story; then, in turn, Serena, separated from Timias, has her experiences with the savages. In the meanwhile, Arthur and the savage man develop the Turpine story. With the close of this well-defined section Arthur and Timias and Calepine and Serena are once again united.

The last main division of the "Legend of Courtesy" occupies a third of the book. The Blatant Beast, who has had his place in the Calepine-Serena story, plays here no part in the episode of Pastorella; and it is not until the final canto is well advanced that Calidore returns to the quest. Unwilling to repeat in the case of Pastorella the story of Serena's capture, Spenser characteristically repeats another motif which he had employed in the previous section. The gentle blood of Pastorella like that of the "salvage man" declares itself through all misfortunes; and as in the other case savages who were really savages served as a foil, here, too, we have in Coridon the rustic who is truly the rustic. Beyond this we may compare Pastorella's restoration to her parents with the bringing of Aladine and Priscilla home in the Tristram story of Part I. Further, the capture of Serena by the savages may be compared with the capture of Pastorella by the Brigands. There is, indeed, throughout the book enough of parallelism and contrast to show that Spenser has once more employed a favorite method of unifying his story.

In his treatment of the ethical allegory of Book VI Spenser was at the disadvantage of having anticipated his subject. Indeed, since the declared purpose of the *Faerie Queene* was to "fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline," courtesy, it should be evident, was the subject of the whole work; so that at almost every turn in the preceding books the poem had offered some illustration of a virtue that was really its central theme. Particularly, as has been explained above, was temperance shown to be salient to [?] the manners of a true gentleman. What remained for the poet was to exhibit in his allegory certain articles in that familiar creed of courtesy which had been stated and expounded in many doctrinal treatises of the Renaissance, and to oppose to the ideal of the gentleman the forces which were hostile to its realization.

It is impossible to find among the private moral virtues "as Aristotle hath

devised" one that at all closely corresponds to courtesy. Nevertheless, one may compare the Aristotelian gentleness or good temper, a virtue opposed not only to irascibility but to sullenness and sternness as well. "A good-tempered person," says Aristotle, "is in effect one who will be cool and not carried away by his emotion but will wax wroth in such a manner, on such occasions, and for so long a time, as reason may prescribe. But it seems that he will err rather on the side of deficiency; for a good tempered or gentle person is inclined to forgiveness rather than to revenge" (4. 2). The spirit of forgiveness here illustrated in the good-tempered man animates the conduct of Calidore after his defeat of Crudor in canto 1. In lines worthy of quotation he states his principles clearly:

In vaine he seeketh others to suppress,
Who hath not learnd him selfe first to subdew.

And further,

Who will not mercie unto others shew,
How can he mercy ever hope to have?

Again, Aristotle in 4. 12 describes a virtue for which he can find no name but which is comparable to that for which Sir Calidore stands. It is a mean between obsequiousness and surliness. A person having this virtue will not seek to be merely complaisant, and he will avoid being either a flatterer or a contentious person. The virtue thus described "most nearly resembles friendliness," but "it differs from friendliness in being destitute of emotion or affection for the people with whom one associates, as it is not friendship or hatred that makes such a person assent to things in a right spirit but his own character. For he will so act alike to strangers and acquaintances, and to persons with whom he is or is not intimate; only in each case his action will be suitable; for it is not natural to pay the same regard to strangers as to intimate friends, or to be equally scrupulous about causing them pain." Speaking in general terms, Aristotle declares that "such a person will associate with other people in a right spirit." Further, "he will never lose sight of what is noble and expedient. For it seems that he has to do with such pleasures and pains as occur in human society." Again, this man "will not associate in the same spirit with people of high position and with ordinary people, or with people whom he knows well and whom he knows only slightly, and so on as other differences may occur; but he will render to each class its proper due." One is reminded of the opening stanza of canto 2. [Quoted.]

Thirdly, in Aristotle's virtue of truthfulness (4. 13) one may note an element of courtesy. The truthful man he here opposes to the pretentious or the boastful. On the other hand, those who depreciate themselves and whom he calls ironical people "show a more refined character, for it seems that their object is not to make gain but to avoid pomposity."

Finally, among the mean states which "are all concerned with the association of people in certain words and deeds," are those concerned with amusements. One who regards "a manner of intercourse which is in good taste" and who accordingly remembers that "there are right things to say and a right way of saying them," will avoid buffoonery and boorishness. To the mean state in respect of fun Aristotle gives the name tact, and he describes the person of tact as "one who will use and listen to such language only as is suitable to an honorable gentleman; for there is such language as an honorable gentleman may fitly use and

listen to in the way of fun, and the fun of a gentleman is different from that of a slavish person, and again, the fun of a cultivated person from that of one who is uncultivated" (4. 14). All of this goes to make what Aristotle calls "the moral state of the refined gentleman."

Turning from Aristotle to Cicero, we may compare the latter's concept of "honestas" with Spenser's virtue of courtesy. Honesty, like courtesy, is comprehensive enough to include all that becomes a gentleman; the cardinal virtues—i. e., prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance—being the four elements into which it may be divided. Considering "the excellence of the nature of man," Cicero wrote in the fourth chapter of the first book of the *Offices*: "It is another, and that too no mean prerogative of our reasonable nature, that man alone can discern all the beauties of order and decency, and knows how to govern his words and actions in conformity to them. It is he alone that, of all the creatures, observes and is pleased with the beauty, gracefulness, and symmetry of parts in the objects of sense; which nature and reason observing in them, from thence take occasion to apply the same also to those of the mind; and to conclude that beauty, consistency, and regularity, should be much more kept up in our words and actions; and therefore command us, that nothing be done that is effeminate or unbecoming; and that so strict a guard be kept over every thought and action, as that no indecency be either conceived or practised by us."

However interesting may be these parallels from classical philosophy, we shall have to seek elsewhere the source of Spenser's ideal of courtesy. Strictly speaking, this derives from a well-defined literary tradition which is concerned with the theory and practice of nobility. On the one hand, it looks back to the mediæval knight, and, on the other, it looks forward to the cavalier of the seventeenth century. Besides draughting a code of manners and outlining a course of education, the books of the gentleman often theorized on such subjects as the origin and the essence of true nobility. In part, the doctrine on this subject, as expounded in the manuals of the Renaissance, had been for centuries a commonplace of the poets. Already in the *Romance of the Rose* (cir. 1275) Jean Clopinel had written (section 99):

An upright heart
Doth true nobility impart,
But mere nobility of birth
I reckon as of little worth.
The nobleman who lives to-day
Before his fellows should display
Those qualities which his forbears
Won bright renown in former years.

Expressing himself in a similar vein, Chaucer wrote in the *Balade of Gentillesse*:

The firste stocke, fader of gentillesse,
What man desireth gentil for to be
Must folowe his trace, and alle his wittes dresse
Vertu to love, and vycies for to flee;
For unto vertu longeth dignite,
And nought the reverse, savely dar I deme,
Al were he miter, croune, or dyademe.

This traditional view once more finds expression in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, 1113 ff. It was voiced also after Chaucer by the Scottish poets, Gawain Douglas and Henryson.

Now, though Spenser transmits this democratic doctrine, he cannot be said to emphasize it in the sixth book of the *Faerie Queene*. The aristocratic idea, in which he is there more interested, is that blood in spite of everything will tell. However, in the fourth stanza of the prologue to the Legend of Courtesy he wrote that comely courtesy

though it on a lowly stalke doe bowre,
Yet brancheth forth in brave nobilitie,
And spreads it selfe through all civilitie.

And, then, the poet draws a contrast between the true courtesy of "plaine antiquitie" and the "fayned shoves" of the "present age," reminding us of those old men mentioned in Castiglione's *Cortegiano* who "praise the Courts of time past because there were not in them so vicious men as some that are in ours." [Stanza 5 quoted.] With these lines we should compare the stanza in the *Teares of the Muses* in which Clio, speaking of the "mightie peeres," complains:

But they doo onely strive themselves to raise
Through pompous pride, and foolish vanitie;
In th'eyes of people they put all their praise,
And onely boast of armes and auncestrie:
But vertuous deeds, which did those arms first give
To their grandsyres, they care not to atchive.

One should further recall for their connection with the subject of Book VI the justly celebrated description of the perfect courtier in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* 717 ff., and the account of the short-comings of the court in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* 680 ff.

There is no difficulty in finding parallels to the views of the poets in the many books of the gentleman produced within the period of the Renaissance. The English books of this class derive most of their ideas, even when they do not translate their texts, from Italian originals. Examples are Elyot's *Governour* (1531), the anonymous *Institucion of a Gentleman* (1555), Lawrence Humphrey's *The Nobles, or of Nobility* (1563), William Segar's *The Booke of Honor and Armes* (1590), the same author's *Honor Military & Civil* (1602) and Peacham's *Complete Gentleman* (1634). Of these the *Institucion of a Gentleman*, while sharing with the other manuals the debt to Italian sources, reveals such a vein of English sympathy as gives a special character to Ascham's *Schoolmaster*. For example, in reviewing the familiar doctrine of the gentleman it quotes with approval Chaucer's *Gentillesse*, and later on in recommending archery on patriotic grounds it invokes the authority of Ascham. Quite in harmony with the ideas of Chaucer's *Balade* is the following passage from the *Institucion*: "No other thing old knighthood had wont to bee then a degree geven unto a soldier for his worthines in the warres above others. Therefore no man ought to contempne or dispyse that man whom virtue hath set up more higher than his parents were before him. . . . Not by lineage made noble but by his own knowledge, labour, and industry becometh gentle, where unto Tully consenteth and saith non domo dominus, sed domino domus honestanda est." Elyot, too, in the fourth chapter of the second book of

the *Governour*, contended that, as in the case of money, "it appeareth that the estimation is in the metal, and not in the print or figure"; and that "nobility is not after the vulgar opinion of men, but is only the praise and surname of virtue." Similarly, Roger Ascham wrote in the first book of the *Schoolmaster*: "nobility without virtue and wisdom, is blood indeed, but blood truly without bones and sinews."

While recognizing the importance of virtue as the true foundation of nobility, the courtesy books are traditionally in favor of the view that gentle birth and nobility of character together create the most favorable conditions. For example, the author of the *Institucion*, writing of those whom he calls *gentle gentle*, declares that "such noblemen deserve to be called not only Gentle Gentle, but also they shall be esteemed xv fold Gentle, as men in whom we may discern the perfect shape of nobility"; and Elyot, in the chapter cited above, says: "the longer it continueth in a name or lineage, the more is nobility extolled and marveled at." To the same purpose writes Ascham: "nobility, governed by learning and wisdom, is indeed most like a fair ship, having tide and wind at will, under the rule of a skilful master." In accord with this widespread doctrine is Spenser's opinion that, although courtesy may flourish on a lowly stalk, it is principally the ornament of the nobly born. However, in utilizing a familiar idea of folk-tale and romance he has carried the aristocratic contention to the point of maintaining that blood in all circumstances will tell. This is the view that we find illustrated in the episode of Serena and the Salvage Man.

The ground of true nobility is, of course, only one topic in the courtesy books. The outline of the *Institucion* may be regarded as typical: "Herein is declared who is gentle and who is ungentle: what offices, conditions, qualities and manners ought to be in a gentleman, and how he should differ from other sorts of men, as well in conditions and behavior as also in apparel, and ornaments to his body belonging, not leaving unrehearsed what games and pastimes be fit for a gentleman and how they ought to be used. Finally of honor and worship therein is somewhat rehearsed of which no man is worthy but he that by his deeds deserveth the same."

Our best source of knowledge for "the courtier's, soldier's, scholar's eye, tongue, sword" is certainly Baldassare Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano*. . . . From these conversations may be gathered the requirements of the true courtier. We learn among other things that he should have by nature "not only a wit, and a comely shape of person and countenance, but also a certain grace and (as they say) an air that shall make him at the first sight acceptable and loving unto who so beholdeth him." Like Spenser's knight, the "principal and true profession" of Castiglione's courtier is in "feates of arms." In the pursuit of this calling "he should be known among other of his hardines, for his achieving of enterprises, and for his fidelity toward him whom he serveth. And he shall purchase himself a name with these good conditions, in doing the deeds in every time and place, for it is not for him to faint at any time in this behalf without a wondrous reproach." However, that peace has its virtues as well as war neither Castiglione nor Spenser has forgotten. "Whereas in war," says Castiglione, "the courtier should be fierce, bitter, and evermore with the first," he should be everywhere else, like Sir Calidore among the shepherds, "lowly, sober, and circumspect, fleeing above all things bragging and unshameful praising himself." It is further recom-

mended that he should have skill in wrestling, horsemanship, and hunting. The general goodness of the courtier should be set off by some knowledge of letters, music, and painting.

These refinements of the courtly ideal that should accompany its moral probity and its knightly prowess, Spenser has pointedly symbolized in his description of the dance of the nymphs and graces about Colin's love, while the poet shepherd plays upon his pipe. After the dancers have vanished upon Calidore's approach, Colin himself furnishes the best commentary on the passage. [10. 23 quoted.]

To this general correspondence between Castiglione and Spenser we may now add a few particulars. In his many conflicts Sir Calidore of course fully and obviously illustrates the virtues of the knight in action. Quite as well does the Meliboe episode furnish illustration of the "lowly, sober, and circumspect" character of the courtier and knight in retirement. One should note not only the speech of Meliboe on the familiar theme of the tried estate, with its suggestions of the type of the country gentleman, who was already recognized in the books of courtesy, but more particularly the behavior of Sir Calidore among the rustics. In the words of Castiglione his "lowliness is much to be commended," seeing that he is "a gentleman of prowess and well seen in arms." During his sojourn with Meliboe he has a chance to prove his skill in wrestling and hunting, activities which are both recommended for the gentleman by Castiglione. A passage in the conversation of the second book bears more directly upon Calidore's wrestling bout with Coridon. Sir Frederick remarks that the courtier "ought to have a great consideration in presence of whom he sheweth himself, and who be his better matches. For it were not meet that a gentleman should be present in person and a doer in such a matter in the country, where the lookers on and the doers were of a base sort." In opposing this opinion the Lord Gasper Pallavicin cites the more democratic practice of Lombardy; there, he says, "you shall see the young gentleman upon the holidays come dance all the day long in the sun with them of the country, and pass the time with them in casting the bar, in wrestling, running and leaping. And I believe it is not ill done. For no comparison is there made of nobleness of birth, but of force and slight, in which things many times the men of the country are not a whit inferior to gentlemen, and it seemeth this familiar conversation containeth in it a certain lovely freeness." Sir Frederick cannot approve "this dancing in the sun," but he goes on to say, "who so will wrestle, run, and leap with men of the country, ought (in my judgment) to do it after a sort: to prove himself and (as they are wont to say) for courtesy, not to try mastery with them: and a man ought (in a manner) to be assured to get the upper hand, else let him not meddle withal, for it is too ill a sight and too foul a matter and without estimation, to see a gentleman overcome by a carter and especially in wrestling." Calidore might so far have satisfied Sir Frederick that he accepted the challenge of Coridon in the assurance of victory and in the belief that

courtesie among the rudest breeds
Good will and favour.

Then, Calidore's unselfishness and good humor are contrasted throughout with Coridon's envious and surly disposition. The courtier, says Castiglione, should be "no envious person, no carrier of an evil tongue in his head: nor at any time

given to seek preferment or promotion any naughty way, nor by the meane of any subtil practise." In canto 9, stanza 39, Spenser points the contrast between the courteous Calidore and the rude Coridon. [Quoted.] Evidently, too, Sir Calidore, though, in the words of Castiglione, "he perceived himself excellent and far above others, yet showed that he esteemed not himself for such a one." Witness his generosity (stanza 42) in transferring to Coridon's head the flowery garland with which Pastorella had crowned him.

A. C. JUDSON ("Spenser's Theory of Courtesy," pp. 122-136; abstracted) reexamines Book VI in the light of the Italian and English courtesy books, treating the subject more in detail than Jones had done. On one point only does he take issue with Jones, the question of Spenser's recognition of the democratic theory that virtuous conduct rather than gentle blood makes a man noble. His comment is as follows: "That in Book VI Spenser transmits this democratic doctrine, or indeed that he anywhere shows real concern over the question as to what nobility is, appears to me very doubtful. He does, to be sure, refer to Chaucer's famous dicta on 'gentillesse,' but the ideas of the two poets are quite at variance. Chaucer states the democratic theory that a gentleman is one who does gentle deeds; Spenser, the aristocratic theory that the doing of gentle deeds indicates gentle blood. Spenser is certainly twisting Chaucer's meaning to suit his own purpose. Courteous manners and courage, Spenser tells us, are seldom seen in one of low birth, but are the natural product of gentle or noble blood. Several of the chief exponents of courtesy in Book VI who at first appear to refute this theory really prove it. Tristram turns out to be a king's son; the savage man 'was borne of noble blood'; the hermit 'had bene a man of mickle name'; and the lovely shepherdess Pastorella proves to be a nobleman's daughter. Conversely, Mirabella, the cruel flirt, though 'lifted up to honorable place,' is 'of meane parentage and kindred base,' and Turpine is 'basely borne.'

"Besides the reference to Chaucer's remarks on 'gentillesse,' there are a few lines of the Proem which Professor Jones interprets as an expression by Spenser of the idea that courtesy may flourish among the lowly. Spenser says that in all the garden of virtues there

growes not a fayrer flowre
Then is the bloosme of comely Courtesie,
Which, though it on a lowly stalke doe bowre,
Yet brancheth forth in brave nobilitie,
And spreads it selfe through all civilitie.

I think Spenser means to say here that no virtue is more winsome than courtesy, and that, though it is a modest flower in the garden of the virtues, it spreads itself very widely through the world. He is, I believe, arguing that courtesy deserves a place beside the great virtues, such as holiness, temperance, and justice, which he has already treated."

Several points are discussed that Mr. Jones had omitted. One has to do with the legitimacy of lying to serve a worthy end. "Although Sir Calidore loathes lies, and loves 'simple truth and stedfast honesty,' it is of interest that he tells a lie to shield Priscilla's good name (3. 18). Also the courteous knight Enias lies to Turpine (7. 16), and the magnificent Arthur falsifies with somewhat less excuse (6. 20). [See 4. 38. 3-9 and note.] Evidently, in Spenser's opinion, occasions

may demand a lie on the part of the most high-minded and honorable men. This seems also to be the view of Guazzo (*La Civile Conversatione* 1. 97), who causes the wise Anniball to say: 'I denie not, but that it is commendable to coyne a lye at some time, and in some place, so that it tend to some honest ende.' "

Another point which Judson introduces is Spenser's attitude toward the observing of social distinctions. Simon Robson (*The Coorte of Ciuill Courtesie*), Guazzo, and the anonymous *Institution of a Gentleman* all emphasize the importance of these fine distinctions. " Says Guazzo (1. 168):

But to reape the right fruite of conversation, whiche consisteth chiefly in the good will of others, it is necessary, that wee knowe and learne not onely what belongeth to our selves, but also howe to behaue our selves towardes others, according to the difference of their estates, for that it is our hap to come in companie, sometime with the young, sometime with the olde, assoone with Gentlemen, assoone with the baser sorte, nowe and then with Princes, nowe and then with private persons, one while with the learned, another while with the ignorant, nowe with our owne Countriemen, then with strangers, nowe with the religious, then with the secular, nowe with men, then with women.

Anniball, who is speaking, then goes into detail, pointing out that young men should talk little and honor their elders, old men should talk gravely and wisely and not condemn the young, and so on. Likewise the author of *The Institution of a Gentleman* remarks (A8^r): 'It behoueth . . . a gentle man to haue in hym courtlye behauoure, to knowe howe to treate and interteyne men of all degrees, and not to be ignoraunt howe he hymselfe ought to be vsed of others.' He later gives an example of what he means by describing gentlemen who fail to exact a properly decorous attitude from their servants."

" Spenser several times in *The Faerie Queene* gives explicit restatement to this definition of courtesy, as the following passages show [4. 3. 2; 4. 10. 51; 6. 2. 1 quoted]. . . . In 6. 10. 23, Spenser declares that the Three Graces teach us

all the complements of curtesie:
They teach us, how to each degree and kynde
We should our selves demeane, to low, to hie,
To friends, to foes; which skill men call civility.

Thus Spenser is at pains to define courtesy. But it is of interest that he does not so illustrate it in his poem. In fact, his knight of courtesy seems to avoid distinctions between high and low, maintaining his customary bearing 'Even unto the lowest and the least.' One must conclude that to Spenser, in spite of his repetition of a conventional definition of courtesy, the observing of fine social distinctions did not really seem of great importance compared to certain other aspects of courtesy."

Special attention is given to Spenser's abhorrence of slander. " Of all expressions of discourtesy, slander seems to be most repugnant to Spenser. Never for long are we allowed to forget that Calidore's mission is the capture of the Blatant Beast. The evil character of this monster is stressed in many ways. He is the offspring, we are told, of Cerberus and Chimaera (1. 8), or, according to the hermit, of Typhaon and Echidna (6. 11). His thousand tongues are devoted to spite and malice (1. 9). His impure teeth produce a corrupting, hidden wound that results in 'hellish pain' and is far worse than any ordinary bodily wound

(6. 1). Though perhaps he is most at home in the court, he goes everywhere
 (9. 3). Chained for a season by Calidore, he finally escapes and rages more than
 ever,

Ne spareth he most learned wits to rate,
 Ne spareth he the gentle poets rime,
 But rends without regard of person or of time. (12. 40)

The proper attitude toward slander is described carefully by Spenser. One who is blameless can afford to be indifferent, as indeed both Artegall (1. 9) and Calidore (3. 16) are. But he who by a misstep has invited slander can win back peace and happiness only by living a pure, well-disciplined, open life. So the kindly hermit tells Serena and Timias; and they by following his advice are quickly cured (6. 15).

"In none of the books on the gentleman do I find slander so bitterly attacked as by Spenser. Castiglione, of course, disapproves of it, but apparently does not consider it a paramount expression of discourtesy; Elyot, who devotes a short chapter to it, calls it 'a vice very ugly and monstrouse'; and Della Casa condemns it. The treatment which most nearly approaches Spenser's is that of Guazzo, who has a vigorous ten-page denunciation of it (1. 74 ff.). 'That fault,' says Guazzo, 'is at this day common throughout the worlde, and therefore wee must spite of our teeth beare with ill tongues, which swarme in greater number then Bees doe in July.' Anniball, who is conversing with Guazzo, finds it difficult to decide which is worse, to listen to an evil speaker or to speak ill of others. 'And as it is well done to beare no part in the yll report of others, so is it a deede deserving commendation, to make no account of the slaunders which others rayse of us.' Later he says: 'I never yet hitherunto knewe man so good and vertuous, which hath not been subject to the malice and slaunders of some one.' Though Guazzo is fiercely opposed to slander, his anger blazes against it less fiercely than does Spenser's."

The concluding section of the paper considers Spenser's insistence upon courtesy as an ethical rather than a social attribute.

"Of the various views about courtesy which an analysis of Book VI reveals, one that I have not yet mentioned seems to me more important than any of those thus far discussed; namely, that true courtesy is fundamentally a matter of the heart rather than of manners. 'Plaine antiquitie,' Spenser says in the Proem to Book VI, could show a far more excellent courtesy than the gay and colorful life of his day. Courtesy is a virtue, and therefore its seat is 'deepe within the mynd, And not in outward shows.' It is, of course, the ground 'of all goodly manners,' the 'roote of civill conversation,' but tact, kindness, generosity, and consideration for the weak and suffering are the fruits of courtesy presented in this book rather than the social accomplishments or the graces of deportment of the well-bred.

"Since true courtesy is a matter of the heart, it is often found far from princes' courts. Tristram of Lionesse, reared in a forest as a hunter, conceals under his Lincoln-green jacket a most chivalrous heart. So, too, does the savage man who befriends Calepine and Serena. He is full of natural goodness and pity, and, great inarticulate creature that he is, plays the part of a gracious and considerate host in his remote forest home. Finally, Calidore's life with Meliboe enforces the idea that the truest courtesy may be found in 'little cots, where shepherds lie.'

(It is not, however, Coridon, the typical shepherd, who reveals true courtesy, but rather Meliboe, who had labored for ten years in the prince's garden.)

"It is indeed significant that in the entire book of courtesy we are never conducted to court, never treated in fact to more than a few passing references to that schoolmistress of courtesy. To be sure, Elizabeth is mentioned in the Proem as the most perfect pattern of courtesy, and the statement is twice made that her court excels in courtesy, but the effect of these statements is largely annulled by later references to the court. For instance, the frank and simple hospitality of the hermit of canto 5 is contrasted with 'forged shoves' suitable for 'courting fooles, that curtesies would faine.' Again, Meliboe tells of his experiences at court, where he beheld undreamed of vanities, which he was glad to exchange for the 'sweet peace' and 'lowly quiet life' of the country. And Calidore is not to be blamed for tarrying with the shepherds instead of returning to court.

For who had tasted once (as oft did he)
The happy peace which there doth overflow,
And prov'd the perfect pleasures which doe grow
Amongst poore hyndes, in hils, in woods, in dales,
Would never more delight in painted show
Of such false blisse, as there is set for stales,
T' entrap unwary fooles in their eternall bales. (10. 3)

No, one must conclude that the ceremonial behavior and the manners of Elizabeth's court, with which Spenser had had a very good first-hand acquaintance, did not constitute what he thought of as the finest expression of courtesy, not at least after his sojourn at court in 1590. Before that visit he could write with reference to Belphebe:

Well may I weene, faire ladies, all this while
Ye wonder how this noble damozell
So great perfections did in her compile,
Sith that in salvage forests she did dwell,
So farre from court and royall citadell,
The great schoolmaistresse of all courtesy;
Seemeth that such wilde woodes should far expell
All civile usage and gentility,
And gentle sprite deforme with rude rusticity. (3. 6. 1)

(*Colin Clouts* 651-786 proves that experience rather than literary traditions or current criticism dictated, in the main, Spenser's views on court and country.) But by 1596 he realized that the 'wilde woodes' did not necessarily expel what he had come to feel was the truest courtesy.

"Sham courtesy was sometimes treated in the books of the gentleman much as Spenser treats it. Ascham's strictures are perhaps too well known to require comment here. Cleland [*ΠΡΩΤΑΙΑΔΕΙΑ*, p. 34] recommends that a young noble visit the court and adapt himself to its customs, and indeed he considers the court to be 'the best Vniversity for a young Noble man'; and yet he obviously has little patience with its insincere customs and ceremonies. . . .

"In his tendency to treat courtesy as essentially a matter of the heart, Spenser seems to me to diverge most strikingly from most of his contemporaries who wrote on courtesy. The courteous actions of Calidore, of Tristram, of the savage man, of

the hermit, and of the other exponents of courtesy are as a rule prompted by no thought of gain but rather by an essential warm-heartedness and benevolence. To modern readers there may appear to be nothing extraordinary about such a conception of courtesy, but an examination of the books we have been considering shows that Spenser's position is unusual. Most of the writers about the gentleman appear to assume that expediency is the proper motive of courtesy. Nenna writes thus (tr. by Jones, 1595, p. 87^r):

Let him yet bee respectiue, reuerent, gentle, and courteous, for by that meanes hee shall become pleasing, and amiable to all men, and the brightnesse of his nobility shall thereby shine and increase much more. Let him seeke to please others in all lawfull matters, wherein a generall good will may be gotten. Let him doe his indeuour to spread abroade a good reputation of himselfe, and to imprint a good opinion of himselfe in the mindes of men. . . . Let him not be ambitious, proud, arrogant, high minded, nor discourteous, because that such kinde of behaiour is wont to breed lothsomnes, hatred, euil wil, & disdaine. [Quotations to the same effect from Della Casa (p. 58) and Guazzo (pp. 155-6) follow.]

"At one point in Book VI Spenser seems to me to adopt temporarily this less noble though widely held view of courtesy; namely, that its proper motivation is the desire to win good-will and favor. Calidore, while among the shepherds, becomes the rival of the rustic Coridon in courting Pastorella. His unfailing and at times excessive courtesy to Coridon and the other shepherds is dictated less by a kindly feeling for these simple people than by his wish to win their friendship so that he may fare well with Pastorella. Spenser says:

Thus did the gentle knight himselfe abeare
Amongst that rusticke rout in all his deeds,
That even they the which his rivals were
Could not maligne him, but commend him needs:
For courtesie amongst the rudest breeds
Good will and favour. (9. 45)

In the next stanza Spenser tells us that Calidore

menaged so well,
That he, of all the rest which there did dwell,
Was favoured, and to her grace commended.

Later, after Spenser has described Coridon's cowardly failure to protect Pastorella when a tiger rushed from the wood, he says:

Yet Calidore did not despise him quight,
But usde him friendly for further intent,
That by his fellowship he colour might
Both his estate and love from skill of any wight. (10. 37)

But this brief depiction of courtesy governed by self-interest rather than by benevolence surely does not disguise Spenser's fundamental conception elsewhere so unmistakably presented.

"What, one may ask, is the source of this fundamental conception of courtesy so winningly presented in many of the cantos of Book VI? To me it would seem to be the knightly ideal, as modified by Christianity during the later stages of chivalry. . . . This noble ideal of chivalry was doubtless in part responsible for

Spenser's wistful allusions to the goodly antique times. And it is certainly this ideal that furnishes the basis of his treatment of courtesy. However overlaid this treatment may be with Renaissance theory, the older, less worldly, more Christian conception remains the foundation of his whole structure."

EDITOR (C. G. O.). Spenser and Chaucer would no doubt agree that "blood will tell," and that courtesy postulates breeding. But Spenser's frequent use of "court," "gentle," and "noble" in his Renaissance context may be carelessly warped into the inference that he insisted upon *rank* as an invariable premise to courtesy, whereas the passages in *Mother Hubberds Tale* and *Colin Clouts*, not to cite many instances in *F. Q.*, leave no doubt that at court he observed plenty of rotters and oafs of rank, as well as ladies and gentlemen of fine strain and breeding. His point seems to be that where you find true courtesy you will discover back of it generations of selected stock, and that that stock by its fitness has naturally found its proper higher level in the social scale. He would not, however, sympathize with certain modern sentimentalities and fallacies in the matter. Nor would Chaucer.

B. E. C. DAVIS (*Edmund Spenser*, pp. 125-8). By the close of Book V the ethic of *The Faerie Queene* has moved several stages from both Plato and Aristotle and the natural complement to the virtues already treated is Courtesy. . . . Aristotle's illustrations reinforce the commonplaces of Renaissance text-books. For Courtesy resembles friendliness, the subject of the fourth legend, in inclining its possessors

to beare themselves aright
To all of each degree as doth behove. (2. 1)

But it approximates still more closely to "urbanity" (*εὐτραπεία*), the mean between ribaldry and rusticity, which Aristotle places second among the social virtues: hence the emphasis upon rural simplicity in the character of Tristram and the "wild wood man" as well as in the concluding pastoral episode.

By his own confession Calidore begins his quest where Artegall retires. Justice must be consolidated through the quelling of Envy and Detraction, and once again the allegory serves to maintain continuity and unity of action. The necessary counterpart to justice is pity, the absence of which infallibly marks the coward and the bully,

For wheres no courage, theres no ruth nor mone. (7. 18)

The new motive induces a new change of tone; and as relentless justice gives place to mercy and pity so the noise of war gradually modulates into the piping of Colin and Coridon. Admitting historical allusions when occasion serves, Spenser is no longer obsessed with them, as the defendant of a particular individual and his policy. Instead he reverts to the moral allegory, using it, however, more casually and, on the whole, less seriously than in the earlier books. The interests of Raleigh (Timias), as of Lord Grey, require an attack on his traducers; hence the introduction of that wooden trio,

The first of them by name was cald Despetto,
Exceeding all the rest in powre and hight;
The second, not so strong but wise, Decetto;
The third, nor strong nor wise, but spightfullest, Defetto. (5. 13)

But no attempt is made to develop them, as in the case of Sansloy, Sansfoy and Sansjoy. The discourse of the Hermit with Timias and Serena, poisoned by the teeth of the Blatant Beast, marks a return to psychological allegory and to the moral of the first two legends [6. 7 quoted]. . . . But the episode is related to the hero, Calidore, only as an example of the evil wrought by the object of his pursuit. The story of Mirabella ends in being much ado about nothing, leaving the unhappy lady in precisely the same predicament in which she was placed at Prince Arthur's first intervention. The allegory of courtesy falls into detached sketches, interspersed with much that is purely romantic. Its position is rather analogous to that of Shakespeare's last romances, as summed up by Mr. Strachey (*Books and Characters*, p. 52): "It is difficult to resist the conclusion that he was getting bored himself. Bored with people, bored with real life, bored with drama, bored, in fact, with everything except poetry and poetical dreams." Substitute for "people" and "drama" "allegory, historical and philosophical" and the statement will apply to Spenser. So it is not surprising to find his last hero, at the conclusion of his recorded adventures, lifted bodily from the toil and turmoil of Faeryland to disport himself on the swards of Arcadia; yet even here the first authority, Aristotle, gave some sanction for such an interlude in connecting urbanity with the necessity for rest, recreation and amusement.

Calidore leaves his task but half achieved by chaining the Blatant Beast so insecurely that the monster succeeds in regaining his liberty. And thus the allegory draws to a conclusion in which nothing is concluded. The gentleman has been fashioned, his virtues have been systematically examined and portrayed at full length. But this task, proposed in the preface and duly fulfilled, involves another, the quest into origins, an attempt to solve the eternal problem of evils yet unsubdued. If the plan of the allegory is Aristotelian, the underlying thought is Platonic. Holiness, temperance, chastity and all the other virtues have an existence independent of the individual possessing them, as eternal ideas and powers that make for righteousness. In the millennium, as in the antique world, they will reign supreme and unchanging as heaven itself. But how may they be enthroned in a world of universal instability? The question is left unanswered in *The Faerie Queene*, a kaleidoscopic medley of episodes each complete in itself, an allegory of truths and objects unrelated to one final cause. But a solution is attempted in the allegory of Mutability; and though inadequate, it is the poet's last word, left for what it is worth. Changing accident is but an outward and visible sign of eternal substance evolving towards a final perfection, wherein the images of vice and corruption shall dissolve in the eternal ideas of virtue and truth.

C. S. LEWIS (*The Allegory of Love*, pp. 350-3). From this stony plateau [the weird scene of Malengin's capture among the mountains]—for the fifth book would have been severe even if it had been successful—the sixth leads us down into the gracious valley of Humiliation. Spenser himself seems to pause at the brow of the barren country and look down with relief at this delightful land, spacious and wide, and sprinkled with such sweet variety. The greatest mistake that can be made about this book is to suppose that Calidore's long delay among the shepherds is a pastoral truancy of Spenser's from his moral intention. On the contrary, the shepherd's country and Mount Acidale in the midst of it are the core of the book, and the key to Spenser's whole conception of Courtesy. As any

one who has read *The Faerie Queene* carefully will expect, Courtesy, for the poet, has very little connexion with court. It grows "on a lowly stalke"; and though the present age seems fruitful of it, yet a glance at "plaine Antiquitie" will convince us that this is all "fayned shewes." I have already pointed out how the whole tenor of the book bears this out; and it is only necessary here to remind the reader that the great opposite of courtesy, the Blatant Beast, has ravaged all the world except the shepherds. If we add to this that courtesy's other enemy—the enemy defeated by Arthur—is Disdaine, we shall have made some progress towards understanding Spenser's conception. Since the virtue, as Spenser saw it, is one that does not exist in the modern scheme of values at all, we have to represent it by combining those virtues we do know. We may say for the moment that it is a combination of charity and humility, in so far as these are social, not theological, virtues. But there is another important aspect of it to be noticed. According to Spenser, courtesy, in its perfect form, comes by nature; moral effort may produce a decent substitute for everyday use, which deserves praise, but it will never rival the real courtesy of those who

so goodly gracious are by kind,
That every action doth them much commend,
And in the eyes of men great liking find,
Which others that have greater skill in mind,
Though they enforce themselves cannot attaine:
For everie thing to which one is enclin'd
Doth best become and greatest grace doth gaine.

And this doctrine is confirmed by the Allegory of the Graces in canto ten. The important thing about these beautiful dancers is that they vanish if disturbed, and then

being gone, none can them bring in place
But whom they of themselves list so to grace.

The meaning of the Graces, in their relation to Colin Clout, is perfectly clear: they are "inspiration," the fugitive thing that enables a man to write one day and leaves him dry as a stone the next, the mysterious source of beauty. But not, Spenser holds, of literary beauty alone. There is a similar inspiration that comes and goes in all human activities—and by its coming adds the last unpurchasable beauty—and specially in our social activities. There it produces "comely carriage," "sweete semblaunt," "friendly offices," right behaviour whether among our friends or our enemies, and all that is collectively called "Civility." To Spenser, in fact, as to Shelley or Plato, there is no essential difference between poetic beauty and the beauty of characters, institutions, and behaviour, and all alike come from the "daughters of sky-ruling Jove." Writers such as Elyot and Castiglione, who combine high flights of philosophy with the *minutiae* of etiquette and see nothing absurd in so doing, would here have understood Spenser much more easily than we. But enough has been said to give us an inkling of what is meant. We are to conceive of courtesy as the poetry of conduct, an "unbought grace of life" which makes its possessor immediately loveable to all who meet him, and which is the bloom (as Aristotle would say)—the supervenient perfection—on the virtues of charity and humility.

Around this central conception we find the usual variety of allegories, romance

of types, and pure fiction. The episode of Disdaine and Mirabella is remarkable for its close approximation to the oldest models. Turpine and Blandina are Aristotelian—the boor and the flatterer, representing the defect and excess which lie on either side of the virtue. The courtly life which Meliboe condemns, and the brutal life of Serena's or Pastorella's captors, are arranged according to the same scheme—the one being a sophistication of nature, in whose humilities true courtesy dwells, and the other being a lapse below nature, as nature was defined by Aristotle. The noble savage I have already referred to. He and the Hermit are in a sense opposites: one emphasizes the natural aspect of courtesy, the other its spiritual aspect—its affinity with the sterner or more awful forms of the good. The wise old man, full of true courtesy without "forged shows" such as "fitter beene for courting fools," happy as "carelesse bird in cage," and gently teaching his penitents that the Blatant Beast cannot do you much permanent injury unless something is wrong within, is one of the loveliest of Spenser's religious figures. The whole book is full of sweet images of humility; Calidore and Priscilla carrying the wounded knight, Calepine looking after the baby, the Salvage man fumblingly doing his best with the harness of Serena's horse. Some readers cannot enjoy the shepherds because they know (or they say they know) that real country people are not more happy or more virtuous than any one else; but it would be tedious here to explain to them the many causes (reasons too) that have led humanity to symbolize by rural scenes and occupations a region in the mind which does exist and which should be visited often. If they know the region, let them try to people it with tram conductors or policemen, and I shall applaud any success they may have; if not, who can help them?

The sixth book is distinguished from its predecessors by distinct traces of the influence of Malory (a welcome novelty) and by the high proportion of unallegorical, or faintly allegorical, scenes. This last feature easily gives rise to the impression that Spenser is losing grip on the original conception of his poem; and it suggests a grave structural fault in *The Faerie Queene* in so far as the poem begins with its loftiest and most solemn book and thence, after a gradual descent, sinks away into its loosest and most idyllic. But this criticism overlooks the fact that the poem is unfinished. The proportion of allegoric core to typical, or purely fictional, fringe has varied all along from book to book; and the loose texture of the sixth is a suitable relief after the very high proportion of pure allegory in the fifth. The only fragment of any succeeding book which we have proves that the poem was to rise from the valley of humiliation into allegory as vast and august as that of the first book.

APPENDIX II

THE PROTOTYPE OF SIR CALIDORE

Sir Philip Sidney was long recognized as the prototype of Sir Calidore. Upton was the first to suggest the identification, subsequently accepted by Craik (3. 74), Child (4. 6), Collier (4. 197 n.), R. W. Church (208), Kate M. Warren (6. x), and Dodge (815). It seemed to find further support in Craik's identification of Meliboe as Walsingham and Oldys' identification of Coridon as Watson, confirmed by Child and Long.

JOHN UPTON (*Spenser's Faerie Queene* 2. 657-8). The meeting of Arthegal and Calidore shows the connexion of this, with the former book, so likewise does the introducing of Timias in the fifth canto; but more particularly prince Arthur, the hero of the poem; who is to be perfected in all virtues, that he might be worthy of the glory to which he aspires. If we turn our thoughts towards those mysteries that lie enveloped in types and allegories, we cannot help applying the following verses of our poet in the introduction to the second Book, to many of the episodes herein related,

And thou, O fairest princess under sky,
In this fair mirrour mayst behold thy face,
And thine own realms in lond of Fairy.

Methinks by no far-fetcht allusions, we might discover pictured out to us that truly courteous knight Sir Philip Sidney, in the character of Sir Calidore; whose name Καλλιόδωρος leads us to consider the many graceful and goodly endowments that heaven peculiarly gave him. This is that "brave courtier" mentioned by our poet in another poem (*Mother Hubbard's Tale*, 717 ff.). . . . With this hint given, who can help thinking of Sidney's *Arcadia*, when he finds Sir Calidore misspending his time among the Shepherds? And when this knight of courtesy meets in his pastoral retirement with Colin Clout, and by his abrupt appearance drives away the rural Nymphs and Graces, which makes the shepherd (*F. Q.* 6. 10. 8),

for fell despight
Of that displeasure break his bag-pipe quite.

Do not all these circumstances, agreeable to the tenor of this poem, allude to our poet's leaving the country, and the rural Muse, at Sir Philip Sidney's request? I make no doubt myself, but the "Country Lass" described in *F. Q.* 6. 10. 25-7, is the same as described in his *Sonnets* 61, etc. Her name was Elizabeth, as he tells us in Sonnet 74, and he was married to her after his unsuccessful love of the fair Rosalind, who seems imaged in that Wondrous Fair (as her name imports) who is so justly punished for love's disdain in canto 7. I have mentioned in the notes that Belgard castle, in canto 12, seems from its very name to point out Belvoir castle: If this is granted, Sir Bellamoure must be the noble lord of the castle, who married into the royal house of York: and this seems hinted at in canto 12, stanza 4. Another of this noble family likewise married the daughter of Sir Philip Sidney: but how far the Story told of Pastorella, who found her parents in

Belvoir castle, may allude to this alliance, I neither affirm nor deny. In these kind of historical allusions Spenser usually perplexes the subject; he leads you on, and then designedly misleads you: for he is writing a Fairy poem, not giving you the detail of an historian. It seems to me that our poet makes use of the same perplexing manner in hinting at the calumnious tale, then in every good woman's mouth, told of a certain lady at court, no less than a maid of honour to queen Elizabeth, and a daughter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who had been too free of her favours before marriage to Sir Walter Raleigh: This lady he married afterwards, and she made him the most quiet, the most serene, and best of wives. But the reader will not fail to apply this story, when he finds Serena and Timias (in whom all along, and almost in every circumstance is imaged Sir Walter Raleigh) both carried to the hermit's cell, to be cured of their sore maladies that they had contracted by the bite of Calumny and Scandal. This story too he will apply, when he finds Timias under the discipline of Disdain and Scorn, in cantos 7 and 8. The "Salvage man" characterized in canto 4, stanza 2, and in canto 5, stanzas 2 and 41, was intended to be shewn in a new light in some other part of this poem, now left unfinished; and this salvage perhaps represents by way of type the heir of Lord Savage mentioned by Spenser in his *View of Ireland* [Globe ed., p. 616], "now" (he says) "a poor gentleman of very mean condition, yet dwelling in the Ardes." And the episode of the infant sav'd from a bear, and delivered to the wife of Sir Bruin to be brought up as their son, might allude to the noble Irish family of the Mac-Mahoons, descended from the Fitz-Ursulas. These kind of types and symbols, and historical allusions, the English reader will not fail to apply to many parts of this poem, when he considers what Spenser himself tells us in his introduction to Book 2, stanza 4, namely, that there are "certain signs by which Fairy lond may be found." Hence the poem itself, by this pleasing mask, partakes of the nature of fable, mystery and allegory, not only in its moral representations of virtues and vices, and in what relates to nature and natural philosophy, but likewise in its history.

GEORGE L. CRAIK (*Spenser and his Poetry* 3. 74). It is strange that the editors of the *Faerie Queene* should not have perceived that Pastorella is Frances Walsingham, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, whom Sir Philip Sidney, who is Calidore, married. Sir Francis Walsingham appears also as Melibee, or Melibae, in another of Spenser's poems, *The Ruines of Time*, to be afterwards noticed. The character here given to the old shepherd is exactly suitable to Sir Francis, who, for all his employments, died (6th April, 1590) so poor that his friends had to bury him privately in the night to prevent his body being seized by his creditors. Lord Henry Howard (afterward Earl of Northampton), in a dedication addressed to Walsingham in 1583, declares, "that the sweetness of his disposition, the frankness of his mind, the credit of his place, the level of his long experience, and the depth of his judgment, were means sufficient and strong enough to draw the minds of all persons well disposed both to love and honour him." His daughter, and only child, two or three years after Sidney's death became the wife of the Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's celebrated favourite, who was thought in marrying her to descend below his rank. Accordingly, she is here represented as of apparently humble condition, though, as we shall find, it is afterwards made to appear that she is really of high descent. This is the poet's way of hinting that as the daughter

of Walsingham, although he was only a simple knight, she was a match for any nobleman. Her name, Pastorella, carries an obvious allusion to the *Arcadia*.

PERCY W. LONG ("Spenser's Sir Calidore," pp. 53-60) was the first to challenge this venerable tradition, to propose Essex, rather than Sidney, as the counterpart of Sir Calidore.

"Since the identification of Meliboe, his daughter, and Coridon are mutually confirmatory, and in every way reasonable, they were supposed to involve the inference that Calidore represents Walsingham's son-in-law, Sir Philip Sidney. Craik and his successors suggest no alternative and offer no arguments. It is obvious, indeed, that no one less conspicuously identified with Lady Sidney and with Spenser could occupy the place of him (Sonnet to the Countess of Pembroke, 1590):

Who first my Muse did lift out of the flore,
To sing his sweet delights in lowlie laies.

"Yet an alternative there is, and only one. This is Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Essex became the second husband of Lady Sidney, and the last great patron of Spenser. As the chief favorite of the Queen, and as a national hero, he loomed large in contrast to Sidney, whose fame, when these cantos were published, was the fame of a poet courtier already a decade deceased. The case on behalf of either, therefore, requires definite evidence.

"On consideration, the case for Sidney appears less and less favorable, whether we take note of the description of Sir Calidore, the circumstances of the episode in which he figures, or Spenser's allusions elsewhere to his tributes to Sidney and Essex.

"Spenser repeatedly celebrated Sidney under the names of Astrophel and Philisides (*The Ruines of Time* 673). Certainly he might have used yet another name for Sidney, inasmuch as he names Sidney's sister diversely Urania in *Colin Clouts* (487) and Clorinda in *Astrophel* (211). But the descriptions of Astrophel and Calidore do not tally. The slight figure of Sidney corresponds to Spenser's characterization of Astrophel as 'a sclender swaine' (15). Calidore, in marked contrast, is said to be 'full stout and tall' (1. 2. 7) and again 'strong and mightily stiffe pight' (9. 44. 2). This corresponds to Sir Henry Wotton's description of the tall, able-bodied Essex (*DNB*, 'Robert Devereux').

"Spenser duly praises Astrophel as a great poet. In *Colin Clouts* (450-1), as the climax to a list of Elizabeth's courtier poets, Spenser says:

But while as Astrofell did live and raine,
Amongst all these was none his Paragone.

(See also *The Ruines of Time* 603-616 and *Astrophel* 31-48.)

"No corresponding praise is bestowed on Calidore. Though Calidore, like every other courtly gallant, composed 'layes' in honor of his ladylove, Spenser has the audacity to say of Pastorella that (9. 35):

She . . . cared more for Colins carolings
Then all that he could doe, or ever devize.

"Spenser could hardly have insulted thus the memory of his dead patron. The allusion, however, does not lack grace, if Spenser here alludes to his poem

Astrophel, dedicated to Sidney's widow, and praising one who was dear to Essex also as an intimate friend and companion in arms. (They were associated through Sidney's addresses to the sister of Essex, and in the campaign in the Netherlands.)

"In military affairs Sidney had little opportunity to distinguish himself, and Spenser nowhere credits Sidney with exceptional attainments as a warrior. Sir Calidore, on the other hand, he proclaims to have been (1. 2. 8-9):

well approv'd in batteilous affray,
That did him much renowme, and far his fame display.

"This befits Essex better than any other of Elizabeth's courtiers. Spenser's allusion to Essex in the *Prothalamion* (150-2) offers a convenient parallel:

Faire branch of Honor, flower of Chevalrie!
That fillest England with thy triumphs fame,
Joy have thou of thy noble victorie.

(H. Littledale in *MLR*, July, 1909, explains that Devereux may have been read punningly D'Heureux. This seems inferior to the explanation, apparently emanating from him, in Grosart's *Spenser* (1. 212), Dev(enir) heureux. This tallies better with Spenser's word 'promiseth' [*Prothalamion* 154]).

"The appearance and reputation of Calidore, therefore, suggest not Sidney, but Essex. (Certain particulars, indeed, befit either, as Calidore's great success with the ladies (1. 3. 1-7) and the statement that (1. 3. 8-9):

he loathed leasing and base flattery,
And loved simple truth and stedfast honesty.

The impulsive, frank, passionate nature of both men is well known, though the frequent rudeness of Essex to the Queen makes him in respect to loathing flattery more conspicuous. Then too, Essex appears to have been 'vain of the influence which he exerted over most women.'—Sidney Lee in *DNB*, 'Robert Devereux.')

"The circumstances of the episode in which Calidore wooes Pastorella favor still more his identification as Essex, if we consider the necessary date, the social status of the persons, and the discourse of Sir Calidore with the author.

"The death of Meliboe is represented as strictly contemporary with Sir Calidore's courtship. Walsingham died 6 April, 1590. At this time, probably within a few weeks, his daughter married Essex. (The precise date of this secret marriage is unknown; but the baptism of their child—22 January 1591—places it in the spring of 1590. See Devereux, *Lives of the Earls of Essex*, 1. 211.) Her courtship with Sidney had taken place seven years before, and Sidney had been dead nearly four years. However much or little this 'comparison of times' may help one to 'gather a likelihood of trueth,' certainly the 'probabilitye of thinges' is in favor of Essex. (See *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, Globe ed., p. 626¹, top.)

"Again, Calidore is a knight, and Pastorella a shepherdess. The disparity of social status is insisted on repeatedly (cf. 9. 7, 32-3). Such a representation does not accord with the relations between the secretary of state and plain 'Maister' Philip Sidney: for Sidney, when courting Walsingham's daughter, was no longer Leicester's heir. On the other hand, in 1590, when Walsingham's fortune was broken, the match between his dowerless daughter and one of the chief earls of

England constituted a *mésalliance*. It is said to have been so regarded, and it resulted in a temporary cessation of the Queen's favor. (Cf. *DNB.*, 'Walsingham.') Not improbably the lines in *Mother Hubberds Tale* (publ. 1591), supposed to allude to Leicester's marriage in 1578, really refer, and were understood as referring, to the then recent marriage of Essex (628):

But his late chayne his Liege unmeete estemeth.

"This disparity is emphasized by Spenser in feigning a secret noble origin for Pastorella to place her on a par with Calidore. This has no point unless Calidore is Essex. (I suggest that Bellamoure *may* represent Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, who married [1553] Catherine Dudley, daughter of the Duke of Northumberland [d. 1553]. Catherine was the sister of Sidney's mother. Northumberland answers the description of Spenser's Lord of Many Islands, and his title, Viscount Lisle, *may* be so designated. I can find no one holding the title 'Lord of the Isles' whom Spenser could have had in mind. Upton's suggestion of Rutland is not acceptable, because Edward Manners, third Earl, died in 1581, and his wife could not represent Claribell. But my evidence at present does not warrant any positive identification.) [See notes on 12. 3-13 in the Commentary below.]

"Then too, Sir Calidore is represented as conversing with Colin Clout—that is, Spenser,—about his ladylove. Spenser's lady according to the old view, is Elizabeth Boyle, and, according to my view, Lady Elizabeth Carey. (The identification by Gollancz of a certain copy of *The Faerie Queene* as Spenser's copy [see *The Athenaeum*, 7 Dec. 1907] confirms my contention: for in that copy on the leaf following the letter to Raleigh is written the first Sonnet of the *Amoretti*. It stands thus in marked relation to the sonnet to Lady Carey. Again my contention is confirmed by the circumstance that this episode in *The Faerie Queene* refers to the year 1590, when Spenser openly courted Lady Carey, and before Grosart supposed him to have met Elizabeth Boyle. Therefore, the fourth Grace must be Lady Carey.) Since his amorous addresses to either of these ladies must have begun after Sidney's death, Sir Calidore cannot be Sidney. (Moreover, until 1589 Spenser was in Ireland.) Since Essex was one of Spenser's patrons in 1590, such a conversation between them concerning Lady Carey is entirely congruous.

"While the foregoing points of comparison suffice to establish the identity of Calidore with Essex, it is worth while to note that Spenser in thus celebrating him fulfills a promise. The sonnet to Essex appended to *The Faerie Queene* in 1590 declares that in the books to be published later the virtues of Essex shall be commemorated:

But when my Muse . . .
With bolder wing shall dare alofte to sty
To the last praises of this Faery Queene;
Then shall it make more famous memory
Of thine Heroicke parts.

"It is no less significant, by contrast, that in the accompanying sonnet to Sidney's sister, Spenser makes no similar promise to celebrate the memory of his dead patron. Nor does he leave us in doubt as to the reason for this omission. In dedicating *The Ruines of Time* to Sidney's sister, not many months later,

Spenser says that his 'love and affection' for Sidney 'would in their riper strength (had it pleased high God till then to draw out his daies) spired forth fruit of more perfection.' Spenser did not praise Sidney more fully because Sidney was dead. It is natural, then, that in portraying his ideal of courtesy, he chose to allude to Elizabeth's chief living favorite, and his own chief living patron the Earl of Essex."

E. DE SELINCOURT (Oxford one vol. ed., p. liii). Mr. P. W. Long . . . argues that Calidore is Essex, but though certain touches in the character may have been suggested by Essex, its general conception fits far better with Sidney. Among other corroborative details it is worth noting, as Mr. J. C. Smith points out to me, that Sir Calidore is distinguished from the other faery knights by the emphasis laid upon his prowess as a runner and a wrestler. Cf. *F. Q.* 6. 1. 22-3; 3. 25; 9. 4, 43-4; with *Mother Hubberds Tale* 744-6 (the character of the brave courtier, universally accepted to be drawn from Sidney), and with *Astrophel* 73.

EDITOR (R. H.). Athletic training was stressed in all treatises on the education of the courtier. See Appendix I above.

KENNETH THORPE ROWE ("Sir Calidore: Essex or Sidney?" pp. 125-141) takes up afresh the case for Sidney. As Long's evidence groups under two main headings, (1) that "the appearance and reputation of Calidore suggest not Sidney, but Essex," and (2) that "the circumstances of the episode in which Calidore wooes Pastorella favor still more his identification as Essex," Rowe first reexamines the arguments that had led to these conclusions.

(1) While Sidney was described in *Astrophel* as "a slender swaine," that description applied only to his youth: the mature Sidney is described later in the same poem as "Both wise and hardie," and as an athlete (11. 72-8),

In wrestling nimble, and in running swift,
In shooting steddie, and in swimming strong:
Well made to strike, to throw, to leape, to lift,
And all the sports that shepherds are emong.
In every one he vanquisht every one,
He vanquisht all, and vanquisht was of none.

This corresponds with the prowess of Calidore. "As to the actual stature of Sidney, and his physical prowess, although Languet calls him 'spare-framed' (*Correspondence of Sidney and Languet*, trans. by S. A. Pears, 1843, p. 64), he also speaks of his 'majesty of person' (p. 183), and Banosius 'contemplated with wonder' Sidney's 'uncommon endowments of mind and body'" (Zouch, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney*, 1809, pp. 316-7). Malcolm W. Wallace states that Sidney's 'reputation as a swordsman is frequently mentioned, and he was known for great knowledge and experience in horsemanship' (*Life of Sir Philip Sidney*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 266); he carried away honors in tournament (*ibid.*, p. 224); and charging the enemy at Zutphen 'he so behaved himself that it was wonder to see' (Stow, *Annals*, 1631, p. 737). All this applies equally to Essex, but there is no balance in his favor." As for Sidney's reputation for delicate health, that is based upon the letters of Languet, "a somewhat fussy old man."

To be sure the *Prothalamion* pays homage to the military achievements of

Essex, but at the time when the sixth book of the *Faerie Queene* was composed Essex, several years younger than Sidney, had not equalled the military distinction of Sidney at the time of his death. "The lines quoted by Mr. Long [*F. Q.* 6. 1. 2. 8-9] I consider unimportant, no more than would be conventionally necessary to the description of a knight; but the balance, if there be one, might even be for Sidney."

The argument that Calidore, as opposed to Astrophel, is not praised as a poet is of no moment: "As the shepherd of a pastoral poem Astrophel was expected to be a poet; as a knight in the *Faerie Queene*, Calidore was not expected to compose beyond the 'layes' of a courtly gallant." Moreover, while at first Pastorella

cared more for Colin's carolings
Then all that he could doe, or ever devize,

after Calidore assumes the rôle of a shepherd he is the beau ideal of a pastoral romance, and "most in Pastorellaes grace did sit," leading the dance to which Colin Clout only pipes.

(2) Mr. Long makes much of the fact that the date of Calidore's wooing of Pastorella favors Essex, since "the death of Meliboe [Walsingham] is represented as strictly contemporary with Sir Calidore's courtship." It must be remembered, however, that this courtship was "also represented as strictly contemporary with the death of Meliboe's wife, whereas Walsingham's widow continued to appear at court; but this divergence Mr. Long says has little force, as 'Spenser departs from the facts more conspicuously in *Astrophel*, where he feigns that Sidney's ladylove Stella died with him, whereas both his wife and his ex-fiancee, Penelope Devereux, survived him—and both were twice remarried.' Mr. Long here admits the looseness of Spenser's allegory, and if the departure from the circumstances of the courtship of Essex does not count, the parallel departure from the circumstances of Sidney's courtship is no more significant."

The supposed disparity of social status between Calidore and Pastorella is also thought to favor the Essex hypothesis. As a matter of fact the daughter of Walsingham was not an unworthy match, for though Walsingham was broken in fortune, he was still Secretary to the Queen, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and of the Order of the Garter.

"Aside from all this, the pastoral tradition of both this romance and that of Sidney's *Arcadia*, as pointed out by Mr. Greenlaw, demands the wooing of a woman in humble position by a man of noble birth. Also, the *mésalliance* in the *Faerie Queene* turns out to be none, for, in further accordance with the pastoral tradition, noble birth is found for the supposed shepherdess in the end. . . . Mr. Long may very well disregard this part of the story for allegorical purposes as belonging to the pastoral tradition, but in that case the original apparent *mésalliance* should not be considered as other than pastoral tradition."

The discourse of Calidore with Colin Clout is construed by Mr. Long to favor Essex. But while earlier historians mention him as a patron of Spenser's, they base this only upon the tradition that Essex provided for Spenser's burial in Westminster Abbey. "I know of no record of any meeting with Spenser, or patronage, beyond that already cited. If Mr. Long was considering the dedicatory sonnet for the *Faerie Queene*, it is a request for patronage not yet received, with the

promise to commemorate Essex in the poem offered as an inducement. . . . A consideration of dates considerably reduces the extent of possible unrecorded relations. Essex was only thirteen years old when Spenser went to Ireland, so at the time of the writing of the second three books of the *Faerie Queene*, the period of his visit to England, from Autumn of 1589 to early in 1591, places the limit upon their opportunity for acquaintance. In the light of Mr. Long's treatment of the question of Spenser-Sidney's intimacy, for lack of evidence, his conception of, first, patronage by Essex, and then, patronage so intimate as to allow of a conversation on Spenser's ladylove, is rather astonishing.

"In the second place, if Mr. Long is going to push the allegory to the point of recording an actual conversation between Spenser and someone else about his ladylove, Calidore is an unwitting intruder whose presence caused Colin's lass with all the Graces to flee, so that Calidore's lament (10. 29. 2-4)

Now sure it yrketh mee,
That to thy blisse I made this luckelesse breach,
As now the author of thy bale to be,

cannot be disregarded. As that is the thread upon which the whole conversation is strung, something must be done about it: I see no solution. Since the conversation is appropriate neither to Essex nor to Sidney, it must be left as concerning only Spenser's relations to his lady, Calidore serving merely as the interlocutor for her praises."

To be sure, in the sonnet to Essex appended to the *Faerie Queene* Spenser promised to commemorate his virtues, but a similar promise was made to others, and this at a time when Spenser anticipated not six books but twelve. Of the various persons thus to be honored, Walsingham is the only one who has been identified with any degree of certainty in the books actually written, and Spenser may well have had Essex in mind for some later book.

Sir Calidore's neglect of his quest while he enjoyed its pleasant pastoral life fits in nicely with Sidney's two years of retirement at Wilton, during which he worked on his pastoral romance, the *Arcadia*, a neglect of public affairs which caused concern to his friend and mentor, Languet (*Correspondence of Sidney and Languet*, p. 182). Again, the quest of the Blatant Beast, disregarded by Mr. Long, is too important to be overlooked. "The association of the Blatant Beast with religion is episodic and limited to one passage; the Blatant Beast represents slander as a moral quality, opposed to courtesy. The fitness of this quest to Sidney is evident. Above reproach himself, he engaged in two notable crusades against slander directed at others, one on behalf of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, the other, ardent and lifelong, on behalf of his father, Sir Henry Sidney, in relation to his administration in Ireland." Since Spenser was engaged in the defense of Lord Grey, Sir Henry Sidney's successor as Lord Deputy of Ireland, he would be quick to see the analogy of Sir Philip Sidney's defense of his father. Moreover, at the very beginning of Book Six Artegall, who at the end of Book Five had been subjected to the "hundred tongues" of the Blatant Beast, meets Calidore and learns of his quest. "Lord Grey returned from Ireland in 1582, at a time when Philip Sidney was in England and engaged in renewed activity on behalf of his father (Wallace, *Life*, pp. 280-2). The meeting and conversation between Artegall and Calidore fits Lord Grey and Sidney exactly; it could hardly be made to

apply to Essex, who was only sixteen years of age and unconnected with Irish affairs in the year of Lord Grey's return. . . .

"The conclusion of the quest, recounted in the last four stanzas of the sixth book, is most important. If the allegory of the Blatant Beast is followed, whoever is represented by Sir Calidore is dead. Calidore tamed and bound the Beast, but a long time after, he broke forth again. Other men after Calidore have tried to bind him, but unsuccessfully. . . . These stanzas cannot be interpreted as relating to the living Essex, but if for Sidney, they are an appropriate tribute."

Finally, Sidney exemplified all that is implied in "courtesy, the word that summed up the knightly ideal," but while Essex "with Sidney, stands far above any other of Elizabeth's court for the romantic charm of chivalry, . . . he had not courtesy—there's the rub."

"To reestablish Sir Philip Sidney as the inspiration for the figure of Sir Calidore is not merely to fill in another detail in the allegorical identifications of the *Faerie Queene*. There is a question of Spenser's sincerity of purpose, and of the value of his work as an interpreter of the idealism of the age, involved. In the light of the position which Sir Philip Sidney held in Elizabethan England, if Spenser did not give him a place in the *Faerie Queene* there is a hollowness in the whole work. The fame of Sidney would have been enough, but Spenser knew Sidney personally and was attached to him by bonds of gratitude and affection; if Sidney is absent from the *Faerie Queene*, Spenser's commemorations were reserved for those who might become immediately valuable as patrons, and his profession of purpose, 'to fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline,' is subject to severe loss of credit. It is possible that the external details of a character in the *Faerie Queene* might be arranged for apparent conformity to the life and person of a prospective patron, and the character on its ideal side still be determined by another influence. If the argument for Essex had held, this would have been the conclusion in regard to Sir Calidore. Ambiguities would follow which would considerably diminish the interest and value of the characterizations in their relation to Spenser's avowed purpose. Sir Calidore as a unified presentation of Philip Sidney, however, appears as certain as is possible to allegorical matters. For it to be so is clarifying to the whole problem of understanding Spenser's mind and work."

RAY HEFFNER ("Essex, the Ideal Courtier," condensed by the author). No figure in Elizabethan history is so thoroughly misunderstood today as that "Magnifique Lord," Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. A few rash acts recorded in school histories and encyclopedias have determined the whole conception of the man. But those characteristics which made him alike the idol of Queen and people, as well as the hope of the "forward school" and of scholars and poets, have somehow been overlooked, and that splendid character is now card-catalogued by graduate students and writers of "learned" articles as "that rash Earl." No classification was ever further from the truth—the whole truth.

To his contemporaries Essex was the Knight of Courtesy and took Sidney's place as the Ideal Courtier, or as Spenser described him, "Faire branch of Honor, flower of Cheualrie." But our moderns do not agree with Spenser. Mr. F. I. Carpenter has the following comment on Mr. Percy Long's identification of Spenser's Sir Calidore as Essex: "Makes out a plausible case; but what about Essex

as the protagonist of Courtesy?" (*Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser*, p. 159.) By this question Mr. Carpenter implies that Essex was not the protagonist of courtesy and cannot be considered as such. This misconception is repeated in Mr. Kenneth Thorpe Rowe's recent article. . . .

Courtesy, we should remember, was to the Elizabethan synonymous with *courtiership*. The courteous knight was, therefore, the courtier, and politeness (the modern meaning of courtesy) was only one of his qualities. So, when Mr. Carpenter objects to Essex as the protagonist of courtesy, he implies that he was not regarded by his contemporaries as a model courtier. It is my purpose in this paper, then, to show that in his own day the Earl was celebrated as a model courtier and, therefore, the protagonist of courtesy.

Politeness was assuredly one of the characteristics of the ideal courtier, and, likewise, one of Essex's. If one is not inclined to depend on the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or the *DNB* for historical and biographical information, he will find in the documents and literature of the period ample testimony to demonstrate that Essex was endowed with the virtue of courtesy, or politeness. Sir Robert Naunton (*Fragmentalia Regalia*, Arber's *English Reprints*, p. 51) uses the word courteous in its double sense when he describes the young Earl thus: "There was in this young Lord, together with a most goodly person, a kind of urbanity, or innate courtesy, which both won the Queen, and too, much took upon the people." Essex's courteous nature is referred to also in a report enclosed in a letter from P. Duodo to the Doge and Senate, 2 Nov. 1596, *CSP, Venetian, 1592-1603*, p. 38; Sir Henry Wotton's *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, ed. 1685, pp. 174-5; and Thomas Fuller's *Worthies of England*, ed. 1662, "Hereford-Shire," pp. 38-9. His actions also show him to be a polite man, as witness his relations with Don Antonio, Antonio Perez, Henry Burbon, the Huguenots, Davison, Cecil, Raleigh, Bacon, and others.

The ideals and practices of chivalry were considered by the Elizabethans to be a significant part in the makeup of a courtier. Essex distinguished himself in chivalric exercises and his exploits were celebrated in poetry and song. His actions at Lisbon, Rouen, and in Ireland show that with him the ideals and practices of chivalry were more than mere show; they were a part of his character.

In athletic sports Essex likewise distinguished himself, since such were a part of the training of every courtier and are treated as such by every writer on the "new Humanistic education" from Rabelais to Spenser.

The perfect courtier was a complete man—he combined the active with the contemplative life. It is a constant source of wonder for the modern student that the Elizabethan courtier should have combined these nowadays hostile ideals. Men like Essex found time and inclination not only for attendance on the Queen as gallants of the court, but also for serious business. Moreover, the serious side of their lives was also divided into two parts—one had to do with affairs of state, wars, voyages, business ventures, and the like; the other was devoted to study, to writing, and to the encouraging of men of talent. Although we today are not accustomed to think of Essex as a poet and scholar, his reputation as such, especially in his early years, was widely celebrated among his contemporaries. In this respect, Sir Henry Wotton, Essex's friend and companion, says of him:

The Earl was of good Erudition . . . was a very acute and sound speaker, when he would attend to it; and for his writings, they are beyond example,

especially in his familiar letters and things of delight at court, when he would admit his serious habits, as may be seen in his impressas and Inventions of entertainment, and above all in his darling piece of love, and self-love; his stile was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldom any bold metaphors; and so far from Tumer, that it rather wanted a little elevation. (*Reliq. Wot.*, pp. 172-4. Ben Jonson in his *Conversations with Drummond* mentions Essex's impressas. See also Camden's *Remaines*, 1614, pp. 218-226 and Henry Peacham's *Minerva Britanna*, 1612, p. 81.)

Others who testified to Essex's scholarly nature were: Ben Jonson in *Timber or Discoveries* (Bodley Head Quartos 5. 37-8), *Conversations with Drummond*, in *Works*, ed Herford and Simpson, 1. 142; Edmund Bolton in *Hypercritica* (quoted by Herford and Simpson 1. 167); Gabriel Harvey in *Marginalia*, ed. G. C. Moore-Smith, p. 231; John Stow in *Annales*, p. 805; Thomas Warton in *History of English Poetry*, ed. 1840, 3. 340-1; George Peele in *Anglorum Ferie* (in Bullen's ed., vol. 2), lines 190-4; Anthony Wood in *Fasti Oxonienses*; and Essex's own device of the Hermit and his *Apology*.

Spenser makes his knight of courtesy a pastoral hero. My Lord of Essex fulfills the requirements for the ideal courtier not only in his affection for the contemplative life, but also in the association of the pastoral with him, according to his high position in the "ideal arcadia now just established." Unfortunately, Warton did not mention the many pastorals that were written to celebrate Essex's goings and comings; but enough are extant to indicate the nature of those which are lost. The best known of these is Peele's *Eclogue Gratulatorie*, written in the conventional pastoral form as a dialogue between Palinode and Piers (characters from Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar*). See also William Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* (*Works*, ed. Hazlitt, 1. 120-2), and Essex's own poems in the *Fuller's Worthies Miscell.*, ed. A. B. Grosart, 5. 442-3.

Since the evidence in the preceding pages indicates that Essex was associated by his contemporaries with every phase of the ideal courtier, it is pertinent at this point to renew the question of his identification with Calidore, the knight of courtesy in Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. The chief objection to such an identification is the fact that it is usual to see Sir Philip Sidney imaged in the courteous knight. The first to make the Sidney identification was Upton in 1758.

The first to dispute Upton's identification was Percy W. Long. In his discussion, Long accepts Craik's identification of Meliboe, but he objects to that of Calidore. He thinks that Spenser means by Sir Calidore not Sidney but Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. Mr. Long's thesis has not met with favour among the Spenser scholars. He has not, however, made out so strong a case as he might. As I have pointed out, Essex, like Sidney, was looked upon as the ideal courtier. Moreover, Spenser's dedicatory sonnet to Essex in 1590 indicates not only that he intended to place that Earl in some future installment of his epic, but also that he was at that time making a bid for Essex's favour. That he looked upon Essex as a friend and patron in 1596 is evidenced by his high praise of him in his *Prothalamion* of that year.

We should note here that Spenser in Book VI of the *Faerie Queene* would have been concerned with Essex's acts and reputation before 1596; anything after that date could not have influenced him. But the conception of Essex as "the rash

Earl," the champion of rudeness, is based on his actions (though wrongly still) of the 1597-1600 period. Essex's fame as the protagonist of courtesy was most widely celebrated at the very time that Spenser was writing the second installment of his epic—1590 to 1596, the time of the poet's visits to London. Then, too, Essex's paying the cost of the poet's funeral indicates that the Earl considered himself as Spenser's patron. So, we are safe in assuming that at the time of the publication of the sixth book, Spenser was an admirer and friend of Essex. He would, therefore, have viewed him very much in the same light as did Peele and the many other admirers mentioned in the first part of this paper.

As I have shown, all the characteristics of Calidore may be applied to Essex. The most strongly suggestive of Sidney is, of course, the pastoral episode. Essex was not only celebrated in pastorals but also wrote pastoral poetry of his own. His love of the country and the retired life, likewise, makes him a fit subject for the pastoral. In this connection it has been said that the *Arcadia* is the "prose counterpart" of the *Faerie Queene* and that the resemblance is best seen in the Calidore-Pastorella episode. I have shown that the pastoral was usually associated with courtiership. Its use by Spenser, then, in Book Six was not only natural but imperative. Moreover, it should be mentioned that practically every pastoral written after the publication of Sidney's *Arcadia* owed something to that work—no matter what the application might be. Essex, as we see from Peele's *Eclogue*, was ranked high in that "Ideal Arcadia," which had its origin and conception in that of Sidney. Therefore, Spenser's Calidore-Pastorella episode is his ideal Arcadia. Like Peele's it owes its conception to Sidney, but like Peele's its application is a timely one, and it relates to the perfect courtier in the time in which it was published. In this connection, it should be noted that Essex was in high favour with the Queen from 1587 until about 1597. . . . Calidore, we remember is "beloved over all." Moreover, he is the most complete knight of all; he is the ideal courtier. Essex was praised as "Minervas foe daunting shield: Of Mars conquering honor: Of the courts loadstarre: Of Englands Scipio: Of France his ayde: Of fames glory: Of the muses eldest sonne: Of Ornament: Of Vertues Miracle: Of religions champion: of thrice honorable & worthilie-worthie-honored-noble-Essex" ("W. C.," dedicatory letter to *Polimanteia*, 1595, in Brydges' *British Bibliographer* 1. 275). And in the dedication to the same work his virtues are summed up in a way that suggests the character of Calidore:

Your honour (be it spoken without envie) like England's cedar is *sprung up to preserve with your shadowe, the humblest in all professions, from hatred's malice*. The warlike and brave soldier thinkes himself (and that in truth is) graced, to be teamed but your follower. The worthy and kind passionate courtier deemes (and worthily) this is honor to bee your favourite. The sober and devout student that despised doth walke melancholy, takes himselfe (and not without cause) fortunate to be teamed your schollar.

It was in this light that Spenser and his contemporaries viewed Essex in 1595-6. His identification with Calidore was, therefore, almost inevitable.

It may be objected, however, that Book V closes with an account of Lord Grey in Ireland, and that the main events in the Book are of the time between 1580 and 1586. Consequently, Book VI should come in that period; it presents a different aspect of the reign for the same period. If Spenser wrote about the ideal courtier

in 1585, he certainly meant Sidney. Of the truth of this last statement I have no doubt. But Spenser in Book V, by inserting the Bourbon incident, makes his story bear on conditions immediately contemporary. So, the Irena episode refers not only to Grey but also to Essex. Such, then, is the case in Book VI. When Spenser first thought of writing about the ideal courtier, he no doubt had Sidney in mind; but when he actually wrote the book, he made it bear on Essex—he gave it a timely interest. This was not hard to accomplish, for Essex was looked upon by his contemporaries as the successor to Sidney. This fact is pointed out not only by the evidence in the preceding pages, but also by the following definite statements. Peele in his *Eclogue Gratulatorie*, says of his shepherd, Essex (pp. 272-3):

Fellow in arms he was in their flowering days
With that great Shepherd, good Philisides; . . .
But, ah for grief! that jolly groom is dead, . . .
Yet in this lovely swain, source of our glee,
Mun all his virtues sweet reviven be.

And in his *Polyhymnia* in 1590, he described Essex's device thus:

Sweet Sidney, fairest shepherd of our green,
Well-letter'd warrior, whose successor he
In love and arms had ever vowed to be:
As his deserts, as his desires would speed!

(Bullen 2. 292. The phrase "In love" seems to suggest that Peele knew of Essex's marriage as early as 1590.)

In the same vein is the dedication to *Hypnerotomachia*, signed by "R. D." in 1592. It reads:

When I had determined (Right honorable) to dedicate this Booke, to the ever-lyuing vertues of that matchlesse knight Syr Philip Sydney; me thought that I could not finde out a more Noble personage than your selfe, and more fit, to patronize, shield, and defende my dutie to the deade, then your Honour, whose greatness is such, and vertues of that power, as who so commendeth them, deserveth not to be accounted a flatterer, but he that doth not the same, may be thought an evill willer. . . . (*Hypnerotomachia, The Strife of Love in a Dreame*, 1592, reprinted by Andrew Lang, London, 1890.)

Essex was, therefore, quite definitely considered as the successor to Sidney, and any praise that would have fallen to Sidney in 1585 would naturally have been applied to Essex in 1595-6.

In addition to those already mentioned by Long, however, there are several traits in Calidore's character which point more directly to Essex than to Sidney. Let us notice the description of Calidore (1. 2. 1-6):

But mongst them all was none more courteous Knight,
Then Calidore, beloued ouer all,
In whom it seemes, that gentlenesse of spright
And manners mylde were planted naturall:
To which he adding comely guize withall,
And gracious speach, did steal mens hearts away.

With this compare Wotton's statement (*Relig. Wot.*, p. 172) that Essex "was a

very acute and sound speaker." Bacon says in his *Apology* that he sought to dissuade the Queen from bringing Essex to a public trial in 1600:

. . . Nay I went further, for I told her, My Lord was an eloquent and well-spoken man, and besides his eloquence of nature or art, he had an eloquence of accident which passed them both—and therefore that when he should come to his answer for himself, I doubted his words would have so unequal passages above theirs that should charge him, as would not be for her Majesty's honour. (*Sir Francis Bacon His Apology*, etc. Reprint in Abbott, *Bacon and Essex*, appendix 1. ii.)

This eloquence of Essex's doubtless explains the fact that the Queen and her Council sought to restrain him from presenting his case from the scaffold at his execution. They feared the weight of his words with the populace, for he had the power to "steal men's hearts away."

Calidore, we remember also, is represented as staying in the country (10. 1. 3-5),

Vnmindful of his vow and high beheast,
Which by the Faery Queene was on him layd
That he should never leaue, nor be delayed.

The desertion of the court for the simple life of the country is, of course, a pastoral convention. But in the case of Essex it seems to have been his sincere desire to withdraw himself from the court and lead a retired life in the country. Sir Henry Wotton, Essex's sometime secretary, tells us (p. 161):

Always certain it is, that he [Leicester] drew him first into the fatal circle from a kind of resolved privateness at his house at *Lampsie*, in *South-Wales*: Where, after the Academical life, he had taken such a taste of the rural, as I have heard him say (and not upon any flashes or fumes of melancholy, or traverses of discontent, but in a serene and quiet mood) that he could well have bent his mind to a retired course.

And in another place, Wotton tells us (pp. 165-6) that Essex made, while out of favour, the following lines to be sung before the Queen:

And if thou shouldst by her now be forsaken
She made thy Hart too strong for to be shaken.

On this poem Wotton has the following comment: "As if he had been casting one eye back at least to his former retiredness."

Essex's habit of absenting himself from court is well known. . . . Essex himself expresses his distaste for court life in a letter to Sir Henry Unton, July 15, 1595 (*Cecil MSS.* 5. 280). He tells Unton that Cecil has not done anything about his case and that he would undertake it himself: "But I am so handled by this crew of sycophants, spies, and delators, as I have no quiet myself nor much credit to help my friends. Perhaps once a year I shall cry quittance with them."

Let us compare this love of "the rural" and the retired life on Essex's part with Calidore's speech to old Meliboe (9. 18-9 quoted).

In connection with Essex's habit of absenting himself from court, let us notice that his courtship of Walsingham's daughter was secret and, therefore of necessity, performed away from court. Calidore, likewise, fell in love with Pastorella during his unwarranted absence from his quest. Calidore's marriage is represented as taking place soon after Meliboe's death. Walsingham died in 1590 and Essex's marriage is

usually placed in that same year, though Conyers Read has discovered evidence that the marriage took place before June 1587. Whatever the date of the marriage, Essex certainly courted and married Lady Sidney secretly and away from the court. When the birth of a child in 1591 made the announcement of the wedding necessary, the Queen's anger knew no bounds. In order to placate her, Essex had to agree that his wife would live in retirement away from court. He, however, returned to his royal mistress. With these facts let us compare the events which took place after the marriage of Calidore and Pastorella (12. 12-4 quoted).

Moreover there are several incidents in this book which fit well into the history of Essex but which are not at all related to that of Sidney. The first of these is the rescue of Serena from the Blatant Beast by Calidore. This incident is usually interpreted as referring to Raleigh's affair with his future wife. De Sélincourt accepts this interpretation, but in the same paragraph identifies Calidore with Sidney. (Introduction to *Oxford Spenser*, p. liii.) This is, of course, preposterous; if Timias is Raleigh, Calidore cannot be Sidney. Raleigh's liaison with his future wife, Mistress Throckmorton, and its ensuing scandal took place in 1593. Sidney died in 1586. Now, I am perfectly aware of the fact that Spenser is not always consistent in his allegory. But I see no reason for our deliberate reading of inconsistencies into the allegory, when there is no need for it. Although the scandal about Raleigh is better known today than any other of the period, it is by no means the only one that received great attention at the time. In 1595, wide publicity was given to a bit of scandal caused by Southampton's amour with Elizabeth Vernon, a cousin to Essex. The gossip was widely circulated and both Elizabeth Vernon's and Lord Southampton's reputations were seriously impaired by the scandal. My Lord of Essex was the man who finally straightened it out and caused the wagging tongues to cease. His part in the affair was generally known and discussed. (Devereux 1. 474-5, from *Sidney Memoirs*.) The Serena episode could well be interpreted, and probably was, in 1596, thus: Essex (Calidore) aids Southampton (Calepine) and Elizabeth Vernon (Serena), who has been bitten by scandal (the Blatant Beast). Serena, we must remember, is Calepine's lady, not that of Timias. Raleigh may be imaged in Timias, but his wife could not be Serena.

Spenser makes an easy and apparent transition from Book V, the legend of Justice to Book VI, the quest of Sir Calidore, the knight of Courtesy. In the last canto of the fifth book he ends his account of Artegall with an incident of the Blatant Beast. . . . In this last canto, then, it is quite clear that Spenser blames envy, detraction, and slander (the Blatant Beast) for the failure of Lord Grey and subsequent commanders to settle finally the Irish question. In his *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, the prose counterpart of Book V, he directly attributes the failures of Elizabeth's various commanders in Ireland to slanders of envious persons both in Ireland and at court. For that very reason, then, he advocates the creation of a Lord Lieutenant, who by virtue of his high office and position at court will be out of reach of these foul hags and their cowardly beast. This Lord Lieutenant would, therefore, overcome the loathsome creatures. The only person who could accomplish this quest was, in Spenser's mind, Lord Essex. He plainly pointed to Essex in the *Veue*, and, as I have shown in another place, connected Essex with Ireland in Book V of the *Faerie Queene*. The quest of Sir Calidore, the hero of the sixth book, is the pursuit of this same Blatant Beast. Therefore, if Essex is given

the task of subduing the beast in Irish affairs, we have good reason to suppose that he is given the quest of that beast in Book Six.

De Sélincourt questions Ben Jonson's statement to Drummond that by the "Bleating Beast" the Puritans were understood [see above, p. 267]. Essex, however, fits far better in this incident than Sidney, for he was an outstanding advocate of religious toleration in that age of rabid intolerance. This is well brought out in the events of his later life. For example, on Sept. 4, 1597, George Leslie, a Scottish Catholic, sent the following report back to a Mr. Browne (*Salisbury MSS* 14. 22):

The hail nobilitie heir speik honorablie and seem well effectit to the Erle of Essex. Gif he sul interpois himself as one arbritor I feir me he will gang far and cast our cause mekill back. He is accomptit heir mair myld, nobill, temporat, and weill condisionat than tha Trasourar, albeit fast to his faction yet not bludie, cruel and consciences, but that he could be content to let pure catholickes have some oversicht sa that he myght be sure of the same swinge and swy in courte and cuntrey he has for the present.

Camden tells us that as early as 1594 the Papists began to "cast their eyes vpon the Earl of Essex (who never approved the putting of men to death in the cause of Religion)" (*Annales*, 1635, p. 428). Then, too, one of the main charges against Essex in both his trials was that he sought popularity by appearing to be a friend to all religious factions. In this respect, Sir Christopher Blount, in answer to a question, testified at his trial: "... The Earl did give him comfort that if he came to authority there should be toleration of religion. He was wont to say that he did not like that any man be troubled for his religion" (*CSP, Dom.*, 1598-1601, pp. 578-9).

Who, then, could more appropriately have caught the Blatant Beast at his iconoclasm than my Lord of Essex, the outstanding champion of religious freedom? So, Spenser, just as he had pointed to Essex as the only man to overcome the beast in Irish affairs, pictures him here as the check to religious bigotry.

But let me hasten to repeat that I do not contend that Spenser meant to equate Calidore with Essex throughout the book. Nor do I mean to say that Spenser's fundamental conception of the ideal courtier was based on Essex to the exclusion of all others. Had he written of the virtue of courtesy in 1580-90 he would undoubtedly have taken Sidney as a model. But that he did not do; the legend of Sir Calidore was written between 1590 and 1596. The whole matter may be summed up thus: Spenser in Book VI celebrated one of the virtues associated with Elizabeth's reign—courtesy or courtiership. But his description of that virtue was colored by the then living embodiment of it—Essex.

By including Essex in the character of Sir Calidore, then, Spenser has fulfilled his promise "To make more famous memory of [his] heroicke parts." He has presented to his readers that Earl as he was seen by his friends and admirers—as the type of chivalry, as a poet and patron of poets, as a man of learning and friend of learned men, as the lover and husband of one far below him in social status, as the friend to all in every walk of life, as the noble warrior, as the passionate lover of the country and the retired life, as the subject of pastorals and the writer of pastorals, as the melancholy shepherd, as the champion of religious toleration, as the Ideal Courtier best beloved by Queen and people.

APPENDIX III

THE HISTORICAL ALLEGORY

(Suggestions for the historical allegory may be found in Appendix II and in the notes of the Commentary as follows: 1. 9. 1, p. 189; 4. 33. 1-3, p. 204; 5. 12 ff., pp. 205-7; 5. 12. 1-2, p. 207; 7. 27 ff., p. 219; 7. 28 ff., pp. 220-221; 8. 35—36. 4, p. 233; 10. 25-27, p. 254; 10. 30-31, p. 255; 12. 3-13, pp. 262-4; 12. 22-25, pp. 265-7; 12. 41. 6, p. 271.)

SOURCES AND ANALOGUES

W. L. RENWICK (*Edmund Spenser*, p. 160). The Sixth Book, as might be expected, contains least matter from classical sources: there are evident reminiscences of Seneca in many places [cf. Commentary, pp. 189, 212, 214, 238]; but Chaucer and the romancers (alluded to, 3. 1), and the example of the best contemporaries, were authorities enough for Courtesy. Books which deal with more difficult questions, and questions which have been treated of by many minds, display a greater variety of sources, and Spenser evidently made a special study of the main authorities for each Book. It is only in the Sixth Book that Senecan borrowings appear in any quantity; the Stoic doctrine of the right of suicide, for instance, is mentioned only to be condemned by the Red Cross Knight.

SOURCES OF THE CASTLE OF BEARDS AND TRISTRAM EPISODES

EDGAR A. HALL ("Spenser and two Old French Grail Romances," 539-554). So far as the writer has been able to discover, attention has not been called to the probability that Spenser drew material directly from two French romances of the Grail-Perceval cycle for the episodes of the first two cantos of Book VI of the *Faerie Queene*. [Here follows a summary of canto 1, sts. 11-47.]

Let us turn now to the episode of the Castle of Beards as it appears in the prose *Perceval le Gallois*, or *Perlesvaus*. (Potvin's ed. *Conte du Graal*, vol. 1, p. 97 ff. For an English translation see Evans' *High History of the Holy Grail*, Everyman's Library ed., pp. 99-102.)

As Sir Lancelot was riding through a forest one day, he met another knight bowed low over his saddle-bow groaning with pain. The stranger warned him to turn back because of the evil custom maintained at the pass of the Castle of Beards, where a knight was required to part with his beard as toll, or challenge it. Lancelot proceeded undaunted and immediately beyond a great bridge found two armed and mounted knights at a castle gate, which was adorned with the beards and heads of many knights. One of the twain ordered him to halt and pay his toll. To his inquiry as to the reason for depriving knights of their beards the answer was that hermits in the forest made hair-shirts of them. In the encounter that followed Lancelot's refusal to comply with the demand, he slew one knight and wounded the other. The Lady of the Castle with two of her maidens issued forth at this

juncture and restrained the victor from killing the wounded knight. The Lady reproached Lancelot for the injury he had done her; he justified his act and inveighed against the wicked custom of the place. In the end it was amicably arranged that Lancelot should pass the night at the castle. At meat, for the Lady banqueted him, the courses were served by companies of knights in chains; each company was distinguished by some form of mutilation (the nose cut off, the eyes put out, etc.). By virtue of superior prowess Lancelot had escaped the fate of these maimed knights, the Lady told him. She ended by offering him her love and the lordship of her castle. He courteously declined, and the next morning resumed his journey.

The source of the fundamental motif of these two adventures, or rather two versions of one and the same story, is of course in a familiar legend of Celtic origin. (San Marte, *Beiträge zur bretonischen und celtisch-germanischen Heldensage*, p. 60.) The story of the Welsh giant or king, whose ambition to possess a mantle lined with the beards of defeated brother kings was frustrated by Arthur, appears episodically in the literature of the Middle Ages and later. (Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Hist. Reg. Brit.* 10. 3; the so-called "Suite" Merlin, or *Livre d'Arthur*, Pt. 2, fol. 105; Layamon, *Brut*, v. 11957 ff.; Malory, *Morte Darthur* 1. 24, where the version represents a fusing of the Merlin details with those of the *Chevalier aux Deux Epées*; Drayton, *Polyolbion*, song 4; the ballad of King Rience's Challenge, Furnivall's ed. Robert Laneham's Letter, pp. 41-2. Geoffrey's account is accepted by Professor W. A. Nitze as the probable prototype of the *Perlesvaus* form. (*The Old French Grail Romance of Perlesvaus*, p. 104 n.) We read in the *Historia* that the giant Ritho had furs ("pelles") made of the beards of kings he had slain, and that on one occasion he sent to Arthur to demand his beard, which, in consideration of that king's preëminence, he designed for the principal place in the garment. Refusal, he warned Arthur, would be followed by a challenge to single combat, with the beard of the vanquished and the furs themselves as the spoils of the victor. Arthur chose to fight, and defeated and slew the giant. Malory's version varies from Geoffrey's only in details which, with a single possible exception, can have no significance for this study. Malory's King Ryons has "trimmed a mantle" with beards.

So profound is the change wrought in the form and spirit of this old Celtic tale, so considerable and material are the accretions to it, as it comes from the hands both of the *Perlesvaus* writer and of Spenser that the hypothesis of coincidence, to account for the closeness of the parallel between the two versions, is altogether precluded.

Moreover, to account satisfactorily for the variations of Spenser's rendering from that of the *Perlesvaus*, it is quite unnecessary, I am persuaded, to postulate an antecedent of Spenser's version nearer to it than is the Old French romance. True, the changes and additions made by Spenser are numerous. [Spenser substitutes a squire and damsel for a knight, a seneschal for two knights, and a mantle for hair-shirts (cf. note on 6. 1. 13 and mention of King Ryence at 3. 2. 18); he omits the maimed knights and adds Crudor. His other additions are of common romance stock.]

But Spenser can not have worked up, independently, his whole Castle of Beards episode from Geoffrey, Malory, or any other similar form. He knew and used the *Perlesvaus* rendering or an analogue that agreed with it on the following points:

(1) the pass ("streight") commanded by a castle; (2) the name of the castle; (3) the nature of the wicked custom (the addition of the "locks of Ladies" to the toll is but a sort of duplication); (4) the advent of a knight-errant who is moved by first-hand knowledge of a specific instance of cruelty to undertake the overthrow of the custom; (5) the success of the knight against the champion or champions of the wicked custom; (6) the reproaches of the châtelaine and the nature of the knight's reply; (7) the feasting, on which occasion the Lady in vain offers her hand and her stronghold to the victor; (8) the sojourn of the latter in the castle for one night. No such analogue has come down to us. Copies are extant, however, of a printed edition of the *Perlesvaus*, dated 1521, which it is reasonable to suppose was accessible to Spenser.

The next event in Sir Calidore's quest, the recounting of which occupies the first thirty-nine stanzas of canto 2, brings the hero into contact with a youth whom Spenser calls Tristram, but who is in reality a composite of Malory's Tristram and a Perceval identical with the Perceval of Chrestien and the author of that "pseudo-Chrestien" portion of the *Conte du Graal* which comprises ls. 485-1282 of the poem as it appears in Potvin's edition, vol. 2, pp. 17-43. Spenser's freedom in the use of borrowed material is here again illustrated. With wonderful skill he crosses character with character, incident with incident, shifting the order of events, resetting and remotivating, until the finished product is a new episode which seems quite the poet's own creation. [Here follows a summary of sts. 1-39.]

The action of the canto, as distinguished from the narrative put into the mouth of Tristram, is a blend of two motifs of the Perceval story: the encounter of a youth unpractised in arms with an experienced knight, and the rescue of a lady from the cruelty of her lord. The fight parallels the combat between Perceval and the Red Knight (Potvin, ls. 2057-2159), in which Perceval, a youth untrained in feats of arms, on foot and without armor, matched himself against the formidable Red Knight fully armed and well-mounted, slew him by striking him with his "gavelot," a dart-like hunting weapon, and then donned his armor and appropriated his steed. The incidents occur, to be sure, at very different points in the two stories. In Chrestien and all the other Perceval romances except the *Perlesvaus* the encounter between the hero and the Red Knight takes place after the youth has left home, paid his respects to the Tent Lady, and visited the court of Arthur. Spenser's employment of such a combat at the beginning of his Tristram canto may, in view of the poet's well-recognized method of dealing with borrowed material, be wholly without significance; and, on the other hand, it may be another reminiscence of the *Perlesvaus*. We first hear of the son of the Widow Lady in the *Perlesvaus*, Branch 3, Title 8, where we are told of his slaying the Knight of the Red Shield, and shortly after, leaving his forest home. Spenser also remotivates and in part resets the incident, and it is this change of motivation and setting which involves the second theme mentioned above, the rescue of the lady from her lord's hard usage, and shows that there was present to Spenser's mind that episode of the Perceval story in which the hero champions the Tent Lady against her lord (Potvin, l. 4865 ff.). This incident, as it occurs in Potvin and the other narrators of Perceval's adventures, has no connection with the encounter with the Red Knight. A short time after Perceval overcame the enemies of Blanchefleur and married her, he bethought him of his mother and set off to visit her. In the course of his journey

he happened one day upon a lady in tattered garments mounted on a sorry steed, and listened to her account of the sufferings inflicted upon her by her husband. When the knight appeared at the close of the recital, Perceval, in the injured lady's behalf, engaged him in single combat. Just before the encounter Perceval learned that it was the Tent Lady for whom he had undertaken to fight, and that he was the innocent cause of the rigors she had endured. Thus the parallel in motivation between the two incidents extends no further than this: both heroes fight as champions of ladies ill treated by their lawful protectors. But the forest setting and the figures of the youth on foot, the mounted knight, and the single wretched female witness unite to make Spenser's picture a composite of the two scenes in the Perceval story. Nevertheless it cannot be contended that, considered apart from other details of the narrative, Spenser's use of the theme of the championship of the ill-treated wife could be traced to Perceval's espousal of the cause of the Tent Lady. Indeed, the crossing of motifs and incidents, together with the fact that the borrowings are employed merely in the nature of framework, serves so effectually to obscure specific sources that without additional evidence, we could not hazard a guess as to the particular Perceval romance to which Spenser is most indebted. But Tristram's account quoted above of his parentage and his forest rearing is sufficiently circumstantial to enable us to determine with practical certainty the originals of the Perceval portion, just as it reveals beyond peradventure the source of the Tristram element.

For the purpose of comparison, let us review, first the early life of the Tristram of Malory, and afterwards such typical versions of the youth of Sir Perceval as Spenser can have known.

In the *Morte Darthur* 8. 1-3, we read that Tristram was the son of Meliodas, "lord and king of the country of Liones," and of Elizabeth, sister of King Mark of Cornwall, who died in giving him birth. The stepmother whom Meliodas gave his heir at the end of seven years plotted to poison the lad after children were born to her. The design was discovered after two abortive attempts and the "traitress" was condemned to death by fire; but Tristram interceded and saved her. Immediately thereafter, however, Meliodas, as a measure of precaution, despatched Tristram into France in charge of Gouvernail, a gentleman of his court. Here the young Prince passed seven years and acquired "the language and nurture and deeds of arms" of that country. He also "learned to be an harper," and became so accomplished in hunting and hawking that the "book of venery is called the book of Sir Tristram."

No two accounts of the birth and *enfance* of Sir Perceval entirely agree. (1) The hero of the English *Sir Perceval of Galles* was the only son of Syr Percyvelle, a knight, and Acheffleur, sister of Arthur. The father was slain at the tournament held in honor of his son's birth. That Perceval might never learn the use of arms Acheffleur fled with him to the forest, accompanied by a single maiden. The boy attained the age of fifteen years with no accomplishments beyond skill in the chase. (2) The Perceval of Chrestien was the youngest of three sons. The name of neither his father nor his mother is given. The father's possessions were confiscated and he himself was banished. Having a manor in the forest, he was borne thither in a litter accompanied by his family and retinue. The two elder sons were treacherously slain a few years later, and the father died of grief. The mother

reared her surviving son in ignorance of all that belongs to knighthood; hunting was his only diversion. (3) In the "pseudo-Chrestien" prologue of the *Conte du Graal* (Potvin, vol. 2, pp. 17-43, ls. 485-1282) which, while deriving from a distinct tradition, was in Spenser's day as it is in ours incorporated with the *Conte* as if part and parcel of Chrestien's work, Perceval was born just after the death at a tournament of his father Bliocadran. The mother Herzelède took her son to the forest, where she had a splendid manor-house built for them and their numerous company. (4) From the *Perlesvaus* we get but fragmentary information as to the boyhood of its hero, whose father Alain li Gros, king of the Valleys of Camelot, had long suffered the gradual narrowing of his domains through the encroachments of the Lord of the Moors. We are told only that one day the youthful Perceval roaming in the forest saw the Knight of the Red Shield and the Knight of the White Shield in mortal combat and with his spear slew him of the Red Shield who was gaining the upper hand. The father prophesied that no good would come of this deed; shortly afterwards he sickened and died. Within a week after the exploit and before his father's death Perceval left home to begin his adventures. There is nothing here of a flight to the forest. The boy, however, has grown up in ignorance of the nature of knights and knighthood. Other versions of the romance call for no consideration in this connection: Spenser could not have read the German redaction by Wolfram nor the Welsh *Peredur* and, though he may have been able to catch the general drift of French as old as that of the *Didot-Perceval*, this version of the Perceval story which has come down to us in a unique manuscript seems not to have been known on either side of the Channel in his day.

From the foregoing synopses of Malory and the Perceval romances it is not difficult to disentangle the threads of the Tristram story of the *Morte Darthur* from the tangle of Perceval elements and to trace the Perceval portion to its originals. In four particulars the influence of the Tristram tale is clearly manifest: (1) The name of the father of Spenser's Tristram is borrowed from Malory with a slight variation of orthography. (2) Spenser's Queen Emiline acts through fear of the machinations of her son's usurping uncle. The usurping-uncle theme, which leaves the withholding of chivalric exercises from Tristram entirely without motivation, must have been suggested to Spenser by Malory's jealous step-mother theme, which for obvious reasons he could not, however, adopt. (3) Spenser's Tristram is sent to the "land of Faerie" rather than taken by his mother, as Malory's Tristram is sent to France by his father. (4) Quite unlike the Perceval of any of the romances, Spenser's Tristram is instructed in "gentle thewes"; Malory's Tristram learned the "language and nurture" of France. Hawking is specified among the accomplishments of both youths.

The Perceval elements with which these Tristram features are interwoven constitute the major portion of the greatly condensed narrative which Spenser makes his Tristram recite. A comparison of these elements with the corresponding details of the various Perceval stories shows that, while there are, as we should expect, echoes of the *Perlesvaus*, Spenser drew his material chiefly from another French form of the story, the *Conte du Graal*. (1) In Spenser, the father died several years apparently after the birth of his son; in the so-called "disputed passage" in Chrestien (ls. 1607-82) the death of Bliocadran did not occur till a few years after the birth of Perceval. In this detail the "disputed passage" differs from all

other accounts of Perceval. As the *Perlesvaus* makes the father live until after his son's departure from home, Spenser cannot have been following it at this point. (2) Spenser's Meliográs dies of "lives despeire." Vague as this detail is, we can at least be certain that it cannot have been suggested by the commonly assigned cause of the father's death; it may conceivably be interpreted as reminiscent of the death of Bliocadran in the "disputed passage" from grief for the loss of his elder sons. Perhaps the death of the lord of the Valleys of Camelot in the *Perlesvaus* was even more distinctly in the author's mind. (3) Tristram calls himself his father's "onely heire." While it is true that the Perceval of the genuine Chrestien portion of the *Conte* is the youngest of three sons, the "pseudo-Chrestien" prologue makes the hero an only child. In the *Perlesvaus* Perceval has a sister who figures as co-heir to the territories of Camelot. (4) In Spenser the queen takes counsel "of a wise man red"; in the "pseudo-Chrestien" Herzelède summons her *major*,

Que elle amait de grant amor
Qu'il estoit *sages* et vallans,

and together they plan the flight (l. 971 ff.). (5) Spenser's Tristram lives in the forest surrounded by a numerous company; in both Chrestien and the "pseudo-Chrestien" mother and son are accompanied to the forest by their household. That the companions Spenser gives his Tristram are "noble" may be another Tristram echo, although Malory has no specific mention of any associates of Tristram save Gouvernail. (6) Spenser has a passage in which he paints the young Tristram lost in admiration of the accoutrement of the knight he has slain (39. 1-5):

But Tristram, then despoyling that dead knight
Of all those goodly implements of prayse,
Long fed his greedie eyes with the faire sight
Of the bright Mettall shyning like Sunne rayes,
Handling and turning them a thousand wayes.

Chrestien dwells through the course of several hundred lines on the fascination of the sight of knightly equipment for the *enfant* Perceval (ls. 1339 ff.):

Et vit ecsus formoians
Et les haubiers clers et luisans;
Et les lances et les escaus
Que onques mais n'avoit veus,
Et vit le vert at le vermel
Reluire contre le solel
Et l'or et l'asur et l'argent, etc.

Nothing similar occurs in any other version of the Perceval story.

Surely the evidence is sufficient to justify the conclusion that the main source of the Perceval element in Spenser's Tristram episode is the *Conte du Graal*, a version of which in French prose of the early 16th century was printed at Paris in 1530, and in circulation in France and England during Elizabeth's time. In consideration of Spenser's wide familiarity with romance literature, the burden of proof must rest with any one who should deny the extreme likelihood that the poet was conversant with versions of the two Old French grail romances which we have been considering. The occurrence of the two episodes under discussion in consecutive cantos

and at the beginning of the series of adventures to which they belong is a circumstance that tells its own story: Spenser, when casting about for material out of which to work up a sixth set of knightly exploits, bethought him of the Grail cycle and launched the quest of the Knight of Courtesy with two adventures, the matter of which he derived from these romances.

The scope of this article admits of no extended discussion of the allegory of the *Faerie Queene*. But the study has bearings on that vexed problem that may properly be indicated by way of conclusion. Spenser's allegory is largely mediæval in type; some of it is definitely reminiscent of the great allegories of the Middle Ages. (Cf. the Temple of Venus allegory, 4. 10, with the garden of Sir Mirth in the *Roman de la Rose*.) Little, however, of this important element of the *Faerie Queene* can be credited to the chief English source of Spenser's romance material; for Malory, unlike both the mediæval writers and Spenser, had small sense for the spiritual values with which external events may be invested: the stories he retold were good stories to him and nothing more. When, therefore, a thoroughgoing study is made of the mediæval elements in Spenser's allegory, the French sources of Malory and such other pieces of contemporary literature, French and English, as there is reason to believe Spenser knew must come in for critical consideration. That an examination of the *Perlesvaus* in this connection would prove fruitful seems highly probable; for the romance is pure allegory, and allegory which, like the *Faerie Queene*, imparts religious and moral teaching in terms of knight-errantry.

SOURCES OF THE SERENA AND CALIDORE-PASTORELLA EPISODES

THOMAS WARTON (*Observations on the Fairy Queen* 1. 155). The distress of Pastorell is somewhat similar to that of Ariosto's Isabel (12. 91 ff.), who is seized by certain outlaws or pirates, and imprisoned in a cave, in order to be sold for a slave.

This pastoral part of the *Fairy Queen* seems to have been occasioned by Sydney's *Arcadia*, and in conformity to the common fashion of the times, which abounded in pastoral poetry.

JOHN UPTON (*Spenser's Faerie Queene* 2. 649). This story of Pastorella is founded on the old romance called *Dorastus and Fawnia*, from which Shakespeare borrowed the plan of his play called the *Winter's Tale*: or rather Spenser might borrow from the original, viz. the pastoral of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus, which pastoral-romance if the reader consults, he will find some corresponding passages and imitations.

(*Ibid.* 2. 653). The reader at his leisure may compare this episode of Pastorella, being carried away by these brigands to a cave, with a like description in *Orl. Fur.* 12, 13, where Orlando finds Isabella in a cave of robbers. See likewise the description of the cave in Heliodorus [repr. Underdowne's trans. Book I, p. 35], where the Egyptian Thyamis confines the beautiful Chariclea. [See notes on 4. 17-23; 4. 31 ff.; 8. 38. 6-7; and 9. 14 in the Commentary.]

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Shakespeare's Pastorals," pp. 123-9). *Daphnis and Chloe* supplied the chief elements in the plot of a type of pastoral which was used, with some modifications, by Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare. The romance is too well-known to need detailed exposition; the main points may be summarized as follows:

Two foundlings are brought up by rustics whom they regard as their parents; their childhood is described in detail, and the manner in which they became lovers; the purity and sweetness of this love idyl are emphasized; character contrast is supplied by means of a rude lover, the rival of the hero, who is also a coward; disguised as a wolf, he attacks the girl, who is rescued by the hero. Later, wicked men attempt without success to kidnap the boy, the rival being slain in the encounter, and the incident is repeated in the captivity of the heroine by outlaws. At length the lovers are reunited; wealthy parents come and recognize them, and they are happily married.

This is the story, in brief, of the only true Greek pastoral which influenced English literature; other Greek romancers, such as Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, stressed the wanderings of the lovers and introduced various other elements which are without significance in the present study. The Italian and Spanish pastoral romances, such as the *Ameto*, the *Arcadia*, and the *Diana*, have little relation to this plot; they introduce various love idyls and go back to the Virgilian eclogues. But with them the element of allegory is introduced; there is the further important influence of style, particularly the interweaving of prose and verse; and in the introduction of the author, often as a disappointed lover who is living for the time among shepherds, a noteworthy addition to the *dramatis personae* was made.

From these various sources, all well known in the England of Sidney's time, a composite plot was formed, the essentials of which are as follows:

1. A child of unknown parentage, usually a girl, is brought up by shepherds. As a variant, the heroine may merely be living in seclusion among shepherds.
2. A lover is introduced, who may be a foundling, or, more commonly, a man of high birth who falls in love with the heroine and for her sake adopts the dress and the life of a shepherd or a forester.
3. This love story is complicated by the rivalry of a blundering shepherd, usually characterized as a coward, his function being to supply comedy and to serve as a foil for the hero.
4. Melodramatic elements are supplied by the attack of a lion or a bear, and this affords the hero another opportunity to prove his prowess.
5. A captivity episode is usually introduced; the heroine is stolen by pirates or outlaws; the hero goes to her rescue.
6. At length it develops that the girl is of high birth, and she marries the hero.
7. From Italian and Spanish sources comes an extra character, not vitally connected with the plot, often the author of the romance; usually this man is afflicted with melancholy and is living among shepherds because of his woes.

Sidney's *Arcadia* is often referred to as a pastoral; in reality it is a heroic "poem," according to the standards of Sidney and his circle, in which a pastoral episode is introduced. The action opens, in the midst of the story, with this pastoral, but that the pastoral is not the chief element in the story is evidenced not only by the space given in Books I and II to the epic history of Pyrocles and Musidorus but by the fact that throughout Book III, the most important of the entire work, the pastoral completely disappears. The plot of this pastoral portion of *Arcadia* follows closely the type outlined above:

1. A king, or, in the first version, a duke, lives with his daughters in pastoral seclusion.

2. Two princes come to the place; in order to get access to the maidens one disguises himself as a shepherd, the other as an Amazon.
3. A blundering shepherd, guardian of one of the girls, supplies comic interest; his cowardice is especially dwelt on.
4. Melodramatic incidents are supplied by the advent of a lion and a bear; the heroes save the maidens.
5. Two illustrations of the captivity motif are given: there is an incursion of the rabble by which the lives of the heroines are greatly endangered; the attempt, however, is foiled by the heroes. Later, by a ruse, the girls are abducted and are kept in captivity for a long time; the Amazon is also captured, but the shepherd goes to the aid of his lady. Here the pastoral disappears and a long series of chivalric adventures takes its place.
6. At length the heroines are released and marriages follow.
7. A melancholy shepherd named Philisides (Sidney), who has no part in the main action, is living in this pastoral seclusion because of an unhappy love affair (Stella).

The variations in this plot are not significant. There is a quartet of lovers, and the complications are, of course, increased thereby. The boorish shepherd is the guardian, not a suitor. The foundling motif is absent; the heroines are ladies of high rank. But the disguise of the lover as a shepherd; the character contrast supplied by Dametas; the incidents of the wild beasts, the rabble, and the captivity; the melancholy shepherd who is not connected directly with the action,—all these are based directly upon the special type of pastoral plot outlined above.

We have now to consider two important but apparently overlooked illustrations of the influence of this part of the *Arcadia*. The first is the Pastorella-Calidore episode in *Faerie Queene* VI; the second is supplied by *As You Like It*. The Pastorella-Calidore story is important not only because it is closely parallel to some of Shakespeare's pastorals in plot and in its interpretation of pastoralism, but also because there are indications that it had direct influence on Shakespeare. In view of its importance, I give the plot of this episode in some detail; the numbers prefixed to the sections indicate the relations existing between Spenser and the typical plot already outlined, but I have not altered the sequence of events:

1. Calidore, in pursuit of the Blatant Beast, comes upon a group of shepherds. Among them is a damsel wearing a crown of flowers and clad in home-made greens that her own hand had dyed; she sits on a hillock, and all around are country lads and lasses. Calidore is fascinated by her beauty, and in the evening gladly goes home with her and the old shepherd who is reputed to be her father. Spenser here explains that this shepherd is not really her father, but had found her in open fields, "as old stories tell."
2. After supper, Calidore and the old shepherd discourse on the charms of pastoral life; love for the fair Pastorella so inflames the knight that he seeks permission to remain. Thus Calidore, forgetting his quest, becomes a shepherd, and passes a long time in this idyllic existence.
3. Pastorella has many lovers, chief among them Coridon, who is in every way unworthy of her. The rivalry between Calidore and this shepherd is stressed, especially in such a way as to bring out the superiority of Calidore in courtesy and prowess.

4. On one occasion a tiger attacks Pastorella. Coridon acts the part of a coward, but Calidore slays the beast with his sheep-hook. By this means he wins the love of the maiden.

5. After a long period of happiness, brigands capture Pastorella and Coridon in Calidore's absence. The captain of the thieves loves the shepherdess but she foils him. In the meantime Calidore is searching far and wide. In an attack upon the brigands by some merchants who have come to buy slaves, Coridon escapes, the old shepherd is killed, and Pastorella is left for dead. Coridon finds Calidore, but is afraid to go back to the place where, he says, Pastorella was slain. He is forced to do so, however, and to the great joy of the knight he finds his lady and rescues her from the thieves.

6. Calidore restores the flocks to Coridon and takes Pastorella to the castle of Belgard where he leaves her with Sir Bellamour and his lady while he takes up once more his quest of the Beast. It soon appears that Pastorella is the long lost daughter of Bellamour and Claribell. The story is left incomplete by Spenser, since the remainder of the book, the last part of the *Faerie Queene* completed by Spenser, is taken up with the account of Calidore's quest; there is no doubt whatever that Spenser intended later to have Calidore return and claim Pastorella as his bride.

7. A shepherd named Colin (Spenser) has no part in the main action; Pastorella is fond of his music, and on one occasion Calidore comes upon him piping merrily to a bevy of maidens, who however disappear on the approach of a mortal.

That this plot corresponds very closely to the type is instantly apparent. There are variations, of course, but they do not affect the conclusion that *Daphnis and Chloe*, *Arcadia*, and the story of Pastorella are closely related. In the Greek pastoral both hero and heroine are ignorant of their parentage, while in *Arcadia* a king adopts pastoral life in order to keep his daughters from marrying, so that although the hero becomes a shepherd it is in order to deceive the father, not the girl; in the *Faerie Queene* the girl is a foundling but the lover is a knight like Musidorus. These variants are due to the fact that in both *Arcadia* and *Faerie Queene* the pastoral is an episode in a chivalric romance. Again, Spenser's version of the captivity, while similar in many respects to that of Longus, apparently owes something to the story of Isabella in Ariosto, and differs decidedly from the chivalric story of the third book of Sidney's romance, in which the pastoral is dropped. (Warton, *Observations*, p. 155, conjectures that the story of Pastorella's captivity is from Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, canto 12 and following. Isabella's story, however, is not a pastoral, and is wholly different from that of Spenser's heroine, save in the detail that both are held captive by robbers and are freed by a knight. Orlando, who rescues Isabel, is not her lover. Even if Spenser had in mind Isabella's story, therefore, this is not the source of the Pastorella story as a whole.) But the three pastorals have exactly the same incidents and the same situations, told in the same order: the story of love between a hero and a heroine who though of high station are living as shepherds; the clown who serves as foil and rival; the rescue of the girl from a wild beast; the captivity; the final recognition. Spenser and Sidney further agree in the important detail of the extra shepherd, taken from Italian and Spanish romances which do not follow the plot structure here considered.

Two suggestions as to possible sources of the Pastorella-Calidore story have been made. The first of these dates from Upton, who thought that Greene's *Dorastus and Fawnia* was Spenser's source, and this suggestion has been followed by others.

[Cites Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 101-1.] This identification is untenable, however, since the two plots differ in almost every respect save that a prince becomes a shepherd to win the love of a maiden thought to be the daughter of an old shepherd. But the shepherd-garb of Dorastus is a mere ruse which does not deceive Fawnia; there is no stress on the shepherd life, since the story consists in the main of descriptions of the struggle between the love of Dorastus and his feeling that it was beneath him to love a shepherdess. The other stock elements of this plot, such as the attack by wild beasts and the captivity, are wanting; there is no extra shepherd; and the elopement is a radical departure from the type. Such apparent resemblances as the discussion between the lovers as to the relative advantages of shepherd and city life are merely fortuitous. The second possible source, which has also been frequently cited, is the story of Erminia in Tasso. (*Gerusalemme Liberata* 7 and 19. Jusserand, *Literary History of the English People* 2. 503 and note, cites this passage as the source of the Pastorella story, and others have also noticed a resemblance.)

Escaping in the armor of Clorinda, Erminia is pursued by enemies and at length comes upon a shepherd and his three sons. They are terrified at the appearance of the warrior, but she soon reassures them, and marvels at their peaceful employments so near the dreadful conflicts of the war. The old shepherd tells her that they are safe because they are inoffensive and possess nothing that tempts the cupidity of others; he knows all about the great world, for much of his life was spent as a gardener in the city; he is glad to be back in a place where life is sound and sweet. Erminia is so impressed by this praise of country life that she remains with the shepherds. The story leaves her and returns to the scenes of battle; after a long time we learn that she ran away from the shepherds, desiring to seek her lover, but she was captured by outlaws and was given as a present to their captain, who took pity on her and set her free. She comes upon Tancred apparently dead, but her tears revive him and she cures him.

In one important detail, Spenser is beyond question indebted to this story. Old Melibee tells Calidore that he had spent most of his life in the city as a gardener, and he makes this experience the basis for his comparison between country and town. Calidore is impressed, as Erminia had been, by this testimony, and desires to live among the shepherds. But the Erminia story has only two elements of the typical plot: the sojourn among shepherds, and the captivity. Even these vary widely from type, for she is not with her lover, and thus the most important of all the incidents, the fundamental situation itself, is wanting. Such details as the attack by wild beasts, the rival shepherd, the melancholy shepherd, and the pastoral group that gives atmosphere to such a story are all lacking in Tasso. Erminia decorates trees with love complaints, like Orlando, and she soon runs away, going to meet captivity instead of waiting for captivity to come to her according to the rules of the pastoral game. For all these reasons the Erminia story, like the story of Fawnia, is not Spenser's main source. One detail he got from it, just as he was probably influenced by the story of Isabel in the incident of the captivity, but the true source of the Pastorella-Calidore episode is Sidney's *Arcadia*. . . .

Again, there is a striking similarity between *Arcadia* and the *Faerie Queene* in the manner in which the pastoral element is introduced. In both cases we have a chivalric romance intended as a heroic poem. In this epic a pastoral is introduced

which has more than mere plot interest. The model for both was probably the Dido-Aeneas passage in Virgil, not that Virgil tells it as a pastoral but that the three episodes show how the perfect hero forgets for a time his task in his subjection to love. In each case the hero is blamed for his dereliction, though the surpassing power of love is fully recognized. This combination of pastoral with heroic material in Sidney and Spenser is very different from the mixture of pastoral and chivalric in such romances as those by Greene and Lodge; in the one case it is organic, reflecting a conscious theory of poetry and of life; in the other it is fortuitous, introduced for variety and told in the manner of romance, not of epic. Finally, the influence of Sidney in the second part of the *Faerie Queene* (Books IV-VI) is constant and is of sufficient strength to bring about changes in Spenser's methods that are considerable. This influence is seen not merely in the Calidore-Pastorella story but throughout these three books. In part it is due to the great vogue of *Arcadia* following its first publication in 1590. That Spenser had seen the work in MS and that Sidneyan influence is to be found in Books I-III is not unlikely, but with Book VI, which Spenser must have begun shortly after his visit to London, the indebtedness is beyond question.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES ("Spenser's Debt to the Greek Romances," pp. 59-76; digested). John Upton indicated in 1758 Spenser's debt in Book VI to Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius, expressing doubt, however, whether the debt was imitation at first hand or the use of a prevalent Elizabethan convention.

Mr. Greenlaw, in his article on "Shakespeare's Pastorals," without referring to Mr. Wolf's study, *Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction*, considers *Daphnis and Chloe* "the only true Greek pastoral which influenced English literature." He rejects *Dorastus and Fawnia* as Spenser's source, since "the two plots differ in almost every respect save that a prince becomes a shepherd to win the love of a maiden thought to be the daughter of an old shepherd." He implies that Longus's influence on the *Faerie Queene* was indirect, coming through Sidney's *Arcadia*, which, he holds, exerted a constant and profound influence upon Books IV-VI.

Upton's three notes exhaust the resemblances in concrete detail between *The Faerie Queene* and the Greek romances. A survey of them is quickly made. The uncompleted sacrifice of Serena by the "savage nation" resembles the scene in *Clitophon and Leucippe* in too many respects to disclaim all connection with it, but the relation has probably been transmitted through several intermediaries. Both girls are condemned to the same fate by barbaric captors against the will of the majority and in consequence of the influence of priests. Both are placed upon improvised altars and both escape their doom, the Sidonian maiden by a device of her pretended executioners who are really her friends, and Serena by the timely advent of her champion, Sir Calepine. The tone of Achilles Tatius' story is unmistakable in Spenser's episode, yet there are so many discrepancies between the two stories that it would be absurd to call *Clitophon and Leucippe* Spenser's source. The story in its Greek form is central and structural, while in *The Faerie Queene* it is episodic. The treatment of character by the two narrators is utterly different. In Spenser's version the incident closes with the chivalrous rescue of the lady by her knight. In Achilles Tatius' version, Clitophon plays a passive and almost pusillanimous part as the heroes are inclined to do in all of the Greek romances, so bent were their authors upon pathetic effects. (Theagenes' defeat of the pirate captain in

The Aethiopian Historie — Book 5, p. 151, translation of Thomas Underdowne edited in "The Tudor Translations" by Charles Whibley—is the only instance of conspicuous courage in the hero of any of the Greek romances.)

In Pastorella's exposure Spenser handled a subject dear to the hearts of writers of romance in the sixteenth century. Upton's reference of it to *Dorastus and Fawnia* (i. e., *Pandosto*) had more justification than he suspected, for Greene's masterpiece appeared in 1589, just a year before Spenser visited England to put the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* into Ponsonby's hands and to collect material for the last three, to the composition of which he intended to devote the remaining years of his Irish exile. *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* indicates, it seems, that he came into contact with some of Greene's work during this English visit and rather admired it. Perhaps he paid Greene the compliment of appropriating one element of his latest and best story. Upton called Pastorella's exposure a parallel to that of Chloe in Longus' romance (*op. cit.*, Book 1, secs. 6-7), but in its circumstances of secrecy and compulsion it is more like Chariclea's exposure by her mother's servant in *The Aethiopian Historie* (Underdowne, *op. cit.*, p. 38). Chloe was exposed by her father as a sordid matter of course because she was a superfluous baby. Her discovery by Dryas in the Cave of the Nymphs where one of his strayed ewes was giving her suck left no mark upon Spenser's story.

The third resemblance which Upton noticed between the story of Pastorella and various motifs in the Greek romances is the least significant of the three. He thought the cave where she was confined by her robber-captors very like that where the pirate Thyamis imprisoned Chariclea, and the whole incident of the pirates' incursion in the tenth and eleventh cantos of the sixth book of *The Faerie Queene* seemed to him rather definitely imitated from Heliodorus. But there are no detailed resemblances to identify Spenser's treatment with the suggested Greek source, and the common element of a pirate raid means nothing. Pirates were the prime *devil ex machina* of Heliodorus and his successors. Leucippe is kidnapped by pirates in the neighborhood of the Pharos of Alexandria. Daphnis is shanghaied by sea-rovers, and his miraculous rescue leads to the first pathetic climax in his *education sentimentale* with Chloe. In the fifth book of *The Aethiopian Historie* (in quite a different situation from that in the first book where Chariclea is confined by robbers in a cave), the heroine is abducted by a pirate captain and saved by her lover, who worsts him in single combat (p. 151). Again she is saved from the lust of a pirate captain only by the device of stirring up his lieutenant to murder him (pp. 22-3). The motif was widespread in fiction in the Renaissance. . . .

The sixth book of *The Faerie Queene* contains one motif which is prominent in all of the Greek romances, but which Upton did not mention. It is the riddling prophecy. Spenser made use of it in the punning tradition about the heir of the childless Sir Bruin (4. 32):

Yet was it sayd, there should to him a sonne
Be gotten, not begotten, which should drinke
And dry up all the water which doth ronne
In the next brooke, by whom that feend should be fordonne.

This prophecy is introduced merely for the sake of providing a ready way for Sir Calepine to dispose of a foundling baby. The detail about drinking up all the

water in a neighboring brook is forgotten by the poet as soon as written, but it may have a remote structural intention. Had the twelfth book of *The Faerie Queene* been written, we should probably have the adventure of the brook. Prophecies akin to this were a part of the technique inherited from Heliodorus which made oracles about the lives of children exposed at birth a regular means to the dramatic solution of the plot. Shakespeare's oracle from Delphi in *The Winter's Tale* of the king who should live without an heir if the lost were not found is a typical example of the type. Ultimately its source should be sought in the New Comedy of Menander which Heliodorus was fond of mentioning as his model in many scenes of pathetic melodrama. It is a quite different thing from the prophecies of Merlin in the Arthurian legends and from the vaticinations sprinkled so generously through *Amadis de Gaul*. Their function is to consolidate the action by a sense of impending doom, the function that is illustrated for modern readers in Tennyson's *Passing of Arthur*. The nearest analogue of Heliodorus' type of prophecy, Mr. Wolff has shown conclusively, is found in Sidney's *Arcadia*, and in that instance it seems reasonably sure that the Greek romance was a genuine "source." At bottom the quibbling prophecy is a dramatic device, and it may very well have been in the most popular of Renaissance Italian pastoral plays, Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, that Spenser first became acquainted with it. There he found it assimilated to a poetic purpose which had much in common with his own. Perhaps, if his early "Nine Comedies" ever come to light, we may find in them a bond between this episode of the prophecy about Sir Bruin's heir and the oracle in Guarini's fantasy (p. 27, ed. 1914):

Non avrà prima fin quel che v'offende,
che duo semi del ciel congiunga Amore;
e de donna infedel l'antico errore
l'alta pietá d'un pastor fido ammende.

"From what has been said it appears that there are only four motifs in *The Faerie Queene* which derive with significant immediacy from the Greek romances. None of them is developed by Spenser in a way to commit them with any certainty to a definite Greek source, and all of them had many analogues in the literature of the Renaissance. In the later cantos of the sixth book Spenser moves into a pastoral world for the first time in *The Faerie Queene* and quits the regions of chivalric romance and courtly love in which his story previously moves. This world, as Mr. Greenlaw has suggested, is very like that of Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* though it probably owes its creation to the prestige of Sidney's pastoral episode in the *Arcadia*. Virgil's idyl of Dido and Aeneas, interrupting a more heroic story, perhaps justified such an intrusion of pastoral material to both Sidney and Spenser."

Beside concrete indebtedness, Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* does share two significant features with the Greek romances,—his pictorial quality and his moral tone. The former has a rich background of tradition, both medieval and contemporary. "It was an outstanding convention of the literary tradition centering in the poetry of courtly love which found an exemplification especially authoritative for Spenser in *The Knight's Tale* and in *The Parlement of Fowles*. His initiation into authorship by way of van der Noodt's *Theatre for Worldlings* fitted him to share the confusion of the arts and painting so characteristic of his time. He went farther than any other poet of the first rank in the Renaissance in what seems like

a naïve interpretation of the critical catch-phrase then so popular, *ut pictura poesis*. He seems to have made a working principle of the doctrine that the ideal in painting should be realistic illusion, and that poetry should be a literal transcript of painting. . . .

"An obsession with pictures was more characteristic of the Greek romances than it was of any of the writers in the western romantic tradition. . . . The literature of the Renaissance was so full of this mania that it is unnecessary to suppose that Spenser contracted it directly from Longus or Achilles Tatius, but it is remarkable that he always conceived his art as more or less a contest with the 'life-resembling pencill' of Zeuxis and Praxiteles [3. Pr. 2]. Sidney's *Arcadia* was a channel through which this peculiarity of the Greek romances probably affected Spenser."

With Heliodorus Spenser can claim at least "a certain like-mindedness" in moral purpose, a quality stressed in Underdowne's translation, which Spenser could have known. "Heliodorus was a preacher, and his gospel was composed of commonplaces not unlike Spenser's 'Twelve Morall Virtues.' Chastity, temperance, friendship, justice, and courtesy are all formal topics in his ethic. They are identical with the six moral virtues which Spenser actually allegorized, minus the first, holiness or courage, which he derived mainly from Christian and chivalrous sources. . . . Heliodorus in a fashion infinitely less serious than Spenser tried to vulgarize the principles of an eclectic ethic derived from classical and Christian sources. . . .

"Courtesy is a definitely recognized though little-stressed virtue in *The Aethiopian Historie*, and there is some speculation along vaguely Aristotelian lines about the nature of friendship. . . . There are many appeals to justice throughout Heliodorus' story, and the conception of the virtue is very much more speculative and 'civil' than that of the simple *lex talionis* so often invoked under the name of justice in *Amadis de Gaule*. Equity is distinguished from justice as it is in the fifth book of the *Faerie Queene*, but it does not mean justice tempered with mercy as definitely as it does in Spenser. All these virtues, it must be confessed, bear no very striking resemblance to the qualities which Spenser called by identical names, but Underdowne, in his marginal notes, lets us see that he understood them as being much the same as those exemplified in the moral 'legends' of the *Faerie Queene*."

We can conclude, therefore, that the Greek romances were of small direct influence upon Spenser's poetry. That certain elements derive ultimately from them is true, but that these same elements had long become literary commonplaces we must concede as well.

T. P. HARRISON, JR. ("The *Faerie Queene* and the *Diana*," pp. 51-5). The object of this paper is to suggest wherein Spenser may have employed the *Diana* of Montemayor, Spain's popular pastoral which deeply interested his friend Sidney. Two episodes in the *Faerie Queene* reveal a considerable resemblance to certain features of the *Diana* by Montemayor's continuator Alonzo Perez: namely, that concerning Pastorella and Calidore (6. 9), and Placidus and Amyas (4. 7). . . .

Professor Greenlaw has indicated that Spenser's main source was Sidney rather than Longus, Greene, Ariosto, or Tasso; his conclusions are additionally supported by other evidence of Sidney's influence upon Spenser. However indisputable his points, the fact remains that Mr. Greenlaw has overlooked the importance of the Spanish pastoral as it concerns the type story found in *Daphnis and Chloe* and its successors. . . .

Regarding the *Diana* the present writer has suggested ("A Source of Sidney's *Arcadia*," *Texas Studies in English* 6. 53 ff.) that both Montemayor and his continuators were considerably inspired by the Greek Romances and, further, that Sidney's borrowings from the Spanish romance mainly concerned the disguises and amorous adventures of the princes Pyrocles and Musidorus. And it is this Spanish plot which is in part employed by Spenser in the pastoral episode in the *Faerie Queene*. Yet certain features of the Spanish romance present in the *Faerie Queene*, lacking in the *Arcadia*, serve to add that romance to Spenser's sources, and, while modifying Mr. Greenlaw's specific conclusions, throw new light upon his major thesis, that the interrelations of Spenser and Sidney are newly significant. For, as Sidney himself borrowed from the Spanish romance more extensively than did any of his contemporaries, the argument is plausible, in view of the facts of their personal and literary relations, that Sidney introduced Spenser to the pastoral which so engaged his attentions in the *Arcadia*.

Omitting the irrelevant features of the Spanish story, the following events occur in sequence, although as in Sidney and Spenser, the romance enters *in medias res*:

1. Two young noblemen, Parthenius and Delicius, setting out together in search of their parents, come upon a maiden singing by a river. (Though not twins, they exactly resemble each other in body and in fortunes. Ignorant of their parentage, thinking themselves brothers, they have been reared by shepherds until in early youth they go to the court.)

2. The maiden, Stela, called a nymph and for a time appearing in the company of river-nymphs, is no other than a shepherdess, the daughter of a simple old man Parisiles. She and her company disappear into the river on the approach of the courtiers.

3. Both youths immediately become enamored of the maiden. They spend the night at the house of her father. They decide to disguise as shepherds in order to get access to the maiden. A second maiden, Crimine, soon appears, and the youths obtain the maidens' permission to remain in their company for a time. Accordingly, the quest of their parents is temporarily abandoned.

4. Stela is wooed by a giant shepherd, Gorphorost, whose uncouth manners serve as a foil to the courtliness of the youths. At times the giant, becoming lustful, pursues the maiden. He befriends Parthenius and to distinguish him gives him a sheep-hook. Parthenius lends the gift to his friend and is captured and imprisoned in a cave by the giant, who considers Delicius a rival in love. Constantly the giant confuses the youths. Moreover, each youth vies with the other in offering to relinquish his mistress to his friend.

This story, like Spenser's, remains incomplete, Perez never reaching the intended marriages. The account of the early life of the youths, leading toward a general recognition scene, is told partly by a servant of their family and partly by a friend. Early in the romance there occurs one recognition scene, as the old man Parisiles recognizes his long lost daughter.

The parallels here to Spenser's romance of Sir Calidore and Pastorella are apparent:

1. The foundling motif. In Perez it is learned that the youths when infants were left with shepherds by persons who do not return. In effect this is identical with the conventional motif employed in *Daphnis and Chloe* and its successors, including Spenser but not Sidney. Unlike Perez, in Spenser the foundling is a girl.

2. The interrupted quest. In Spenser and Sidney the pastoral is episodic, more space being given to the epic history of the heroes. In Perez attention is perhaps equally divided between the pastoral erotic complications after the disguise and the history of the youths, which though not chivalric is far removed from any pastoral suggestion; ultimately the Spanish author is forced to resolve his heterogeneous plots into the pastoral background, which in his romance is entirely unimportant. In Perez, the pastoral is an episode delaying a serious quest, which like Spenser's hero the Spanish youths plan to continue. Furthermore, Perez's romance concludes before he reaches the point of final recognitions and marriages. Though he does not tell of Pastorella's marriage with Sir Calidore, Spenser gives place to the recognition scene (*Faerie Queene* 6. 12), which has nothing in common with Perez except that with the Spaniard recognition is implied and imminent in the disclosures of the servant and friend as to the true history of the courtiers; in Spenser the recognition is accomplished through a similar intermediary, the servant Melissa.

3. The old man Parisiles is not unlike Meliboe, who, however, is only the foster-father of Pastorella. Perez and Spenser agree in that the father is a simple old man wholly different from his counterpart in Sidney, the lecherous old king, Basilius.

4. The disguise. The Spanish youths, like Calidore, spend a night at the house of the father, and themselves decide upon the pastoral disguise; they secure permission to remain in the neighborhood, from the maidens, not from the father, as in Spenser; and after, not before, they assume disguise. Sidney's heroes disguise in order to deceive the parents of the maidens, in Perez and in Spenser to deceive the maidens.

5. The uncouth suitor. In Sidney this rôle is played by Dametas, who is a guardian, not a suitor. Dametas and Spenser's Coridon have in common the quality of cowardice. Perez's giant is perhaps as far removed from Spenser's boor; yet the purpose of all three figures is essentially the same: to provide contrast to the refined courtiers. The giant's lustful pursuit of the maidens, his capture and imprisonment of the supposed rival are vaguely reminiscent of Spenser's account of the captivity of Pastorella, some details of which, however, have properly been traced to the story of Isabella in Ariosto. As in the stock plot, then, Perez, Spenser, and Sidney include the captivity motif.

Two additional parallels from Montemayor's romance conclude the consideration of this episode in Spenser: the presence of the melancholy shepherd, who in Montemayor, not in Sidney and Spenser, is definitely connected with the plot; and second, melodramatic incidents in the attack of satyrs, which corresponds to that of a lion and bear (*Arcadia*) and of a tiger (*Faerie Queene*). Unlike the English authors, the Spaniard uses this attack as occasion for the bravery, not of suitors, but of a warrior maiden. . . .

THE SOURCES OF THE BLATANT BEAST

EMIL KOEPPPEL ("Spenser's 'Blatant Beast,'" pp. 164-8), quite unaware that Todd had anticipated him (see note on 12. 27 ff.), pointed out a forerunner of the Blatant Beast in "la beste glatissant" of the *Histoire du Chevalier Doré*. He cites Brunet to the effect that this *Histoire* is but an excerpt from the romance of *Perceforest*, with the hero's name changed to Peleon. Koeppel quotes from an edition of 1531-2, but the passages are essentially the same as those quoted by Todd. He adds two or three details not mentioned by Todd. The foresters called the monster "la beste glatissant" because "elle cryoit comme ung chien glatissant"; and in combat with the knight it gave forth "ung glatissement" that sounded like a hundred beasts (*Perceforest*: "bracques") in its belly (cf. 12. 27). "Toute sa fierté et defense n'estoit tant seulement qu'en ses dens." Cf. st. 26. After the fight the hero pursues the beast with many incidental adventures, somewhat as Calidore fares in pursuit of the monster, but before the fight. In the end neither beast is killed.

MERRIT Y. HUGHES ("Spenser's 'Blatant Beast,'" pp. 266-275). In his report of his conversations with Ben Jonson, Drummond of Hawthornden mentions a paper of annotations which Spenser gave to Raleigh, and he says that his visitor added "That in that paper Sir W. Roughly had of the Allegories of the Fayrie Queene by the Blating Beast the Puritans were understood." This vexatious note has been on the carpet for three centuries, and only three years ago it found a literal defender in Mr. George Harman who says unequivocally that the Blatant Beast "no doubt, represents the malcontent Puritans and sectaries on that side," and regards "this construction" as "obvious" [*Edmund Spenser*, p. 72, n. 1]. In the seventeenth century no one questioned it and it was matter of allusion to the Cavalier poets. Cleveland's lines hurled at the Puritans of his day are a good example (*King's Disguise*):

A libel is his dress, a Garb uncouth,
Such as the Hue and Cry once purg'd at mouth.
Scribbling Assassinate! thy Lines attest
An ear-mark due, Cub of the Blatant Beast.
Whose breath before 'tis syllabled for verse
Is Blasphemy unfledg'd, a callow Curse.

Dryden had the same interpretation in mind when he made the Hind say to the Panther (*Hind and Panther* 1. 229):

You learned this language from the blatant beast.

In the twentieth century the contrary interpretation has secured the balance of authority. [See note on 6. 12. 23-5 above.]

Our difficulty in understanding the Blatant Beast is because the doubt over the reference to the Puritans which had its origin in Jonson's chance remark to Drummond and to which the subsequent history of political Puritanism added adventitious interest, has obscured the nature of the Beast. It is really the most transparent of all the characters in the political allegory of the *Faerie Queene*, and it is the

only one which Spenser himself interpreted. In several passages in the last canto of Book VI he makes it clear that, whether or not the Beast shadows the particular kind of calumny of which the Puritans had been guilty, it certainly shadows a host of various kinds of calumny committed by men of all professions in a century when libel did its worst in European politics. Stanzas 28 and 40 are as explicit as commentaries. . . .

In the closing cantos of the two last books of his great allegory Spenser was shooting at larger game than the recent Marprelate tracts or any of the other scurrilous attacks on Elizabeth's ecclesiastical settlement which, rightly or wrongly, had begun to be attributed popularly to the Puritans. The Marprelate pamphlets were a single and as yet hardly recognized tongue in the mouth of the Blatant Beast,

And therein were a thousand tongs empight,
Of sundry kindes and sundry quality.

In the sixteenth century such tongues were almost the only influence in politics, and religious bigotry combined with factional jealousy and personal hatred made Elizabeth's position, as head of a schismatic church and inheritor of a kingdom through a condemned adulteress, peculiarly vulnerable. Her reign was a long struggle with her calumniators, sometimes by force of arms or diplomacy, when they happened to be nations, sometimes by statutes and prosecutions, when they happened to be unpopular "Seminaries" or Jesuits, and sometimes by repayment in their own coin, when they chanced to be Martinists who could not be found and who preached a doctrine dangerously acceptable to Elizabeth's very protestant and very bourgeois England. The most dangerous peril that beset her was Pius V's bull of excommunication. All of the conspiracies in behalf of the Queen of Scots sprang from it; all of the prosecutions of Roman Catholic clergymen were founded upon it; the descent of the Armada was an attempt to enforce it; and to Englishmen in the last decade of the Queen's reign it must have seemed to be the keystone in the arch of calumny which had supported the enemies of their country's peace. Between 1560 and 1590 all of the chief ministers of state had to contend against slanderers, and the courtiers lived in dread of the day when some libel would be invented to their undoing. Camden mentions a "Treatise of Treason" published by plotters disappointed in their

Lewd hopes, and accusing Bacon Lord Keeper of the Great Seale, and Cecyl Lord Burghley Lord Treasurer of England of treason against their Country, to worke them into hatred with the Prince and people. (R. N. Gent's translation of Camden's *Annals*, B. Fisher, London, 1635, p. 167.)

The Queen proclaimed the book "a meere slander, maliciously forged to deprive the realm of its counsellors." In 1584 she found it necessary to issue another such proclamation in defence of the courtier who stood nearest her throne, and her mandate, though reinforced by Sir Philip Sidney's *Defence* of his uncle, was not strong enough to suppress all the copies of *Leycester's Commonwealth* or to prevent the libel from teaching Englishmen in the sixteenth century what to think of Robert Dudley, as, thanks to Sir Walter Scott, it taught them what to think of him in the nineteenth century. If there was any question whether the reign when the author of a libel was made a capital offender and the printer and seller were made

liable to mutilation was an extremely scurrilous period, Elizabeth herself has removed all doubt in the public proclamations that she has left. In one of them issued in 1585, she said in conclusion to her manifesto announcing Leicester's expedition for the relief of the Netherlands:

Malicious touns may utter their cankred conceits, as at this daie the world aboundeth with blasphemous reports in writings and infamous libels, as in no age the diuel hath more abounded with notable spirits replenished with all wickednesse to utter his rage against the professors of the Christian religion.

As Spenser looked back over the years which had passed since Henry VIII broke with Clement VII he saw a few great forces at work in English history, and he represented them in his allegory. Some of them were making for the honour of England and the English church, and he gave them places in his romance as the Red Cross Knight, the type of the royal power as the Defender of the Faith, or as Artega, the exemplar of the errant Justice of England defending the helpless Netherlanders against Spanish tyranny, restoring the usurped crown of France to Henry of Navarre, and slowly tranquillizing Ireland by such administrators as Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Grey, and Sir John Perot. Two of them were enemies of his church and nation, and he represented them as Archimago, type of the many treacherous agents of Rome, and as the Blatant Beast, type of the ignorant, vindictive malice of the mob which at times of religious or political excitement is always at the beck of Envy and Detraction in high places.

Since Luther's revolt popular passion had been unchained in Europe and had gone about seeking whom it might devour under the name of heretic, papist, traitor, gentleman, atheist, or what not. To the finest minds, to the men who were the real reformers of the century, this was their greatest discouragement. Erasmus wrote in the *Lingua* [see WARTON'S note on 12. 23 ff. above],

Circumferet quisque oculos suos, per domos privatas, per collegia, per monasteria, per aulas principum, per civitates, per regna, et compendio discet, quantam ubique pestem ingerat Lingua Calumniatrix.

Spenser revolted against this as intensely as Erasmus had done a few years before him, and, with as clear vision as Erasmus, he saw that the evil was spread through all classes in society and that it tainted all parties and creeds alike. In his allegory he described it without any reservations in the figure of the Blatant Beast. In the story of Serena and Timias he glanced at it in the form of backbiting at Court. His allusion may have been to the slanders against Sir Walter Raleigh at the time of his liaison with Frances [Elizabeth] Throckmorton, but there is no very valid reason for accepting this ingenious suggestion of Upton. Elizabeth's reign abounded with examples of the same kind. In the last stanzas of Book VI the Blatant Beast is represented as the ignorant enemy of scholarship and literature, and with rare tolerance Spenser recognized it as the spirit of the mobs which brought the cause of the Gueux into disrepute by their violence in the cathedral at Antwerp and injured the English reformation by their iconoclasm in London [st. 25]. In the rôle of image-breaker the Blatant Beast had its prototype in the beast vanquished and chained by Leo in *Orlando Furioso*, and, as the enemy of gentle knights and ladies which it was the quest of the Knight of Courtesy to subdue, it probably owed something to Malory's Glatysant. In the twelfth canto

of Book V, where Spenser gives us his first conception of the Beast, it owes its suggestion to the monster of Plato's *Republic*. It was under this form, I think, that the Blatant Beast first arose in Spenser's imagination. As he wrote the Fifth Book Spenser kept his eye on the Platonic Commonwealth, and when he told the story of the qualified success of the Knight of Maidenhead who carried Gloriana's justice to Irena, he found an allegorical figure ready at hand to typify the scandalous libels which had thwarted all of Elizabeth's lieutenants. He had known about those libels all his life. In 1579, when his acquaintance with Sir Philip Sidney began, he found his patron engaged in a contest with the critics of Sir Henry Sidney's *régime* in Ireland, and even meditating a duel with the most unscrupulous of them, the Earl of Ormond. Between 1580 and 1595 he saw a succession of Deputies succumb to the misrepresentations of the envy and detraction of English courtiers supported by the indiscriminate complaints of Irish malcontents. While he was writing the fifth book Sir John Perot, the Deputy for whom the *Present State of Ireland* seems to indicate that he had perhaps the keenest admiration, was being tried on a trumped-up charge of treason in London after a distinguished career of many years in Ireland, and before the Book was finished the old soldier had died, condemned, in the Tower. The charges were so libellous that Burleigh himself regretted the verdict in guarded language which Camden reports: "Hatred the more unjust it is," he said in words which might mean much or nothing at all, "so much the more sharpe." Sir Henry Sidney was four times Lord Deputy in Ireland, and Sir John Davies testified (*A Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never subdued*, reprinted by Henry Morley, 1890, London, Routledge & Sons) early in James I's reign that, like the Knight of Justice,

he left behind him many monuments of good government in the land, . . . caused divers good laws to be made, and performed sundry other services tending greatly to the reformation of the Kingdom,

while Holinshed adds that he

would have brought to passe a farre greater increase if envie, spite, and malice . . . had not crossed him, and opposed themselves all that they could, by purse or credit, against his honorable, worthie, commendable services and desseins.

Sir Warham St. Leger was another of Spenser's contemporaries in Ireland, who served as Sidney's lieutenant for years and was Deputy himself three times, but Hooker records (Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Part 2, p. 109) that each time

the old practices were renewed, and many slanderous informations were made and inveighed against him, which is the fatall destinie, and inevitable to everie good governor in the land. For the more paines they take in tillage, the worse is their harvest; and the better be their services, the greater is the malice and envie against them; being not unlike a fruitfull apple tree, which the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels be hurled at him.

Political slander in the sixteenth century was

A dreadfull feend, of gods and men ydrad.

In Spenser's Ireland it raged most furiously. The governors whom Elizabeth sent across St. George's Channel were usually men well fitted to administer a province. Sir John Perot and Sir Warham St. Leger were soldiers of the best kind; Lord

Grey of Wilton was one of the most honourable and experienced noblemen in England; and Sir Henry Sidney was an ideal knight, measured either by the ancient standard of skill in arms, or by the more recent standards of chivalrous character and literary education which Castiglione had taught were the principal ornaments of knighthood. In Sir Henry Sidney Spenser recognized a man whom Plato himself might have chosen for a place among the rulers of his ideal commonwealth, and in whom he himself found a model of the gentleman which it was the object of his poem to fashion.

The difficulty with Ben Jonson's note on the Blatant Beast is not that it tells a falsehood, but that it tells a very partial truth. It must obviously have been made with reference to that passage in Book VI [st. 25; see note 12. 25. 1-6 above] . . . This passage was a stumbling-block to the eighteenth century commentators. . . . Church, in his edition, proposed to alter the passage by reading "daub'd" for "robd" in stanza 25, line 2, because the Blatant Beast was "not a thief but a defamer." Evidently the Beast seemed to him to be acting out of character, but the suggested change could scarcely have satisfied a mind which was not able to conceive Spenser as capable of regretting the excesses of his own party. There can be no doubt that under this figure Spenser was reflecting on all of the libels and outrages of bigotry against the property and priesthood of the Church in England, and that he was animadverting impartially on the wrongs of Henry VIII's suppression of the monasteries, the Protector Somerset's suppression of the chantries, and the excesses of the radical reformers in the "Vestment" controversy and the "Marprelate" controversy of Elizabeth's reign. He had known that unpleasant side of the Reformation from his Cambridge days, when Cartwright's party smashed the stained windows of the college chapels, and he had never sympathised with it. In 1576 Grindal was the leader of the moderate party among the reformers and he urged that unless Cartwright would modify his position he should be expelled from his professorship. It is significant that although the *Shepherd's Calendar* and *Mother Hubbard's Tale* prove that he agreed with most of Cartwright's opinions, Spenser seems to have chosen Grindal for his leader rather than the violent Margaret Professor of Divinity.

It would be interesting to know whether in glancing at the "Marprelate" controversy under the Blatant Beast, Spenser considered himself as taking a fling at the Puritans. Jonson told Drummond that he said definitely that "the Puritans were understood," and, unless good counter-evidence can be found, the testimony must stand. We know that Spenser did give Raleigh the paper which Jonson quoted as his authority, and we can be quite certain that such a paper must have contained some reference to the Blatant Beast. Jonson must have reported its contents either rightly or wrongly, and as it is unlikely that Spenser included negative information, the probability is that if he mentioned the Puritans at all, he made the statement which Jonson attributed to him. There would be nothing inconsistent in such a statement if Spenser made it. It is customary to call Spenser a Puritan, and in the sense that he belonged to the reforming wing of the English church the name is rightly given to him, but it must always be remembered that the reformers numbered men of widely divergent views, so divided among themselves that Grindal could demand Cartwright's deprivation and Cox could refer to the more violent reformers as the second antichrist. Puritan was a name which they did not

accept until after Spenser's death. In 1602 Josias Nichols, "a faithfull Minister of the Ghospell," published *A Plea of the Innocent, wherein is averred That the ministers and people falslie termed Puritanes, are injuriously slandered for enemies or troublers of the state*: and a section of the book was devoted to prove that the name of Puritan had been "unjustlie" applied "to all those, who faithfullie and in the feare of God have sought reformation (howsoever for that cause they have bene, and are untruliee so called)." Nichols says that the name became popular about 1568. Fuller (*Church Hist.* 4. 327) says definitely that it came into use about 1563. Camden records that shortly after the first "Admonition to the Parliament," for presenting which Field and Wilcox were committed to Newgate on October 2, 1572, the reformers "began presently to be called by the envious name of Puritans." There can be no doubt that, when Spenser wrote, the name had been popularly used to designate the reform party in a loose way for more than thirty years, but it seems equally clear that the reformers themselves had not adopted it, and that it was still a term of reproach hurled at them by the friends of Elizabeth's ecclesiastical establishment and also bandied between the factions within their own ranks. During the "Marprelate" controversy the Martinists and Puritans were confounded by their enemies, but there was really no sympathy between them. Nichols represented the attitude of most of the Puritan clergy when he called the author of the "Marprelate" pamphlets

a foolish iester, who termed himself Martin Marprelate and his sons, . . . and cast forth much beastlie filth into the faces of honest men: to the great contempt of Christs Gospel. . . . The blame (he added) lighted upon us, and we by it obtained a new name in manie pulpittes (how justlie God knoweth) wee were called Martinists. (*Plea*, pp. 31-33.)

The "Marprelate" tracts did not have the support of many of the reformers. Martin himself taunted:

I am favored of all estates, the Puritans only excepted. . . . The Puritans are angry with me. I meant the Puritan preachers. And why? Because I am too open, because I jest. (*Tracts*, p. 118.)

It was huge sport for reckless Martin. The moderate men might sigh over the scurrility that was bringing their party into disrepute and gird at the impudence which fastened the name "Puritan" upon them more securely while in the same breath it created new prejudice against it. After the "Marprelate" controversy the reformers had to contend with two unwelcome epithets, "Puritan" and "Martinist," which they in their turn used of the extreme faction of their own party, but which their enemies applied to them indiscriminately.

Spenser probably never thought of himself as a "Puritan"; he certainly would never have spoken of himself as such. The name was still a reproach when he was writing the last books of the *Faerie Queene*, and no man willingly accepted it. Since the days of the first "Admonition to the Parliament" Camden tells us that it had been under the Queen's high displeasure and Spenser probably shared her prejudice against it and in his own mind reserved it for the bigoted coterie in his party [7. 7. 35. 9],

That ungracious crew, which faines demurest grace.

It seems likely that they were included with the iconoclasts satirized by the Blatant Beast, and there is no reason why in explaining his allegory Spenser should not have said that "by the Blatant Beast the Puritans were understood."

H. G. LOTSPEICH (*Classical Mythology*, p. 43). The literary origins of the Blatant Beast were pointed out by M. Y. Hughes. . . . However, it is not unlikely that the poet's conception was also influenced by some of the classical monsters with whom he connects the Blatant Beast genealogically. At 6. 6. 12, the Blatant Beast is made the offspring of Typhaon and Echidna, at 6. 1. 7-8, of Cerberus and Chimera. His points of resemblance with Cerberus are particularly to be noted. He is called a "hellish dog" (6. 6. 12). He barks (5. 12. 37), and has a hundred tongues (5. 12. 37), or a thousand (6. 12. 27); cf. Cerberus' "bloody flaming tong" (1. 5. 34). Cerberus was also born of Typhaon and Echidna (*Theog.* 311). In addition, Spenser may be using memories of Echidna as a serpent (*Theog.* 295 ff.), and of Chimera, also an offspring of Typhaon and Echidna, as breathing fire (*Theog.* 319).

BOOK VII
(TWO CANTOS OF MUTABILITIE)

APPENDIX I

THE SOURCES AND PHILOSOPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE
(Condensed by Brents Stirling)

Because most attempts to discover Spenser's philosophical meaning in the Mutability Cantos have been based on arguments for his use of a given source, it is impossible to separate questions of philosophy and of source. Hence the dual character of the present appendix.

Greenlaw's study of Lucretian influence in Spenser, 1920, gave rise to lively controversy in the interpretation of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*. This criticism has paralleled in intensity and variety the investigation of Spenser's Garden of Adonis passage (3. 6). Indeed, the problems involved in that passage and in the *Mutabilitie* fragment are often similar and have often been discussed jointly. As with the Garden of Adonis (see Book III of the present work, especially pp. 340-352), interpretation has differed largely upon one main issue—whether Spenser's attitude is one of Lucretian materialism (Greenlaw), or whether it is anti-Lucretian. Supporters of the anti-Lucretian view have differed among themselves. Some scholars find the solution in the doctrine and influence of Giordano Bruno (Evans, Elton, Levinson); and one scholar, in the theories of Empedocles (Albright). Again, the case for scholarly Neo-Platonic lore (Bennett) is set off against the case for Boethian doctrine, traditional and popular in Elizabethan times (Stirling). One commentator (Saurat) discovers in Spenser a state of philosophical looseness and confusion. Inasmuch as the discussion is essentially a debate, it has seemed best to present digests of the studies in chronological sequence, without extended editorial comment.

See FOWLER's note on 7. 3-59 in the Commentary.

SEBASTIAN EVANS. ("A Lost Poem by Edmund Spenser," pp. 150-1). Spenser's astronomical concepts in *Mutabilitie* are conventionally Ptolemaic, but he is aware of problems which perturbed his contemporaries. Mercury is lately "far out of order gone." "Mars . . . is changed most." These references and the one, "yet do the starres and signes therein still move," etc., recall lines on the precession of the equinoxes at the opening of Book V. There the reference to Mars is paralleled, but the observations on Saturn in the two passages do not agree, and nothing is said of Mercury in the *Faerie Queene* passage. These are circumstances tending to show that the Mutability Cantos were written at a later date.

The philosophical doctrine which Spenser seems to combat is that of Bruno, stated most compendiously in his *Trattato della Causa, Principio et Uno*. In the

fifth dialogue of this work it is declared that the universe is a unity because Mutability "hath in itself all things." Spenser admits that all things in nature change, but does not agree that change is therefore an attribute of the universal Being. Heaven and nature alike depend on the unmoved Mover of the universe. A further connection of the poem with Bruno is its similarity in plot to the *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante*.

When the four elements are cited before Nature's tribunal we cannot mistake Spenser's real problem. "It is indeed more intelligible in the form in which he presents it than it would have been in any scientific language known to the sixteenth century. Matter and motion . . . are, he tells us, so far as the physical universe is concerned, inseparably and eternally connected. Matter without motion cannot exist any more than motion without matter. But matter cannot be in motion without Change. Is Change, then, the ultimate fact of the universe, or is there a generalization beyond, wide enough to embrace all the phenomena of change?" Nature in her judgment replies that change has subjective existence only; that whatever changes occur in matter or motion, both are indestructible and objective.

"It is thus startling to find thus fantastically tricked out in the garb of poetic Elizabethan allegory one of the latest doctrines of logical Victorian science."

[AUBREY DE VERE] ("Spenser as a Philosophic Poet" pp. 160-8). [Contains a synopsis of *Mutabilitie* with some running comment.] The concluding stanzas demonstrate that to Spenser Mutability cannot enjoy final triumph because her function is "to minister through change to that which knows no change." "To the undiscerning eye things seem to pass away; to the half-discerning they seem to revolve merely in a circle; but the motion is in reality upward as well as circular." Things approach the sabbath rest of their Creator. Spenser held with Plato the theory of eternal patterns or ideas to which the phenomenal world was merely a series of approximations. Thus here "the cyclical revolutions of time present an image of eternity." Man also ascends through mutation and pain to victory and peace.

[OLIVER ELTON] ("Giordano Bruno in England," pp. 503-8). It is natural to seek for some intellectual contact between Bruno and Spenser, for both of them drew largely from the same sources of neo-Platonism,—from Plato, Plotinus, and more immediately from Ficino, Pico, and Benivieni. In many of their Platonic utterances, Bruno and Spenser use almost the same words, but such parallels are undoubtedly accidental. "The turn which Bruno gave his Platonism removes it far from that of Spenser or of our later Cambridge divines. It was a single affluent of his monism or pantheism, which was so far beyond his own age that it waited for development by Spinoza and Leibnitz."

There is a possibility, however, that Spenser was acquainted with Bruno's *Spaccio*, a vision of a new society on earth in which the existing vices and cowardices are superseded by justice and truth. The scene is Olympus, where the aging Jove, dreading inevitable change, yet prays to Fate while knowing that it cannot alter, and finally resolves on a reformation which shall begin with others. On the anniversary of the fall of the giants he assembles the gods who, to show their repentance, are to institute a fresh chart of the firmament. "In the sequel there is every kind of guerilla warfare against Jewish and anthropomorphic theology;

but the chief aim is to construct a new ideal of human ethics. The old stars and constellations merely blaze out the rapine and amours of the gods. The sign of Hercules is a witness of Jove's adultery, and the sky is thus filled with symbols of squalid vices, moral and intellectual. Altogether, these make up 'the Triumphant Beast' who has to be despatched. Jove goes steadily through the work of degrading each of them and promoting its contrasted excellence.

"The ethical ideal that results is one of the most significant produced by the Renaissance, and is a corrective to that set forth in the *Faerie Queene*. It is one of noble daring, magnanimous free-thinking, and frank respect for human needs and passions. It may be called naturalistic, while Spenser's is mediaeval and chivalrous. . . . As a whole Bruno's ethics, while not systematised, rank as high, clear, and prophetic, though he has no understanding of the Christian virtues.

"In spite of this difference of spirit we still seem to find an echo of Bruno in Spenser's verse. The broken cantos *On Constancy* recall some of the *Spaccio* in their machinery, and other words of Bruno in their ruling idea. They play with large conceptions of change and recurrence. Here also is a conclave of gods led by Jove and discomfited by the feeling of decay. Mutability is a Titaness who makes a struggle to revive her dynasty. She pleads before the gods her right of conquest. So far the scenery nearly recalls that of the *Spaccio*, but the sequel differs. Nature sits in judgment, and before her, in proof of the endlessness of Change, passes the pomp of the Seasons, Months, and Hours. . . . But Nature pronounces that if all things change, they change in a fixed cycle (so that change and order imply each other). . . .

"The notion, which appears elsewhere in the *Faerie Queene* (3. 6. 37, 38), is an old one, but had been phrased most recently in the *Eroici Furori*, though of course without the Christian application given by Spenser.

Death and dissolution do not befit this entire mass, of which the star that is our globe consists. Nature as a whole cannot suffer annihilation; and thus, at due times, in fixed order, she comes to renew herself, changing and altering all her parts; and this it is fitting should come about with fixity of succession, every part taking the place of all the other parts. . . . Thus all things in their kind have the vicissitudes of lordship and slavery, felicity and infelicity, of the state that is called life, and the state that is called death; of light and darkness, and of good and evil. And there is nothing which by natural fitness is eternal but the substance which is matter."

[Slightly altered, this appears also in Elton's *Modern Studies*, pp. 32-4. See p. 434 in Appendix II.]

HERBERT ELLSWORTH CORY (*Edmund Spenser, A Critical Study*, pp. 361-374). "More than two centuries were to elapse before that new courageous attitude which accepts change and yet bows no servile knee to it but aims to control it was to find expression in Darwin and Huxley and Bateson, in James and Dewey. Even in his maturest years, even in his great moments of self-conquest, Spenser was fain to adopt the helpless attitude of the traditionalist towards change, to explain it into non-existence with a noble sophistry.

"But from Spenser's youth to maturity there is none the less, a marked evolution towards healthiness and courage that seems almost to pass from timid tran-

scendentalism to militant naturalism. The poet in the youthful, morbid days of his *Complaints* would have visioned this Mutabilitie as a loathsome spreading disease but now he eyes her with a courage as calm as Jove's and finds her beautiful, majestic, a mightier warrior than her armored sister, Bellona, and more darkly terrible than her other sister, Hecatè. What wonder then that this Titaness, the most radiant offspring of that old shadowy hierarchy of gods that reigned with Saturn vast, should claim the suzerainty over the upstart usurpers?"

Concerning the final lines of the poem, De Vere "adds what few seem to have appreciated: 'This is the voice of a spirit wearied with the storms of our lower spheres, *but not daunted or weakened by them.*' But once more I must take issue with the conception of Sapience, of 'that Sabbaoths sight,' as 'endless rest.' Spenser does say that all shall rest eternally with God. But that is very different, in connotation at least, from De Vere's phrase, 'endless rest.' Spenser would have found much in common with the philosophy of Fichte. Spenser, like all Elizabethans, was ever a fighter. He had always a zest for the warm earth as the *Prothalamion* and the pageant of the Seasons show. He had, to the end, the lure of battle, since his last cantos rise to a description of the most stupendous of struggles. To him the 'Sabbaoths sight' was not, I repeat, a fleeing from life into an ivory tower on earth or in heaven, but a projection of the great adventure into eternity where, cherishing all that was best in earthly life—love, beauty, chivalry—the pilgrim-soul might hurry on, exalted by a fuller understanding, within all-hail of peace, serene, but ever restless in its quest of unattainable perfection."

WILLIAM FENN DEMOSS (*The Influence of Aristotle's "Politics" and "Ethics" on Spenser*, pp. 57-64). Several of the ideas of the Mutability fragment are strikingly Aristotelian. The idea of cyclic change is repeatedly expressed in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and in the *Politics*. In *Politics* 8. 12, Aristotle speaks of Socrates assigning as a cause for revolutions the fact of cyclic change. In Book 1 of the same work he shows that the principle of rule and subordination prevails throughout Nature. At the close of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book 7, he gives a brief and unmistakably clear expression of the doctrine of a changeless and motionless state of bliss, found in Spenser at the conclusion of the poem:

It is thus that God enjoys one simple pleasure everlastingly; for there is an *activity* not only of *motion* but of *immobility*, and pleasure consists rather in *rest* than in *motion*.

Nor is it necessary to suppose that Spenser took his machinery from Bruno. Spenser dealt with the subject of change long before the influence of Bruno was possible and the conception, moreover, was a Renaissance *cliché*. Likewise, it should be added that a conclave of gods is a literary commonplace.

There is another work which may have influenced the machinery of Spenser's fragment: *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* [1589] (*Dodsley's Old English Plays*, ed. Hazlitt, 6). In this old play there is a quarrel over power between Venus and Fortune who appear before Jupiter and the assembled gods for judgment. "It will be observed that this play is like Spenser's fragment in several particulars. In the play, as in Spenser's poem, Fortune is personified; it is Fortune who starts the contest; there is a trial; and the trial is presided over by Jupiter, or Jove, in

the presence of the assembled gods. The decision is much like that of the fragment; just as in the fragment Change must operate in accordance with Nature, so in the *Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* the two contestants must henceforth work in harmony. And, finally, both in the play and in Spenser's fragment, Fortune, or Change, bases her claim to sovereignty on the argument that the sea, the air, even the heavens, the stars, feel her might."

There is nothing which makes it improbable that Spenser should have read *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*; there are facts which make Bruno's influence very doubtful. Professor Elton admits that the works of the Italian were long neglected in England. Moreover, Sidney would have had no sympathy with the teachings of the *Spaccio*. Again Spenser was in Ireland during Bruno's stay in England.

It is certain, however, that Spenser did not draw his ethics or theology from Bruno or *The Rare Triumphs*. The latter does not deal with such matters, and while the *Spaccio* does so, its teachings are diametrically opposed to Spenser's. Spenser is chivalric, reverent, and anthropomorphic in religion; Bruno is the opposite of all these things.

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Spenser's Influence on 'Paradise Lost,'" pp. 337 n. and 339). "The general theme of the Mutability Cantos is also closely similar to that of Chaucer's *Boece*. The main differences are that in *De Consolatione Philosophiae* Boethius contrasted the rule of law in the heavenly sphere with the rule of change in human affairs, while in Spenser change has invaded even the realm of nature; and that Boethius gives a solution, while Spenser, though he suggests a solution, manifestly is not yet free from his doubts. . . .

"The decision rendered by Nature is that although all things hate steadfastness they are not changed from their first estate 'but by their change their being do dilate' and at length return to themselves and so work their own perfection:

Then over them change doth not rule and raigne,
But they raigne over change, and do their state maintaine.

The canto closes with the promise of the coming of a great final change, after which eternal rest shall come.

"In the two stanzas which are all that we have of the following canto, Spenser indicates that he is not fully satisfied by the explanation which he had put into the mouth of Nature, an explanation which is ultimately classical. He professes to accept the judgment that the heavenly bodies are under the rule of law, but when he contemplates mortality he finds nought but change. So the *Faerie Queene* ends, if these cantos indeed be what their first editor supposed, a fragment of one of the later books, in an unsolved problem. This uncertainty is not wholly due, of course, to the poet's contemplation of the world of nature; it is due in part to his contemplation of men and events. But it seems very different from the medieval treatises about fortune. Part of this difference seems to me to be due to the new spirit of scientific doubt which was characteristic of the time."

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Spenser and Lucretius," pp. 455-464). The whole case of the Titaness Mutability can be regarded as an argument for materialism as against supernaturalism, for though Spenser awards victory to Jove, it is clear both from the action and the trial that the true judgment is in favor of a natural law

that rules gods and men alike. The conclusion is the same as that in the Adonis passage, and the Mutability Cantos, more clearly even than that episode, are charged with Lucretian scepticism. It is worth noting that Lucretius himself compares his attack on supernaturalism to the attempt of the Titans on Jove's power.

"For the personifications and the pictorial and descriptive qualities of Spenser's poem, therefore; for the general impression of a rule of change; and for certain details in the account, we may regard it as certain that Spenser made some use of Ovid. But there are good reasons, I think, for my belief that the influence of Lucretius is also present." The first of these reasons is that Ovid is dealing with mere change, with fleeting shapes and protean transformations, while Spenser and Lucretius treat the major problem of Mutability. The second reason is that "both in intellectual atmosphere and in the entire plan of Spenser's poem, including certain elements in the first of the two cantos as well as practically all of the second, the material owes a very great debt to the fifth book of *De Rerum Natura*." Near the beginning of this book Lucretius declares his theme to be a statement of the Law of all things and its binding necessity. This theme, including Nature's judgment, is that of the Adonis passage, and is dominant in the Mutability cantos. Lucretius, moreover, considers the form and composition of the universe, which is also the theme of *Mutabilitie*. Once more, Lucretius compares his anti-supernatural design to the attempts of the giants that warred on Jove. Spenser adapts the Titan myth to the same use. Further, Spenser's gods, like those of Lucretius, are remote from terrestrial and human considerations. They are even earth-born and mortal.

"This conception of mortality, not of mere Protean shifting from shape to shape, is the point differentiating Ovid and Lucretius, and also Ovid and Spenser." Stanza 19 relates the perishing of all earthly things including the mind of man:

Ne doe their bodies only flit and fly
But eek their minds (which they immortall call),—

concerning which it may be remarked that Lucretius' chief argument in Book III against the immortality of the soul is that the mind decays with old age.

Even the topics treated in Mutability's argument and in the masque are the same as in Lucretius, and Spenser, moreover, introduces them in the same order, omitting the ones that do not fit his theme. First introduced is the transmutation of earth, water, air, and fire with peculiar Lucretian characteristics which modify ordinary Ovidian conceptions (cf. Lucretius 235 ff.). Then follows a procession of the seasons as in a masque (cf. Lucretius 737 ff.). The response of Mutability to Jove relative to changes in the sun and planets are in Lucretius (509 ff.). Spenser seems to have based his material on the long passage wherein is explained the motions of the stars.

"No better indication of the fundamental relationship of Spenser's poem to Lucretius rather than to Ovid could be found than the summary of the position of Mutability which parallels the summary of the Adonis passage. As the conclusion of her case, Mutability says:

Lo! mighty mother, now be judge, and say
Whether in all thy creatures more or lesse
Change doth not raign and bear the greatest sway;

For who sees not that Time on all doth pray?
 But Times do change and move continually;
 So nothing here long standeth in one stay:
 Wherefore this lower world who can deny
 But to be subject still to Mutability?

To this Jove responds, as already noted, that while these things are true, nevertheless the gods control Time, and thus control all the mutability found in the universe. Whereupon Mutability once more:

The things,
 Which we see not how they are mov'd and swayd
 Ye may attribute to your selves as Kings,
 And say, they by your secret powre are made:
 But what we see not, who shall us perswade?

Here is, of course, a denial of any supernatural power in the world, and it is at once followed up by the proofs that even the heavenly bodies are ruled by the same law of change, that they are mortal, and are not the supernatural 'animals' of Plato's *Timaueus*."

All this material follows closely that part of the fifth book in which Lucretius did his utmost to overthrow superstition based on ignorance. Two passages are especially significant. The first (828-835) suggests Mutability's summary that Time rules all, though Time is ruled by change. The ideas in Spenser and Lucretius on this point are precisely the same; with each poet they are summaries of large bodies of material, and the order of their treatment still follows the same sequence. Nor is this all. Jove's response that the gods rule time, and Mutability's rejoinder that this is mere superstition and that the notion of heavenly bodies being gods results from ignorance—all this is a condensation of Lucretius' passage in which he describes changes in heavenly bodies and denounces the race of men who, because they could not understand such matters, placed the gods in heaven and submitted to them in fear (1183 ff.).

Hence, to our previous knowledge of Spenser's intellectual interests should be added an extensive and important body of material. "The Lucretian element in his work is only another bit of evidence of his intellectual curiosity. That it is sincere, that it is the product of much study, I believe to be borne out by the evidence I have given and by other things as well. For with all his idealism, Spenser had a keen sense of fact. Much of the political scepticism of his day found a way into his pages. It is impossible that he should not have been affected by the scientific scepticism as well."

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Some Old Religious Cults in Spenser," pp. 216-243). "Spenser's *Mutabilitie* belongs to a group of works in which the doctrine of chance, one form taken by the conception of the universe as a mechanism, has been treated with the imaginative sweep and poetic beauty characteristic of great literature. Such works deal with a fundamental problem in philosophy, to reconcile the seeming casualness and indifference of Nature to man's innate desire for law and unity." It is with mutability as it enters into cosmic poetry that we have to deal, that is, with poetry presenting a philosophical conception of the Universe, not the mere conception of change as it is figured by Fortune's wheel. In such

poetry the argument rises above complainings against mishap to a perception of divine providence. It is the means by which divine providence is revealed that will be stressed here. Generally the method is that of dramatic allegory. The action is of gigantic scope; the stage is the Universe; man may not appear among the *dramatis personae* or may have but a minor rôle. Examples are the Book of Job, Lucretius, Boethius, Dante, and the twelfth century *De Planctu Naturae* of Alanus de Insulis.

I. "*Fowles Parley*" and "*Plaint of Kinde*." The description of the goddess Natura in the Mutability Cantos is detailed, but Spenser mentions the impossibility of giving an adequate idea of her beauty. Finally he exclaims:

So hard it is for any living wight
All her array and vestiments to tell,
That old Dan Geffrey (in whose gentle spright,
The pure well head of Poesie did dwell)
In his *Fowles parley* durst not with it mel,
But it transferd to Alane, who he thought
Had in his *Plaint of kinde* describ'd it well;
Which who will read set forth so as it ought,
Go seek he out that Alane where he may be sought.

An examination of Chaucer's description of Nature, however, shows that he has little in common with Spenser. They do have in common the hill in the meadow, the bower of branches, and the reference to Aleyn as proof of the beauty of the goddess, but Chaucer gives no details of her appearance and conveys no sense of mystery. The hill and bower of branches, moreover, are purely conventional. The question, therefore, arises: did Chaucer's mention of Alanus serve as a hint to Spenser so that he consulted the *Plaint of Kinde*?

II. "*De Planctu Naturae*." It is improbable for several reasons that Spenser failed to use Alanus. On the rare occasions where he mentions a source his reference is accurate. His apology for supplying the material missing in Chaucer is quite in accord with his usual attitude toward his master. And since Spenser states (st. 9) that Chaucer dared not attempt a description of the goddess, how did Spenser know, unless he knew Aleyn, that the task involved such difficulties? Chaucer himself nowhere indicates such caution. But before pointing out the quality in Alanus which must have appealed to Spenser's genius, it is desirable to consider another passage in the *Faerie Queene* which tends to show Spenser's acquaintance with *De Planctu Naturae*. [Comparison of Spenser's Castle of Alma episode and Alanus follows; see Book II, pp. 436-8.]

In *De Planctu Naturae* occurs the idea which is the genesis of *Mutabilitie*: the majestic government in the universe as in a city. To be sure, the basis of the philosophy is to be found in Lucretius, with some coloring from Ovid, but Spenser's wonderful portrait of the goddess Nature comes from Alanus. The argument, the universal scene, and the purpose of Nature, that of quelling disorder and rebuking the lapse of God's works from their first excellence, are the same in Spenser and Alanus. This degeneration of Nature was, of course, a commonplace, but the intensely visualized embodiment of it arrests attention. "Here it is sufficient to point out, first, that both Alanus and Spenser expressly state that all

creatures do homage to the goddess; Chaucer mentions only the birds. Among several details common to Spenser and Alanus is the parallel between Spenser's reference to the dainty trees that seemed to bow their blossoming heads in homage (st. 8) and Alanus' account of the spring, who like a skilled artisan wove garments for the trees, which lowered their leaves and as if they were bending their knees supplicated the virgin." There are also analogues in Alanus of Spenser's reference to the trees bowing in homage (st. 8) and the flowers brought by the nymphs to deck Nature's footstool (st. 10). Finally, Spenser mentions among the gods only Pluto and Proserpine: the latter is the only major deity mentioned by Alanus.

A comparison of Spenser's description of Nature with that of Alanus shows that the latter influenced the former. The chief points to be observed are:

1. The emphasis on Nature's indescribable beauty and awesomeness.
2. Although Alanus does not present Nature as veiled, his mystical account of the diadem and constantly changing garments gives the same effect. "Moreover, it is worth noting that Spenser's reference to the idea that the goddess had the face of a lion may well have been suggested by the blazing jewel in the diadem: In quo, ut faceta picturae loquebantur mendacia, leonis effigiata fulminabat effigies."
3. Natura's garments suggest the veil by their texture and by the impression of varied forms and ceaseless change and motion. This fits the theme of *Mutabilitie* as a whole and is a source for Spenser's admirable interpretation:

Great Nature, ever young, yet full of eld:
Still moving, yet unmoved from her sted;
Unseene of any, yet of all beheld.

Further, ceaseless change is expressed in the pictures wrought by Natura on tile and by her everchanging garment.

4. "The idea of motion and change, already noted as the theme of Spenser's poem, is stressed by Alanus through his device of the mystic diadem and the garment of Natura. . . . An effort to visualize such a diadem and such draperies would be difficult; it is no wonder that Spenser spoke of it as impossible. That he understood, however, what Alanus was trying to say, and that it appealed to his own mystery-loving nature, is clear from his conception of Nature as still moving yet unmoved, unseen of any yet of all beheld."

5. Alanus, by his mystic description, points to the majestic government in the universe; Spenser also gives Nature supreme rule. Even the final judgment in Spenser:

Yet, being rightly wayd,
They are not changed from their first estate
But by their change their being do dilate,
And turning to themselves at length againe
Do work their owne perfection so by fate—

while related to the Platonic Great Year, is yet implicit in Alanus, for one of the passages in which it is expressed refers to the *circle* of the activities of Nature. The mysticism and poetic beauty of this passage (Wright 449-458) could not have failed to impress Spenser.

In conclusion, while the elements of Spenser's account may be found *singly* in other medieval works, they are seemingly found in conjunction only in Spenser and Alanus. Further, the parallel affects the theme of the entire Mutability story to which the description of Nature is only incidental. Lastly, it should not be forgotten that Spenser used Alanus in his allegory of the Castle of the Body and that he expressly refers to him in the poem.

III. *Mater Deum*. Alanus' account of the goddess Natura is founded upon the ancient cult of the Great Mother, which exerted much influence throughout the Roman world for six centuries. Reference to this tradition must have come to Spenser not only through Alanus but from a score of sources, including Virgil, Lucretius, Ovid, Catullus, and St. Augustine. The attractiveness of the cult, Professor Showerman (*The Great Mother of the Gods*, 1901) attributes to the following characteristics: 1. The stress placed upon chastity. 2. The beauty of the Mother and her help to the distressed. 3. Her universal maternity. 4. Points of contact between the cult and Christianity which involve ascetic and mystical doctrines and rituals.

Resemblances between the Great Mother and the Natura in Alanus and in Spenser are made manifest by a passage from Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* 1. 1092-1150). "She is the goddess of nature. Jove and all the gods are subordinate to her. Her presence is to be invoked on a hill, under a canopy of lofty oaks. The signs of her favor are the submissiveness of wild animals who throng to her presence, and the flowers and leaves that spring spontaneously from earth and trees.

"The extent of this influence on Spenser will become more evident as we take into account the entire body of material in the *Faerie Queene*. For purposes of reference I list the passages below, with some observations on them."

1. The Judgment of Nature (*Mutabilitie*). This has already been discussed. Spenser's relationship, through Alanus, is complete, but there are a few details that seem to indicate that Spenser drew directly from some classical account, perhaps that of Apollonius Rhodius. These concern (a) the veil, (b) the beauty and terror inspired by the goddess, especially as manifested by the likening of her countenance to that of a lion, (c) the throne on a hill surrounded by tall trees, (d) the flowers springing spontaneously from the earth, (e) the association of the oak with the ritual.

2. The Garden of Adonis (3. 6). This passage discussed previously [SP 17. 441 ff.; see Book III, p. 342], is related to the present study because Venus-Adonis parallels Cybele-Attis and Venus appears as equivalent to Natura, as in Lucretius.

3. Agdistes (2. 12. 46-48). This passage is important because it shows that Spenser had studied the personage called Old Genius sufficiently to distinguish between the conventional love courtier and the deeper power symbolized by the ancients under that name. In such versions as Pausanias and Arnobius, Agdistes is definitely connected with the Great Mother. This conception of Genius, and its amplification in 3. 6 are to be linked with the appearance of Genius in Alanus as the chief agent of Natura. [See Book II, pp. 374-6; C. S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love*, pp. 361-3.]

4. Cybele (1. 6; 4. 11). The first of these passages is without special significance. In the second Father Thames (4. 11. 27-8) wears a turreted diadem

which the poet compares to that of Cybele. This follows closely Lucretius' description of the Mother. [See notes on 4. 11. 27, 28 in Book IV, pp. 253-4.]

5. The Temple of Isis (5. 7). It would seem that Spenser, in describing the priests of Isis, drew upon some of the characteristics of the galli, who were dressed in flowing feminine robes and wore long hair fragrant with ointment. While Spenser is doubtless indebted to Plutarch, he omits in his description several striking details which he appears to use elsewhere. [See notes on 5. 7. 2 ff. in Book V, pp. 214-6.]

IV. *Spenser's Cosmic Philosophy*. It is time to bring together some of the results of these three studies of Spenser's philosophy of Nature. The first observation is the very considerable extent of the passages adduced and the large place they occupy in the whole of his poetry. And it presents a body of philosophical poetry sharply to be distinguished from the political Puritanism of the *Calendar* and the allegorical theology of the first book, characteristics which, perhaps, have been emphasized to an extent that is misleading. The second observation is that Spenser's mysticism, which is fundamental in his thought, is founded upon Nature. Like every great poet he had a conception of order in the universe which included cosmology, a view of the origin of life, and of man's place in Nature, a view which is not coördinated in detail with Christian dogma, though in the third and fourth hymns it is adequately reconciled as a sort of climax to all of Spenser's work.

The third observation is a caveat to those who object that Spenser had not thought these things out clearly or systematically but that he had presented them as unrelated fragments scattered here and there throughout his work. Part of Spenser's incoherence belongs to his time, for the certainty of medieval thought had passed away. Further it must be remembered that Spenser's method is poetic and that it is the more gracious gift of poetry to deal with these matters by example rather than by coördinated rule.

"The fourth observation is that the presence of so much of this material in the work of a major poet of the sixteenth century suggests the tendency that was later to give birth to the new science. This is a dangerous sort of generalization, and I do not wish to be taken too literally. I have already acknowledged that much of the material here examined is pure imitation, the survival of medieval conventions. Yet while Spenser was in no sense an original thinker on scientific matters, was not even a sceptic in his attitude toward the science of his time, he preludes the sort of inquiry destined to make the study of nature supreme over dogma as an avenue to truth."

Finally, the unifying force in Spenser's universe was love. "To him love is the source of the universe, of every living thing, and of every spiritual value in this world and the world to come. This explains not only his book of Temperance and his book of Chastity, but his hymns, his *Mutability*, and his interest in Venus, in the Great Mother, and in the goddess Natura. He tells the Venus and Adonis story many times, in many different ways. He writes of love as the characteristic of the courtier, Castiglione's point of view. He writes of it as the basis of his Platonic philosophy. He writes of it also as the creator and the regenerative force of the universe. In this he parallels Dante. His fame, throughout his poetry, was

L'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle."

S. B. LILJEGREN ("La Pensée de Milton et Giordano Bruno," pp. 524-5). Ces idées qu'on trouve dans le passage sur la mutabilité, on les a attribuée à l'influence de l'éthique de Bruno telle que le *Spaccio della bestia trionfante* la révèle. Cependant à notre avis, la preuve reste à faire. La conception fondamentale du *Spaccio*, l'origine des constellations du ciel et leur chute, n'entre pas du tout dans le poème de Spenser. A cet égard, il n'y a rien dans l'imagination spensérienne, à ce qu'il me semble, qui ne puisse pas dériver de la tradition littéraire européenne. Par contre, il saute aux yeux que la tournure, le sens, l'allure des passages sur le jardin d'Adonis et sur la mutabilité trahissent l'humaniste qui vient d'étudier l'antiquité et les néo-platoniciens italiens.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES ("Burton on Spenser," pp. 555-6). In Mutability's appeal to Nature (7. 6. 35) "she was echoing the whole conscious movement of thought in Spenser's century from Grotius' resort to the idea of natural law in the field of jurisprudence to Hooker's frank dependence on the same principle in *The Ecclesiastical Polity* (1. 3. 2)." The issue is an ancient one. Boethius offered one of the first religious solutions.

[See note on 7. 7. 58 in the Commentary and 3. 6. 38 and note in Book III, p. 258.]

RONALD B. LEVINSON ("Spenser and Bruno," pp. 679-681). It has not been observed that there is a strong formal similarity between the plea of Mutability and that of Fortuna, in the *Spaccio*, for the right to a place in heaven left vacant by expulsion of the Great Bear. We should remember that the consanguinity of Fortuna and Mutability is emphasized by Spenser in his opening lines, which concern Fortune's wheel:

What man that sees the ever-whirling wheele
Of Chaunge, the which all mortall things doth sway. . . .

"In both cases a goddess of inconstancy pleads her rights to cosmic recognition and her case is cast."

Secondly, there is a parallel, closer than has been explicitly noticed, between the *Spaccio* and the crucial stanza 58 of Spenser's second canto. The extended discussion of change with which Bruno commences his work concludes emphatically that the principle of change, operating through coincidence of contraries, is ubiquitous: "il principio, il mezzo, et il fine; il nascimento, l'aumento, et la *perfettione* di quanto vegiamo, e da contrarij, per contrarij, ne contrarij, a contrarij (*Opere Italiane*, ed. Lagarde, p. 420; italics mine). The same thought is rendered by Spenser in stanza 58, "where the emphasis falls upon the perfection of the being of a thing through its cycle of alterations, a conception ultimately deriving from Aristotle."

The decision of Nature up to this point is philosophical and in accord with Bruno's naturalism. But in the stanzas which follow Spenser "remembers his religion" and a Christian prophecy appears. "But neither in his philosophy nor in his religion does he grant the victory, as Mr. Greenlaw suggests, to natural law in a Lucretian sense."

"I am thus unable to accept Mr. Greenlaw's suggestion of a Lucretian source for the cantos of Mutability. But there remains unnoticed a consideration which

to my reading is fatal to Mr. Greenlaw's argument. The cosmology of the cantos is that commonly received in Spenser's day, *i. e.*, Ptolemaic-Aristotelian. The sub-lunary world of change with the four elements as the 'groundwork' (7. 7. 25), the 'sundry motions' of the 'spheares' (7. 7. 55),—I fail to see what all this has to do with the infinite inane and the ruining atoms of Lucretius. In the name of historicity let us preserve some distinction between Aristotle and Epicurus."

EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT ("Spenser's Cosmic Philosophy and His Religion," pp. 715-759). This paper essays to interpret *Mutabilitie*, the "Garden of Adonis," and *Colin Clouts* (799-883) as "youthful attempts at a world philosophy largely under the influence of Empedocles as to cosmic theory, with a curious admixture of notions from Genesis and a few ideas from Aristotle."

It is Greenlaw's theory of Lucretian influence which presents the chief difficulty. While there is a strong initial probability that Spenser would know Lucretius and that Lucretius may be the source of Spenser's ideas of Time the enemy, the Golden Age, and the changeableness of elements, a specific source is hardly needed for these usual Renaissance notions. It is inconceivable, however, that Spenser should have been in agreement with Lucretius "on important problems of life."

"Lucretius is an epicurean, a materialist, a denier of immortality of the soul, of life after death. He is an atomist whose chance combinations do away with a Creator. He has gods, but they are merely of finer atoms than men, and have no divinity. Fear of the gods is superstition. There is no one great God, creator and establisher of the universe. Now how does all this fit in with Spenser's habits of mind and thought?"

Greenlaw himself is inconsistent in having Spenser in sympathy simultaneously with such disparate thinkers as Alanus, Bruno, and Lucretius. As for a scientific scepticism, Spenser scarcely manifests more than does the normal cultivated sixteenth century gentleman; like Du Bartas and unlike Bruno he rejected Copernicus.

The interpretation of Spenser as scientific and materialistic depends largely upon Greenlaw's view of the poet as siding with the *losing* debater in the Mutability Cantos, an attitude which seems also to color the opinion of Saurat. [See SAURAT below, pp. 404-6.] While it is true that the Titaness presents a materialistic philosophy with some points of resemblance to Lucretius, this in no way proves the poet's intellectual agreement with the Latin philosopher. Another analogue of the Mutability Cantos, Lipsius' *Constancy*, concludes with a justification of God's way to man and this, it seems, was Spenser's real desire. In Lipsius there is no dearth of length or eloquence in the expression of scepticism, but no one would mistake his final affirmative intention. Perhaps the main basis for Greenlaw's interpretation is the greater proportion of space given to Mutability's argument, but this is an invalid test; Spenser does not employ the modern rhetorical rule of "Mass." Spenser calls Nature's judgment *righteous*, and at the beginning of canto 7 invokes the Muse to

tell of heauens King
(Thy soueraine Sire) his fortunate successe,
And victory, in bigger noates to sing,
Which he obtain'd against that Titanesse,
That him of heauens Empire sought to dispossesse.

And stanza 59 of the same canto confirms Jove's victory.

The questionable logic of *Mutabilitie* does not, of course, destroy the case for scepticism. But persistence of doubt need not rob Spenser's personal declaration, his act of faith, of genuineness and sincerity. The existence of possible doubts, moreover, justifies the stigma of atheism in Spenser's case no more than in Tennyson's.

The extent to which Spenser's religious fervor is removed from Lucretianism is apparent in three passages where Lucretius presents the godless origin of things and the godless rule of them by chance (5. 179-194; 5. 418 ff.; and 1. 1020 ff.).

In *Mutabilitie* 7. 25, Spenser holds precisely the theory of origins that Lucretius denies. He writes of the elements:

Thus, all these fower (the which the groundwork bee
Of all the world and of all living wights).

Moreover, while Lucretius ridicules the ever burning lamp of the world, Spenser (7. 24) comments specifically on the immortality of fire.

Spenser's theory of first-beginnings, with its groundwork of the four elements, points away from Lucretius and toward the Sicilian, Empedocles of Agrigentum (*Nature and the Purifications*). The poet's knowledge of this philosopher may have been indirect, but Spenser's education and the well-known testimony of Lodowick Bryskett (*Civil Discourse*, 1606, p. 25) point to his ability to read Greek in the original. Empedocles denies unity of substance and introduces the four separate elements, earth, air, fire, and water, as a basis for the cosmos. New forms are produced by a mingling and separation of these eternal entities. It is this doctrine of origins that finds its expression in *Mutabilitie* 7. 25. While it is true that such general notions might have come to Spenser from several sources, the resemblance to Empedocles is here emphasized to show Spenser's agreement with an Empedoclean principle squarely opposed to Lucretius. But the way in which the elements mingle and separate, with Love and Strife as the combining and distintegrating forces, makes unmistakable Spenser's reliance on Empedocles. Manifestations of this are to be found in the *Fowre Hymnes*, *Colin Clouts*, and the Garden of Adonis passage.

There is no evidence that Spenser offers any such pre-Darwinian doctrines as that of Lucretius concerning "survival of the fittest." (5. 837-856.) The conception in *Mutabilitie* 7. 18,

And, being dead,
To turne again unto their earthly slime:
Yet, out of their decay and mortall crime,
We daily see new creatures to arize;
And of their Winter spring another Prime,
Unlike in forme, and chang'd by strange disguise:
So turne they still about, and change in restlesse wise,

even though it is a naturalistic doctrine, does not describe a progressive development of forms. Nature replies to this, moreover, with a brief suggestion that what seems to be change is actually progress toward a goal [st. 58]:

Being rightly wayd
They are not changed from their first estate;
But by their change their being doe dilate:

And turning to themselves at length againe,
Doe worke their own perfection so by fate.

But this faint glimmer of an evolutionary theory is by no means Lucretian. It suggests rather Aristotle, in its graded scale of living forms and "dilation" of being toward perfection. (Cf. *Physics* B. 8. 198 b 29; *De Part. An.* A. 1. 640 a 19.) The passage, however, is too brief for extended inference and, in any case, fails to show a scientific spirit in Spenser.

Spenser's doctrine of abiogenesis (7. 17-18) bears no resemblance to Lucretius' theory and little to that of Empedocles. "The clayey origins in Genesis would be as good a source as any of these."

The suggestion of Ronald B. Levinson ("Spenser and Bruno"), that Spenser manifested Bruno's conception of substance in the Garden of Adonis episode raises the problem of the *Spaccio* and *Mutabilitie*. The resemblances between the two are not of great significance, "even if the *Spaccio* were (as I think not) the earlier work." The assembly of gods, the presiding of Jove, and conceptions of alteration or change were stock themes of the Renaissance. Somewhat more significant is a mention by one of Bruno's characters of a goal of perfection at the end of change, but this shows no more than a debt to Aristotle and his followers. Moreover, Bruno's whole attitude toward the physical world is in sharp contrast to that of Spenser. And there is no need to presume any debt to the Italian for a Pythagorean belief in transmigration.

Greenlaw argues that Spenser, like Lucretius, aims to overthrow supernaturalism because Mutability declares to Jove (7. 49) that nothing unseen can be believed. But Spenser is not on the side of Mutability and he habitually believes in things unseen, an attitude in accord with Empedocles (Fragment 2). Again, Greenlaw's position (that Lucretius' argument against the immortality of the soul parallels 7. 18) runs counter to the facts that Mutability, not Spenser, is speaking and that the poet personally expresses a hope of eternal life. There is, moreover, no possibility of reconciling this interpretation with Greenlaw's own account of transmigration in the Garden of Adonis.

Greenlaw hints that Spenser's gods are like the ineffective ones of Lucretius. Jove, however, is much the same as the "Sabaoth God" at the end of the poem and thus the conception is utterly foreign to Lucretius. Spenser's lines at the conclusion of *Mutabilitie* are declarations of absolute faith under the influence of Platonic, Aristotelian, and Christian thought.

We now can consider Greenlaw's attribution of influence to Alanus de Insulis. The resemblances between Alanus and Spenser are not so marked as he maintains. In the former, Natura says she has descended to judge disorders in the world, the carelessness of government, the unjustness of laws; in Spenser Nature complains of neither of these things nor of sin and sensuality, but rather of the evil in Change. As for the descriptions of Natura by Alanus and Spenser, the resemblance seems general rather than detailed. Thin garments and flowers are to be expected in any description of Nature. Despite Greenlaw's contention, Alanus' figure is not veiled. The nearest resemblance is that Spenser's goddess was veiled because her face was like that of a lion, while Alanus' deity wore a crown jewel that blazed with a form like a lion. The height, the veil, the hint of terror, and the doubtful sex of Spenser's Nature are not accounted for in Alanus.

Finally, "Mr. Greenlaw's tracing of the pageant of the seasons and the hours, etc. to Ovid, *Met.*, Bk. 2, in his article on Spenser and Lucretius (p. 457), seems very plausible. For the eternal flux Ovid could serve as a source, though Empedocles is more likely, on account of the other ideas taken over from Empedocles as outlined above. I see no special reason for seeking in Ovid's Pythagorean doctrine the source of Spenser's."

DENIS SAURAT (*Literature and Occult Tradition*, pp. 200-218 [see the Bibliography in Book II, p. 516]). It would seem that the Mutability Cantos were more significant to Spenser than the Garden of Adonis episode; the fragment stands by itself and "has no connection whatever with the rest of the *Faerie Queene*"; it considers a subject to which Spenser has already given a place of honor and which he has treated at length in the introduction of Book V, and finally, the idea is this time developed in an ordered manner. The two cantos take up another theme already encountered in Spenser: the old Christian idea of earthly change and heavenly stability (cf. *Ruins of Rome* 121-6). Did Spenser adhere to this principle or was he on the side of Mutability? He is evidently much more alive to her arguments than to those of her adversaries. Here the whole of religion is at stake and though Spenser's reason finds no case against Mutability, we find him taking a very precarious and temporary refuge in religious passages which have no logical connection with the rest of his ideas.

Note here again that if nature has degenerated, it was the fault of Mutability, not of man (6. 5). She, not Sin, is responsible even for introducing death into the world, for it was through her usurpation that death came, in defiance of justice (6. 6). "Note the absence of all contradiction, of all indecision on this point. Spenser, who showed himself so fickle in his ideas in 'The Garden of Adonis,' is here quite sure of himself; he repeats twice over, here and in the introduction to Book V, the same conceptions."

Spenser's only cosmogonic idea is his conception of Chaos, the evermoving substance of the Garden of Adonis. Change now becomes the very essence of things, for Mutability is the daughter of Earth, herself the daughter of Chaos (6. 26). And the first impression of the gods when Mutability revolts is that Chaos has returned (6. 14). This conception of Chaos-substance can hardly, in Spenser, be called an idea. It is simply a "barely intellectualized transposition of his deep feeling of the vicissitudes of the world." Because he cannot rid himself of it, his religious ideas are no more than passing outbursts of faith born of despair. Nature, the sovereign power, is above the gods (6. 36). This is Spenser's highest pantheistic conception. But a purely negative conception like that of Chaos-substance, implying Nature as a positive and ordering power (see 3. 6. 36), is as repugnant to feeling as to intelligence. So Spenser remains as indefinite as possible when describing Nature (7. 5). She is the Universal Mother, and in her irreconcilables are reconciled (7. 13). "This corresponds in some way to the neo-platonists' complete indetermination of the supreme Essence, interpreted however in terms of the Renaissance, when theories of immanence were beginning to take the place of those of transcendence. The supreme Indeterminate was placed neither beyond the world nor above it but in the world itself. So, taking care not to be too definite, Spenser makes use here of a conception prevalent in his day. I have

pointed out that he was led into doing this by his own view of things, and so it was with most of the minds of his age; the passionate interest then taken in external nature and the progress of budding science dominated the majority of thinkers. So the supposed existence of a vague general connection between Spenser and Giordano Bruno arises from the intellectual atmosphere of the sixteenth century.

"Examined more closely, this *Nature*, reconciler of all irreconcilables, can offer no satisfactory solution to the problems raised by Mutability. Obviously Nature's very function is to reconcile change and order since she herself is

Still moving, yet unmoved from her sted.

But this answer, borrowed from a philosophy of the Absolute, does not solve the problems which are raised in a philosophy of Nature. Chaos-substance, too, remains substantially the same throughout all its variations. This theoretical conception does not satisfy Spenser. In this vague pantheism, for instance, the immortality and the mortality of the soul are equally admissible: our whole being, perhaps, is taken back into the total substance and melted down into other forms. We see that this is one of the things which trouble the poet; and the idea that other beings will be formed from him does not console him for his own disappearance. The required solution Nature cannot give, for she has to reconcile irreconcilables; and reason and human feelings are never satisfied by this. Therefore, as a last resort, the poet turns to religion: in it irreconcilables are not reconciled, but the survival of the soul and the justice of God are clearly and resolutely affirmed."

We may now examine the development of Mutability's arguments. She declares to Nature that "heaven and earth are both alike to thee." The reconciliation of opposites serves fully as well to justify change in the divine order as order in human change. Thus Nature cannot give a decision and Mutability is aware of this from the start. Scepticism, then, notes the death of all existing things; the earth is ever changing (7. 18). Personal immortality is really the question which besets the poet's mind. If the soul could survive, disorder would disappear. But the next stanza (19) applies the general rule of change directly to man. In stanza 20 this law is applied to the elements. Two things are to be noted: first, man is placed in a purely naturalistic and unprivileged category; secondly, Mutability's argument is broken off—the conclusion that man wholly dies is not given. But we do have this line of raillery (7. 19; with its analogy, observed by Greenlaw, in Lucretius):

But eeke their minds (which they immortall call).

Spenser dares not put the whole of the argument into Mutability's mouth because he finds it goes too deeply into scepticism. He has nothing but a general idea expressed in one stanza to refute it. He therefore states the premises without the conclusion because to his intelligence the conclusion is irrefutable.

After discussion of the elements and seasons, Mutability attacks the gods and concludes (7. 47) that time preys upon them also. Jove replies in the next stanza and it is to be noted that his answer, which will be refuted, is substantially the answer Nature gives (7. 58): the gods rule over change itself. So Mutability's answer to Jove applies to the final judgment. And her reply is so purely sceptical that one can go no further even in pure science (7. 49).

In the important attribution by Mutability of change to the starry spheres, it is certainly Spenser himself who is speaking, for we have the same arguments at the beginning of Book V.

When the point of judgment is reached Spenser makes Nature hesitate, not for reasons of dramatic suspense, but because Nature does not know how to reply; what she ought to say has already been refuted. Her brief inconclusive judgment (7. 58) is supposed to confirm Jove's right, but in reality it does nothing of the sort. Nature says:

And thee content thus to be rul'd by me.

She leaves things as they were. As explained before, her entire judgment has been previously anticipated and refuted by Mutability. Then, to Spenser speaking through the mouth of Nature, we can oppose Spenser himself speaking at the opening of Book V. Things there are not moving toward perfection but toward dissolution; only at the beginning of the world did perfection exist. Lest one passage be deemed an uncertain clue, we may observe a repetition of this concept in the Mutability cantos themselves (6. 5).

Spenser can find no rational ground for believing that things will return to perfection instead of reverting back to chaos. Hence he abandons philosophy and turns to religion in the two stanzas of the eighth canto. Things left to themselves, according to Nature (7. 58),

Doe worke their own perfection so by fate.

"What is this *fate* which intervenes at the last moment to save all things? Philosophy has no answer. Religion has: it is God." [8.-2.]

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Spenser's '*Mutabilitie*,'" pp. 684-695). The historic incongruity observed by Mr. Levinson between Aristotle and Epicurus is imaginary, for Spenser's practice of combining variable source materials in a single passage is well known. It was a characteristic practice in the Renaissance and often led to more paradoxical mixtures than the one observed by Mr. Levinson. Spenser's inconsistency, moreover, is not clarified by assuming that he took that inconsistency from Bruno, nor does it furnish proof of Bruno's influence. Mr. Levinson admits that proof of the Spenser-Bruno connection is lacking.

From the admissions made by Mr. Elton it is apparent that a considerable burden of proof rests upon anyone who maintains a direct influence of the *Spaccio* upon *Mutabilitie*. Every possible parallel is a commonplace: the assembly of gods, the treatment of cosmic matters, the conclusion. Mr. Levinson's positive suggestions rest upon two points: the resemblance between Bruno's Fortuna and Spenser's Titaness, and an appearance in the *Spaccio* of the judgment in 7. 58. "But Fortuna is a very different divinity, and she is after a very different thing." As for Nature's judgment, Mr. Elton finds an analogue in the *Eroici Furori* but remarks that Spenser's concept is very old. It is related to the Platonic Great Year. The idea, moreover, was conventional and orthodox.

Miss Albright's principal thesis is that any admission of Lucretian influence upon Spenser convicts him of atheism. No such conclusion was ever stated or postulated, nor was scepticism assumed except in the Erasmian sense of intellectual curiosity. It is illogical to set lines from the *Hymnes*, *Daphnaida*, and the *Calendar*

over against Spenser's Lucretian passages to show that he expressed religious faith. Similarly unsound is any inference of Spenser's belief in the whole Lucretian system based upon his use of certain Lucretian passages. Miss Albright, moreover, does not provide a valid alternative source after ruling out Lucretius. Her attribution of Spenser's doctrine of the four elements to Empedocles overlooks the fact that the theory was an Elizabethan commonplace.

Miss Albright is mistaken when she infers that interest in Lucretianism would necessitate a break by Spenser with his Platonic faith or that it would manifest mental confusion. In Milton we find elements from Genesis, the four elements of the old physics, and a strong infusion of material fundamentally Lucretian, but it produces in us no sense of intellectual confusion or atheism.

Some of the points in Miss Albright's summary are also misleading. She declares that the elements, together with love and strife in conflict, find no place in Lucretius, but this is clearly contrary to fact. Again, she holds that the one modern note in Lucretius is the doctrine of survival of the fittest. Munro, however, states that this cannot be ascribed with certainty to Lucretius and that his modern note is really the atomic conception and a general spirit of scepticism. Finally, the climax of her summary is the singular argument that since Lucretius denies God as creator, Spenser could not have drawn material from *De Rerum Natura*.

That this investigation may proceed upon a sound basis, it is desirable to call attention to some important criteria. It is necessary to study not Spenser alone, but the whole subject of the philosophy of nature in Renaissance literature, with an eye to growing materialism and scepticism from the 1590's onward. The presence of this material in Spenser may indicate a range of interests similar to that which was to produce the new scientific movement, but it is not advisable to press such a theory until further evidence appears. We must recognize, in the search for sources, that many of the ideas may be conventional. The question of precise source, moreover, must be kept subordinate to a recognition of the material and its significance.

Illustrative of this is the most perplexing problem in an interpretation of *Mutabilitie* as expressing Spenser's own thought—that presented by the two stanzas of the unfinished eighth canto. If we did not have these we should look upon the poem as a conventional imitation of cosmical poetry, derivable ultimately from Lucretius, Ovid, and Alanus de Insulis, and essentially dramatic rather than lyrically representative of Spenser himself. It is not certain what these two stanzas mean. They may signify, as Miss Albright suggests, a statement of the will to believe, or they may have been intended as a prelude to further metaphysical poetry. Perhaps they were meant to preface some part of the fourth book in which the same problem is considered in relation to worldly affairs.

"Is the poet's position, then, one merely of imitation, imitation of Lucretius or another, a joyous exercise of his creative imagination? Is it, to take another possible view, similar to that of the hymn:

Change and decay in all around I see;
O Thou who changest not, abide with me.

Or is it prelude to a new phase of the entire question, cosmological like the third and fourth hymns, or social like the fourth *F. Q.* Or, finally, is it the real cry of the soul confronted by the mystery of life, unable to find relief in conventional

reiteration of a law of order in the universe, responsive to intellectual currents that we know were gaining increased strength when the poem was written? I do not know. This is the ultimate problem of mutability, in Spenser, and in human life. The glory of the poem is that it presents, in cloudy symbol and with unexampled power, a matter of fundamental importance. Let us not in our squabble over the first beginnings, the atoms, the elements which are the sources of the poem, lose sight of the end to which all such study, if it is of any moment, must follow, the richer understanding of the poet's genius."

T. P. HARRISON, JR. ("The Relations of Spenser and Sidney," pp. 720-5). A comparison of Spenser's cosmic principles with those found in Sidney's *Arcadia* shows that there is no contradiction between the two. They are alike in neglecting Lucretian atomism and in adopting the Empedoclean conception of the elements. In one particular, "there is even a noteworthy resemblance"—a use of the Empedoclean principle of Love and Strife as respectively the harmonizing and the disintegrating force in the universe. [The argument here is primarily corroborative of the Albright argument, *supra*. It does not deal specifically with the subject matter of *Mutabilitie*—ED.]

WILLIAM P. CUMMING ("The Influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on Spenser's *Mutabilitie Cantos*," pp. 241-256). Thus far the study of Ovid's influence upon the *Mutability Cantos* has been either generalized or minimized. From the present study "it will be seen that Spenser makes especially detailed and characteristic use of two passages in the *Metamorphoses*, the first part of the second book and the discourse of Pythagoras in the fifteenth book."

"In this article I shall undertake to show: first, that Spenser's primary indebtedness in the poem under discussion is to Ovid; second, that Professor Greenlaw has over-emphasized the indebtedness of Spenser to Lucretius; and third, that Miss Albright's ascription of Spenser's cosmic philosophy to Empedocles requires several strictures."

No positive assertion of Spenser's indebtedness to any one author for a philosophical idea or a classical allusion can be made until all possible sources have been exhausted, for though not a profound philosopher, he read widely in classical authors. Ovid, however, especially through the *Metamorphoses*, was a favorite with Elizabethan poets, and while Spenser's proportionate debt to Ovid is not so great as Shakespeare's, it is obvious everywhere in his poetry. "If, in addition, several verbal similarities are found between any given mythological passages in Ovid and Spenser, his primary (though not necessarily sole) indebtedness to Ovid becomes doubly emphasized."

Spenser's first debt to Ovid becomes clear in the sixth canto with the usurpation by Mutability of the reins of the moon. Spenser's story "follows that of the disastrous ride of Phaeton in the chariot of Apollo, the god of the sun, described by Ovid with such splendor of imagery and imaginative power at the beginning of the second book of *Metamorphoses*." Similarities include the ascensions of Phaeton and Mutability to the "bright and shining palace" of the deity, and the rôles played by both Diana and Apollo. Further, the congress of divinities in the *Mutability Cantos* corresponds to the council of the Gods in *Met.* 1. 167 ff.

The Faunus-Diana-Molanna episode in *Mutabilitie* is a union of the tales of Calisto, Acteon, and Alpheus and Arethusa, found respectively in *Met.* 457 ff., 173 ff., and 572 ff. Another elaborate parallelism is that of the arguments and masque of the Mutability-Jove debate (canto 7) and the exposition of Pythagoras' doctrines in *Met.* 15. The discourses of Pythagoras on the constant flux of time, the moon, the seasons, the elements, and other phenomena, are almost all used and elaborated by Spenser from the seventh to the thirty-first stanzas of the second canto. In Spenser's masque is an interesting "metamorphosis of Ovid's description of the seasons." The description follows in many details the account of the seasons in *Met.* 15. 197-213 and also adds details of the pageants before Apollo in 2. 22-30. Spenser does not follow Ovid rigidly, of course; there are interesting changes, such as the transference by Spenser of Summer's characteristic, that of being lightly clad, to the month, July:

Then came hot July boyling like to fire
That all his garments he had cast away.

An example of close paraphrase is Winter's "tremulo passu" (*Met.* 15. 212) and the "feeble steps" of 7. 7. 31. 7.

"In summing up the literary influence exerted by Ovid on *Mutabilitie*, it is apparent, then, that Spenser was indebted to him not only for much of his pictorial style and pageantry in both cantos but also for the greater part of the illustrations given by *Mutabilitie* in her defense. Spenser shows a remarkably close knowledge of these two passages in the *Metamorphoses*."

We are now prepared to discuss Professor Greenlaw's position that the poem is related fundamentally to Lucretius rather than Ovid because Ovid is interested in mere Protean shifting from shape to shape, while Lucretius and Spenser are concerned with the mortality of all things, physical and supernatural. There is no doubt that Spenser was influenced strongly by Lucretius, but the lines (7. 19. 7-8) from which Professor Greenlaw derives his interpretation of a Lucretian attack on the soul's immortality present that doctrine only when removed from their context. Otherwise the passage sets forth simply the phenomenon of mutation. The closest parallel to stanza 18 is the doctrine of abiogenesis found in *Met.* 15. 361-379, a doctrine which is contained neither in Lucretius nor in other suggested classical sources, Diodorus or Empedocles.

Professor Greenlaw's argument, that the fundamental relationship between Spenser and Lucretius is shown in the conclusion of Mutability's case, which, like the summary of the Adonis passage, asserts the reign of time and change, is answerable by a striking parallel in *Met.* 15. 234-237 [cf. 6. 7. 47 and note on 47. 2-9]. Moreover, if Spenser looked upon Lucretius as a source of inspiration, he would not have presented the doctrine of the four elements in transmutation, a theory which Lucretius overtly ridicules. "It is not the Lucretian theory of mortality or attack on supernaturalism but the Pythagorean philosophy of change which Nature answers in her final judgment on *Mutabilitie*'s claims."

As for Miss Albright's hypothesis of a source in Empedocles, the doctrine of the four elements, on which she places great reliance, was orthodox and conventional up to the beginning of modern chemistry. Nor is it plausible to believe that Spenser took from Empedocles the Pythagorean doctrine of rebirth or that

of abiogenesis. "It seems just as sure that Spenser was not trying to present the cosmology of Empedocles as it is sure he was not trying to present the atomic theory of Lucretius. Spenser was writing about Mutabilitie, just as he said he was, and he turned to Ovid's inaccurate, unscholarly, but beautiful and poetic Pythagorean discourse in *Metamorphoses* for his inspiration."

H. G. LOTSPEICH (*Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser*, pp. 85-6). The Titaness Mutability is Spenser's own embodiment, not only of the forces of change and decay which he felt so keenly, but also of those qualities of false pride and rebellious ambition which were a part of his conception of the Titans, from whom he derives her. Thus he speaks of her as "Proud Change," of her "bold presumption," her "pride and impudence," her "hot bold emprise." . . . Spenser may have found a suggestive connecting link in Natalis Comes's idea (6. 20) that the myth of the Titans' rebellion and fall represents "elementorum mutationes." The reference to "the ever-whirling wheele Of Change, the which all mortal things doth sway" (st. 1) suggests that, to some extent, Spenser is creating his Titaness on the pattern of the classical and medieval goddess Fortuna. . . . A consideration of Natalis Comes's chapter on Fortuna (4. 9) lends weight to this supposition, for his description of that goddess corresponds at many points with Spenser's Mutability: She is said by Orpheus to have been born of blood (st. 20). . . . Natalis Comes goes on to describe her as "stultam" and "temerariam" and says that to her "penes quam omnes humanae vitae mutationes . . . , arbitrium esse creditur. . . . Vitam omnium mortalium Fortunae ludum esse crediderint" (cf. 1. 5). Finally, Natalis Comes offers the information, from what source does not appear, that at one time Fortuna, like Mutability, almost succeeded in ousting Jove from his throne: "Haec eadem (Fortuna) tantum existimationis, tantumque imperium ab Homeri temporibus accepit, ut Iupiter de coelo ab ea prope fuerit detrusus, omnemque rerum administrationem et sceptrum ipsum e manibus illa Iovis prope extorserit. . . ."

ROSEMOND TUVE ("A Medieval Commonplace in Spenser's Cosmology," pp. 145-7). Works such as Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*, "On the Mutability of Human Affairs," and Gower's *Confessio Amantis* present one or more of certain important elements found in Spenser's *Mutabilitie*. These are the governance of the changing and conflicting elements by Dame Nature, the transmutation of the elements, and the use of these themes in depicting the reign of Mutability. Also used in such a connection are the changing seasons and heavenly bodies. Finally, Lydgate provides a conventional analogue for Spenser's passage on the "God of Sabbath," the goal of all things seeking rest and permanence. No definite medieval sources can or need be designated; Spenser was making use of commonplace material.

JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT ("Spenser's Venus and the Goddess Nature of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*," pp. 160-192). Despite Spenser's great interest in Neo-Platonism, the possibility of a Neo-Platonic basis for the Mutability Cantos has not been investigated. "In this paper I wish to examine both Spenser's description of Nature, and the philosophic content of the Cantos, in their relation to the revived and Christianized Neo-Platonism of the Renaissance. I believe that such an examination will throw much light on the allegorical meaning of the passage."

It is first necessary to understand the cosmic setting. According to the Christian Platonic scheme which Spenser followed there were three worlds, "one below the moon, a second which included the nine spheres of the 'heavens' or celestial world, and a third beyond the limits of the visible universe." Spenser represents Mutability as having gained control of the lowest and as challenging Jove, the ruler of the next higher world. She challenges control of each of the spheres in turn, except the *primum mobile*. As she recognizes the authority of Nature, we must view Nature's domain as greater than Jove's and as including everything beginning with the empyrean.

It is a fundamental mistake to view the Jove of these cantos as the Supreme Deity. According to Neo-Platonic commentators and to Spenser himself this Deity "is neither Jove nor Nature, but is outside of the created universe, in the super-celestial world, and is referred to only in the two stanzas which constitute the fragmentary eighth canto."

I. The Neo-Platonic Conception of Nature.

According to the Neo-Platonists, the act of creation was not single or final but proceeded by "emanations" from highest to lowest. "The first stage, or emanation, is pure thought, which, as it embraces the Platonic Ideas, furnishes a pattern for the rest of creation. The second stage is the universal soul, which has two phases. As it is turned in the direction of pure thought, and as it contemplates the Ideas in the Mind of God, Plotinus called it the world soul; but as it is turned in the direction of the world, it acts as the creative force and is called Nature. According to this scheme, Nature is the immediate creator of the visible universe, the personification of the active, creative force emanating from the super-celestial world. To such a deity Mutability might say (7. 7. 15):

For heaven and earth I both alike do deeme,
Sith heaven and earth are both alike to thee;
And gods no more then men thou doest esteeme:
For even the gods to thee, as men to gods, do seeme."

Since everything existing in the highest world appeared in lessening degrees at lower stages, there would be three phases of the Venus emanation. In the super-celestial world Venus is identical with Sapience. There is an account of the earthly Venus in *Faerie Queene* 4. 10. 39 ff. Nature is evidently the Venus principle of the intermediate or celestial world. Furthermore, Spenser, following Neo-Platonic tradition, did not look upon the three stages of the Venus emanation as distinct and independent. He represented them as differing in name but telescoping in function.

Earthly Venus and Nature.

Spenser's conception of the earthly Venus differs from that of Lucretius in that Spenser, even while describing her earthly functions, does not lose sight of her relationship with the heavenly Venus who provides the pattern of the universe. This is apparent from a reading and comparison of two Spenserian passages, 4. 10. 47 and ll. 197-203 of the fourth hymn. Likewise Mutability describes Nature as the mistress of all creation (7. 7. 15).

There is a striking similarity between Spenser's earthly Venus (4. 10. 40-41) and Nature. Both are veiled and in each case the veil conceals the double sex of the goddess. The double sex is also mentioned in *Colin Clouts* 801-802. This conception was very common. It is found in Ficino, and the popular *Le Imagini de i Dei* of V. Cartari, as well as other Renaissance mythographers.

"Spenser represents this mystery of sex as concealed by a veil, so that:

Whether she man or woman inly were,
That could not any creature well descry. (7. 6. 5)

He seems to introduce some little confusion about the matter, for when Mutability appeals from the decision of Jove, she appeals

. . . to the highest him, that is behight
Father of gods and men by equall might,
To weet, the god of Nature, I appeale. (7. 6. 35)

Yet when the trial opens the judge is the *goddess* Nature. If the poet had in mind the mystical theory of the sex of the gods, or if he was remembering the Orphic hymn to Nature, where she is addressed as 'Father of all, great nurse, and mother kind,' his treatment of gender in these two passages is understandable and even significant. Mutability would naturally appeal for final judgment to that masculine phase of the *anima mundi* which, being exclusively occupied with the contemplation of the divine ideas, would be able to speak with authority as to the nature of the divine plan which controls the destinies of the created universe, but the response would naturally come from the downward turned phase of that deity, the goddess Nature, who immediately created and still controls the world."

Nature as Anima Mundi.

"While Spenser's Nature has important features in common with earthly Venus, she is clearly a more universal deity." The veil conceals not only her sex, but the mystery of her divinity (7. 7. 6).

"Plotinus described the raying downward of the divine influence as like the sun and its rays, so that both the lion face (a lion was the symbol of the sun, since the sun is native in the house of Leo) and the great brilliance of face are natural attributes of this demiurgic goddess. Cartari has a picture of the sun as a lion-headed deity (see 7. 7. 6. 4)."

"The alternative suggestion of the great brightness and beauty of Nature's face is even nearer to the Plotinian idea that the Divinity is an intellectual sun which far surpasses the material sun in brightness. Nature, as the transmitter of the divine effulgence from the super-celestial world to the created universe, would, of course, shine with a splendor surpassing the physical sun a thousand times, for she would receive the full blaze of beauty from the divine Wisdom and radiate it upon the world below. It is as agent of immortal Truth that Nature's beauty is so bright it can be looked upon only indirectly, 'like an image in a glass' (7. 7. 6. 9), i. e., as it is reflected in the material universe."

Spenser next (7. 7. 7) describes Nature's wondrous robe as similar to the "strange disguise" of Christ transfigured upon Mount Tabor. "The comparison is not so incongruous as some have supposed if Nature is understood as simply another personification of the Logos, represented by the transfigured Christ."

The description of Nature ends with the lines (7. 7. 13):

This great grandmother of all creatures bred,
Great Nature, ever young yet full of eld,
Still mooving, yet unmoved from her sted,
Unseene of any, yet of all beheld. . . .

Nature's agelessness and maternity are conventions. (Cf. Claudian, *On Stilicho's Consulship* 2. 431; Apuleius, *Met.* 11. 47.) Her description as "still mooving, yet unmoved" associates her with the *primum mobile*, the beginning of material creation. The Orphic hymn to Nature twice refers to her in this capacity; it "embodies most of the conceptions with which we are dealing." These are Nature's beauty, great brightness, double sex, her cosmic position as *primum mobile* and as immediate creator and ruler of the universe, the attendance on her of lesser gods and all creatures, and her identification with Justice.

As in his description of the Garden of Adonis, Spenser here mingles conventional details with metaphysical symbolism. The details he draws from Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. It is worth noting that in the account of Nature which refers to Chaucer and Alanus, "a passage obviously so closely related to the 'garden of Adonis,' Spenser follows the same method of development. In both cases he begins with a few conventional details which lead immediately into the metaphysical symbolism, and when he has finished with that, in each case he completes the pictorial aspect of the passage by drawing upon *The Parlement of Foules* for details, so far as it will go, and then has recourse to classical sources. In the stanza immediately following his reference to Chaucer, he uses an idea which derives ultimately from Hesiod, who says of Venus: 'beneath her delicate feet the verdure throve around.' The blossoming of all vegetation at the approach of Venus is a motif which came down through mediaeval, as well as through classical tradition. It is mentioned in the hymn by Lucretius which Spenser paraphrased in his account of earthly Venus. It is a feature as appropriate to the greater goddess, Nature, since, as I have explained, the greater included the less. Venus was associated with Spring; Horace says she was born in April." [Not quite; *Carm.* 4. 11. 15.]

The attendance of nymphs and of the river Mole upon the goddess is appropriate in that moisture was always associated with the principle of generation. [See note on 4. 11. 52. 8-9 in Book IV, p. 276.]

II. The Argument of the Cantos.

The question discussed here is that raised by Greenlaw in his theory of a Lucretian source for the arguments of Mutability before Nature's tribunal. While it would not be strange for a Platonist like Spenser to equip the devil's advocate with Lucretian theories, Spenser's indebtedness to Lucretius' fifth book yet "requires re-examination in the light of what I have attempted to show is the significance of the goddess Nature." This re-examination shows that "Spenser's purpose is quite different from that of Lucretius."

"Lucretius is concerned with providing a physical explanation of the origin and causes of natural phenomena, with the 'how' and 'why' of changes, not, as is Spenser, with the fact of change as degeneration (to a Neo-Platonist all change must be for the worse since creation was most perfect at its beginning).

"Professor Greenlaw distinguishes between Spenser's theme of mutability and Ovid's concern with change as metamorphosis merely, but Spenser is no nearer to Lucretius, since the latter is not using mutability as an argument against supernaturalism (as Professor Greenlaw argues that Spenser is doing), but is trying to explain the mutable universe without appealing to the influence of the gods. He is refuting the premise that changes are due to the gods, not using the fact of change as evidence against the existence of the gods."

The second point advanced for the Lucretian influence on Spenser is that both poets treat the same topics in the same order. Spenser's order is natural and logical; he begins with the earth and goes upward through the elements and spheres. [Or, p. 185, elements, seasons, mutation of time, spheres; but Lucretius has elements, spheres, seasons, mutations.] As Professor Cumming has pointed out (*SP* 28. 241-256), the beginning of the argument (sts. 18-19) is indebted to Ovid. The argument in stanza 19 that human minds "still change and vary thoughts, as new occasions fall" is not the Lucretian argument against immortality of the soul, i. e. that the mind decays before the body dies, especially in view of the distinction commonly made between mind and soul.

Having presented the mutability of earthly phenomena, Mutability discusses the other elements in turn. Both Spenser and Lucretius mention the influence of the winds on water and air, the dependence of all creatures on air, and the fact that fire consumes itself. These, however, are the most commonplace of notions and could derive from Ovid as easily as from Lucretius.

Greenlaw follows his last point with the argument that both Spenser and Lucretius treat the seasons immediately after the elements. The significance of this sequence, however, is destroyed by the fact that between discussion of the elements and seasons Lucretius interposes over three hundred lines on the creation of the world. It is at least as likely that Spenser reversed the order of Ovid whose pageant of the seasons precedes the passage on the elements.

Mutability next undertakes to prove the changeableness of the heavenly spheres, an argument which Greenlaw attributes to Lucretius 5. 509 ff. This, however, is misleading. "In the first place, the passage cited in Lucretius precedes the account of the seasons, and so destroys the parallel sequence of ideas in the two poets. In the second place, Spenser did not draw any of the proofs of the mutability of the various planets from Lucretius. Beyond the fact that both poets mention eclipses, the two passages have nothing in common. Lucretius is concerned with the cause of the motions of the heavenly bodies. He develops the theory that they are borne around by divers currents of air. He is concerned with finding a cause for their motion other than the one never questioned by Spenser, namely, that they are animate gods. Spenser mixes mythology with new and old discoveries of astronomy in an effort to fix a charge of inconstancy on each of the spheres. He is not concerned with the physical causes of their motions, as is Lucretius, nor even with their regular motions, but only with the evidence of irregularity, or mutability, a subject which Lucretius does not mention."

Again, Greenlaw finds in stanza 47 on the ravages of Time a parallel with Lucretius 5. 828-835. The subject, however, is commonplace and is verbally closer to Ovid. [See note on 7. 7. 47. 2-9.]

Finally, Greenlaw asserts that Jove's reply and Mutability's rejoinder (sts.

48-49) represent a condensation of the passage wherein Lucretius discusses changes of the heavenly bodies and denounces men for holding that the gods cause a phenomenon which men do not understand. "The possible relation between these two passages, if it is possible, is so remote that I feel sure Professor Greenlaw would not have advanced it if he had not believed that the other evidence of Spenser's indebtedness to Lucretius' fifth book was conclusive."

Greenlaw's interpretation also makes of the two stanzas of the fragmentary eighth canto an enigma, a complete reversal of previous opinions by an act of faith. Greenlaw's assertion that the real victory "is in the assertion of a law in nature that rules gods and men alike" is not challenged, but "I believe that the gods involved are deities of the elements and the spheres, and that the law asserted is the rule of the divine plan, according to which Nature rules the created universe and mutability plays a necessary part. Spenser's Nature is a Neo-Platonic goddess who emanates from ultimate divinity, a manifestation of the Venus-power which, at its highest, is Sapience, and at its lowest is earthly Venus. Jove is not the supreme deity but only the ruler of the 'heavens' or celestial world which embraces the eight spheres of the visible universe."

Mutability and Chaos.

"Beginning with this premise, I wish to present an interpretation which makes one harmonious whole of the action of Mutability." It is necessary to begin with the creation. According to Platonic theory the universe was formed by a union of matter and spirit. Matter had pre-existed in chaos, while spirit emanated from the divine wisdom and infused order and harmony into matter. Matter, however, is imperfect and will eventually return to its source in chaos. Spenser presents this worldly corruption in the first of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*. Change has brought about worldly degeneration and now challenges the heavens and in this scene the lower world is depicted as fearing the return to chaos and eternal night. Jove's reminder to the gods of their former conflict with the Titans or giants who were not completely subjugated "sounds like an allegory of the first conquest of chaos by spiritual forces," and of the survival of elements of disorder which brought a second decay upon the world.

It may be, that in depicting Mutability's great beauty, Spenser had in mind the connection between beauty and ephemerality. Her genealogy (she was daughter of Earth and grand-daughter of Chaos on her mother's side, while having Titan for a father) makes her a product of both matter and spirit, and as such, a part of the scheme of creation, not something apart from it originating solely in Chaos. This interpretation would foreshadow the final judgment delivered by Nature, that Mutability is part of the divine plan of ordered change as a means of self perfection. Such a divine plan, moreover, is "the verdict of the divine wisdom itself, for, to those who attend the trial, Nature's veil is suddenly removed, and 'all creatures' looked in her face, that face which is so beautiful that it 'a thousand times did pass' the brilliance of the sun. It is with this sight of eternal Truth that the answer comes, the vindication of the divine plan working through the order of the universe."

The last stanza of the canto refutes the other point urged by Mutability—the questionable reality of unseen things, for when the trial is over Nature vanishes and we are reminded of her quality as "unseen of many yet of all beheld."

Having thus brought the allegory to its conclusion, Spenser draws the natural and obvious moral: man should turn away from mutable things and attend to eternity. For when the world has completed its circuit, the emanations of the divine spirit also will return to the perfect deity that was their inception.

BRENTS STIRLING ("The Concluding Stanzas of *Mutabilitie*," pp. 193-204). "In source studies of the Mutability Cantos none but the most indefinite parallels have been suggested for the conclusion in favor of Jove and against his adversary, Mutability, who supports the doctrine of change." The significant stanzas of the poem are 7. 58 and 8. 1-2. An examination of these shows that the refutation of the arguments of Mutability is not simple. The peculiarity is that the apparent variation between the first of these stanzas and the two following has not generally been noted. "It is not easy to view as a unified doctrine the compound notion contained in them, for in the first the mutable order, of itself, reigns over change through dilation of things and their return to themselves and perfection by motion of fate, while in the second, permanence and rest lie in ultimate amalgamation with the Sabbath God. Granted that a poet should not be confined unduly to logical consistency, it is yet possible without strained interpretation to attain unity between the two passages by considering *Mutabilitie* in the light of other lines in Spenser and in relation to contemporary Neo-Platonic doctrine as found in Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*."

It is fitting for purposes of clarification to examine first a few Spenserian passages aside from the Mutability stanzas. The notion of "circular recurrence" found in 7. 58, where permanence in change is achieved by the unfolding of things and their return to themselves, if interpreted in connection with the opening lines of *Mutabilitie*, might be thought related to the "ever-whirling wheele of change" or Fortune's wheel. But, as Professor Greenlaw showed (SP 20. 216), the conception of Spenser's concluding stanzas and that of Fortune's wheel are but superficially related, for "the problem of cosmic change is above and beyond the career of man" which is the sole concern of Fortune.

In the Garden of Adonis episode, a cycle that "eternall Fate Ordained hath" calls for clothing the "thousand naked babes" with sinful mire and sending them into mortality "till they agayn retorne backe by the hinder gate." Then they grow afresh, as if they had never undergone fleshly corruption or pain, until they are again sent forth into the "chaungefull world." In the Adonis passage change is conquered by a paradoxical permanence in change itself. The lines concerning Adonis himself show this:

All be he subject to mortalitee
Yet is eterne in mutabilitie,
And by succession made perpetuall,
Transformed oft, and chaunged diverslie.

"It is thus, perhaps, that things changeable, according to Nature's vague words in *Mutabilitie*, 'raigne over Change and doe their states maintaine.' A reference, moreover, to the stanza quoted from the Adonis passage shows what Spenser may have considered in *Mutabilitie* as an attainment of perfection in cyclic change. Upon return to the garden, things 'grow afresh, as they had never seene fleshly corruption.'

" 'Dilation' of being and its return to perfection in itself, however, was a conventional Neo-Platonic doctrine. The essential being of each individual consisted of its 'cause,' of its 'seminal reason,' the form bestowed upon it. This source of life was the same as the end of life, for the true being of each individual was the goal it lived to achieve; the distinctness of this personal goal was the individuality of each life, the basis of personality. . . . [Cites Plotinus 6. 7. 2, 3.]

" Thus, by recourse to other portions of Spenser's work and to general Platonic doctrine, the enigmatic theory in *Mutabilitie*, that things are constant in returning to their own perfection, is somewhat clarified. It will be recalled, however, that the problem further involves a unification of this temporal conquest of change with that of ensuing stanzas which confine the sway of Mutability to the mundane order, as not being worthy 'of the Heav'ns rule,' and hold that victory over change lies in union with the great Sabbaoth God, 'contrayr to *Mutabilitie*.' The first concept is thus a refuge from change in the fated temporal succession, while canto 8 seeks escape in God. It is in Boethius (4. prose 6) that these two ideas are found stated and differentiated explicitly, though in perfect union. I use here Chaucer's translation, it being one almost certainly known to Spenser. . . . [Quotes Skeat's *Chaucer, Boethius* 4. prose 6. 28-117.]

" Throughout Spenser we have observed that the mutable order is constantly linked with Fate or Destiny. In the *Consolation*, Change and Fate are practically identical, for the temporal order is that of 'destinal moevabletee.' Spenser's 'dilation' of being to perfection and toward maintenance of its true state is also found expressed in Boethius as it was in Plotinus, for 'the progressiouns of muable nature, . . . taketh his causes, his ordre, and his formes, of the stablenesse of the divyne thoght.' As we have seen, 'cause' and 'form' to the Platonist constituted the essential 'being' of an object, and this source of its existence was equivalent to the end it fulfilled or 'returned' to in its effort toward perfection. The same idea is also expressed toward the end of Boethius' discourse, for there we read that 'thilke same ordre (Destiny) neweth ayein alle thinges growinge and fallinge adoun, by semblable progressiouns of sedes and sexes.' 'Seed' to a Platonist meant just that potentiality of being which dilates toward perfection and self-maintenance in Spenser's lines. The turning of things to themselves in *Mutabilitie* is likewise described by Boethius in meter 6 which directly follows the above passages:

And tho thinges that he [God] stereth to gon by moevinge, he withdraweth and aresteth; and affermeth the moevable or wandringe thinges. For yif that he ne clepede ayein the right goinge of thinges, and yif that he ne constreinde hem nat eft-sones in-to roundnesses enclynede, the thinges that ben now continued by stable ordinaunce, they should departen from hir welle, that is to seyn, from hir beginninge

Again in 3. meter 2, Boethius declares:

Alle thinges seken ayein to hir propre course, and alle thinges rejoysen hem of hir retorninge Ayein to hir nature. Ne non ordinaunce nis bitoken to thinges, but that that hath joynd the endinge to the beginninge, and hath maked the course of it-self *that it chaungeth nat from his propre kinde*.

"There could hardly be a more exact paraphrase of this passage than Spenser's stanza 58. The latter passage, moreover, is the judgment uttered by Nature, while the quotation from the *De Consolatione* is taken from a passage in which Boethius aims to show

by subtil song, with slakke and delitable soun of strenges, how that Nature, mighty, enclineth and flitteth the governments of thinges, and by whiche lawes she, purveyable, kepeth the grete world; and how she, bindinge, restreyneth all thinges by a bonde that may nat ben unbounde."

The two fundamental aspects of the poet's first answer to Mutability are thus found in Boethius. Phenomena "dilate" their being and, turning to themselves, reach perfection and permanence. Further, Spenser employs a second Boethian element, the control of the mutable order by fate or destiny. As for the final stanza of Nature's judgment against Mutability, namely the approach of things changeable to the stable simplicity of God, that also is a characteristic Boethian doctrine.

"Spenser's transition from one to the other of his anti-change conclusions has led to estimates of him which are not in praise of clarity or consistency. M. Saurat wonders, concerning the stanza on cyclical recurrence, 'What is this *fate* which intervenes at the last moment to save all things? Philosophy has no answer, Religion has: it is God.' Professor R. B. Levinson declares that the decision of Nature concerning the fated cycle is philosophical and naturalistic, but that in the concluding stanzas Spenser remembers his religion and appends a Christian prophecy. It is obvious, however, from the compact and explicit Boethian passage, which has been considered at length, that the naturalistic fated cycle which gives rise to permanence in change is not to be identified with God, as M. Saurat would have it, but belongs to the mutable order controlled by Fate as God's Agent. And it is equally clear that Spenser's transition from the idea of temporal immutability in change to the immutable simplicity of God is not, as Mr. Levinson believes, a leap from uncomfortable naturalism to a refuge in religion. Boethius presents these two conceptions woven neatly and inextricably together as constituents of a single philosophical doctrine. His only differentiation of them is identical with that of Spenser: Mutability, which is Fate in Boethius, is confined to the earthly world and in higher spheres finds its master and its refuge in God.

"I have refrained carefully from arguing that Spenser used Boethius as a source in the sense of composing the concluding stanzas of *Mutability* with a text open before him. It has been apparent in numerous passages from the *Faerie Queene* and other works of Spenser that these Boethian doctrines were a part of his intellectual equipment. But that he had read Boethius is hardly to be doubted. His reverent contact with Chaucer would imply this even though we were unaware that Colville's translation is dated 1556 and Queen Elizabeth's 1593. The most important consideration, however, is that during the Middle Ages the philosophy of Boethius became so diffused throughout current thought that then and in the sixteenth century much of it was conventional. As Morris, in the preface to his edition of Chaucer's translation, declares, 'No philosopher was so bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of Middle Age writers as Boethius. Take up what writer you will, and you find not only the sentiments, but the very words of the

distinguished old Roman.' It would have been strange indeed if Spenser, in concluding a philosophical poem upon mutability, should not have taken over, by force of convention or by design, the essential doctrine found in the enduring standard treatment of the subject. A knowledge that he used Boethian doctrine provides the modern reader with a commentary for understanding and appreciating lines which are the crux of a great philosophical poem. It was in a philosophical tradition centuries old that Spenser wrote, and the poetical gloss which he bestowed upon its worn doctrines is an additional manifestation of his concept of the poet as teacher and philosopher."

B. E. C. DAVIS (*Edmund Spenser*, pp. 226-230 and pp. 235-240). The frequency throughout Spenser's work of yearning for the eternal rest decreed in Nature's judgment makes it appear that "he was driven ultimately to the refuge of the contemplative ascetic." But the matter may be viewed from quite another aspect. The "envoy" to the *Faerie Queene* sounds strangely discordant with the epic of Humanism and the genius of an artist so alive to the beauty of physical things. From the Mutability Cantos comes the principle that all disfigurement in the land of Faerie is derived from the element of Disorder; the golden age of antiquity alone embodied the reign of universal beauty emanating from the first designer.

Spenser's failure to reconcile the needs of the flesh with those of the spirit is symptomatic of contemporary intellectualism. Scholasticism was out of date, and pagan stoicism could not satisfy a Christian poet. "Between the Scylla and Charybdis of obscurantism and scepticism the only safe course was a correlation of ethics and metaphysics with the facts of nature, the course necessarily adopted by a poet devoting his greatest work to the broad and comprehensive interpretation of life. Herein lies the peculiar interest attaching to the Garden of Adonis, the Temple of Venus and the case of Mutability. . . . In spite of all that reason may allege, human sense recoils at the remorseless law of nature forbidding human survival and seemingly upholding the universal reign of Mutability."

The Mutability cantos "were undoubtedly written under the direct influence of Bruno, if not actually inspired by him." [In support of this anachronistic theory Mr. Davis offers little new or significant evidence. He seems unaware that previous commentators on Spenser and Bruno have themselves admitted grave doubt. Mr. Davis is indiscriminating in using the most general and conventional parallels as evidence of influence.]

JANET SPENS (*Spenser's Faerie Queene, An Interpretation*, pp. 39-50). "The evidence suggests that the Mutability Cantos were intended for the three last cantos of the final book." [Hardly evidence. By factitious speculation the author concluded (pp. 26, 32) that the *F. Q.* originally was to consist of eight books of eight cantos each, and that cantos 6, 7, 8 were therefore the last cantos of the last book. See below, pp. 449-50.] We should expect, therefore, to find in them an indication of the poet's basic conception and something of an ontology. Their importance has been obscured because they are Neo-Platonic in tendency, and the references to Aristotle in the Prefatory Letter have misled students.

It is possible that Spenser never read any complete work of Plotinus [Miss Spens seems to have consulted not Plotinus, but merely Dean Inge on Plotinus],

but Neo-Platonic doctrines were in the air. Plotinus would have attracted Spenser for two reasons: he differed from Aristotle on the one hand by the stress he laid on upward striving of the soul; on the other he accepted the world of sense as good. The Mutability Cantos deal with this antinomy and suggest a resolution due ultimately to Plotinus.

The main matter and philosophic issue of these cantos is the attempt of Mutability to become ruler of earth and heaven. It appears from Dean Inge that the antinomies of the eternal and temporal, reality and appearance, spirit and matter (or according to Plotinus, "Yonder" and "Here") constitute the basic problem of philosophy. To the earliest Greek philosophers the greatest crux was the reconciliation of change and permanence. According to Dean Inge these antinomies are but different expressions of the same problem. Spenser adopted the earliest Greek form, but the other antitheses are present in his thought. In stanza 47 Mutability identifies her power with that of Time, and on another occasion denies belief in the "Yonder" (7. 7. 49).

Spenser's adoption of Mutability as the personification of the physical Universe was influenced by aesthetic considerations. Like Shelley he is intensely attracted by things in motion; his successful large pictures are of pageants and processions. Like Plotinus he sees succession in time as the essence of the physical universe. The Plotinian conception of time explains the myth of the Virgin Hours who guard the gate through which the Olympian gods issue into the lower world. There can be no doubt that these gods are "the ideas of the Yonder." Hesiod designates the Hours as daughters of Jupiter and Themis while Spenser refers to them as daughters of Jupiter and Night. It should be noted that elsewhere in the *Faerie Queene* Night stands for primeval chaos or matter (1. 5. 22, for example). "The Hours, then, are the children of the union of the Divine Principle with Matter, because they are created by the Divine Principle when about to realize Itself in process in this lower world, that is, in matter: and the Olympian gods are the attributes of the Divine Principle issuing into this secular world. That is the meaning of Nature's final judgment" (7. 7. 58).

The beauty of Mutability clearly implies that change is good. Nature herself appears to hesitate before passing adverse judgment against her (7. 8. 1). In *Muiopotmos* "all change is sweete" (177-179). But the "inalienable defect of the secular process" is the flux that prevents beautiful moments from co-existing, so that the poet is made to "loathe this state of life so tickle." It is then perfectly consistent that he should turn with longing to Eternity (7. 8. 2). The two stanzas of the eighth canto "were to be an introduction, it can hardly be doubted, to a final canto in which the Eternal Loveliness was to be revealed: the Mutabilitie Cantos are the poet's interpretation and vindication of the world of sense."

Spenser is not characteristically sensuous or fleshly. His interest in the mutable physical world, like Wordsworth's, is simply "a passionate excitement in face of anything which, however momentarily, utterly and exclusively is itself."

There is another characteristic of Mutability's pageant which marks a fundamental affinity of Spenser's thought to that of Plotinus. "All the figures in the masque—the Seasons, Months, Hours, Night and Day and Life—are, like Death itself, mere creations of our minds. The details of the pictures, winter's breath frozen on his beard, October 'tottie of the must,' are concretely vivid, but the

seasons and the months themselves are abstractions—ideas or names round which our constructive thought groups these pungent but fleeting impressions and by this grouping gives them 'a local habitation and a name.' As we listen to the lines (7. 7. 46):

Yet is he nought save parting of the breath;
Ne ought to see, but like a shade to weene,
Unbodied, unsoul'd, unheard, unseene:

the phantoms dissolve before us with a sigh into thin air. With them truly *esse est percipi*.

"Spenser has a natural predilection for objects held in solution as it were by an idea, and his favourite pictures are made of lights and shadows that arrange themselves momentarily into significant images, but the doctrine of Plotinus appears to have provided here as elsewhere the basis of Spenser's thought. Plotinus realized that 'The Naturalist is not, as he supposes, describing what he sees, he is interpreting it. He is translating sensuous impressions into the language of human thought. Without this labour of the human mind, there would no doubt be something left, but it would not be a world.'" Thus while the *Mutabilitie Cantos* are the poet's defence of the world of sense, they are at the same time an attack on materialism. The world of sense "is both created by soul and held in being by its desire towards it."

BRENTS STIRLING ("Two Notes on the Philosophy of *Mutabilitie*," pp. 154-155). In view of verbal parallels pointed out by the author between Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses* and Spenser's Garden of Adonis episode (*PMLA* 49. 510-13), it is not surprising that evidence of verbal borrowing is present in Spenser's other treatise on permanence and flux, the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*. "Spenser, in 7. 7. 25, gives us a compact description of the four elements in transmutation. In a passage equally concise (15. 270), Golding treats the same problem. Spenser writes that the elements change, one into the other, 'The Fire to Aire, and th'Ayre to *Water sheere*,' Golding that 'the earth resolving leysurely doth melt to *water sheere*.' This parallel could, of course, be a coincidence, but in view of Spenser's use of Golding in the Garden of Adonis, and the fact that *Mutabilitie* is filled with Ovidian pageantry, direct borrowing or verbal exactness of memory is rendered probable. If so, there is evident one more case of Spenser's use of Golding as a philosophical and scientific reference book.

"A second matter for consideration here is an observation intended to supplement my article on the philosophical doctrine of the *Mutability Cantos*. The concluding stanzas of the *Mutability* fragment state: first, that things conquer change by 'turning to themselves at length againe,' and reaching perfection by fate; secondly, that victory over change is attainable through amalgamation with the 'Sabbaoth God.' I sought to show that these two concepts are Boethian and therefore part of English Renaissance tradition, and that they supplement each other instead of being at variance as some had supposed. I desire, however, to make the Boethian interpretation clearer by pointing out that the concept of things conquering change and achieving perfection by returning 'to themselves,' and that of change being transcended upon union with God, can be considered as one and the same philosophical doctrine. The Neo-Platonists viewed all creation as a

series of 'emanations' from God, at once the source and goal to which all being strove to return. The more remote the emanation the less the perfection of being; the nearer the return to the Source, the greater the perfection. Hence, Spenser's doctrine that things achieve perfection and immutability by turning to themselves, may be interpreted as a declaration of the same concept he presents three stanzas later, namely that perfection and immutability are attained upon union with the Sabbath God. Such an interpretation remains Boethian inasmuch as the two aforementioned doctrines are merged in the *De Consolatione*, Book 4, Prose 6, which I adduced as an analogue of Spenser's conclusion." (Another expression of the notion is found at the end of 3. Meter 2 and the beginning of 3. Prose 3. See also 3. Prose 10.)

E. C. KNOWLTON ("Spenser and Nature," pp. 366-376). In other studies the author has traced the traditional doctrine concerning Nature or Kind in mediaeval writers. In this tradition Nature represents an agency, divine or under divinity. "Its function is orderly and in the main diversely creative. Its disposition of affairs is in accordance with reason. It urges the life according to reason, according to the golden mean. At the same time it does not distrust feeling, but incorporates it as inherently right in the larger disposition of things. Though creative, it is opposed not only by excess and misdirection, but by decay or death. This mutation, however, goes by the divine will and is an integral part of the higher order; paradoxically it constitutes part of the plan or organization of Nature." This tradition derives from the Pre-Socratics, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. The Fathers in resuming the tradition emphasized Plato and the Stoics. Authors, too, for their several purposes emphasized different aspects of the doctrine.

So Spenser. Nature is divine (7. 6. 35). Against a background derived from Alan and Chaucer, like them he presents her as an allegorical figure. She creates flowers, animals, landscapes, human beings (2. 6. 15-6; 3. 6. 8, 29, 36; 4. 6. 17, 24; 9. 11; 10. 23; 5. 5. 12; 6. 7. 28; 8. 20; 6. 10. 5; 7. 6. 5; *Amoretti* 74. 5; 81. 13; *Colin Clouts* 293; *Tears of the Muses* 501). She is a sower and a source of water for plants (1. 11. 47; 2. 2. 6). She is the rival and pattern of Art (2. 5. 29; 12. 50, 59; 4. 2. 44; 10. 21, 24). Man does not surpass Nature but fulfills her potentialities. She gives him speech and mental and spiritual qualities (6. 4. 11; 6. 2. 2). She pursues her course or law, which man must not contravene (3. 2. 40-1; 7. 49; 6. 4. 14; 7. 6. 6). She is an advocate of moderation (2. 7. 15; 6. 9. 20). The "bands of Nature" are observed by beasts, but not by human ambition (5. 12. 1). Love is in the course of Nature, the Amazons are not. Nature imposes law and discipline, yet is kindly. When man is tired, or incontinent, Nature is feeble (2. 6. 1; 3. 2. 29). Nature is kinder than Death (*Sb. Cal.* November 124). Thus Spenser is in the tradition and stands with Sidney, Hooker, and Shakespeare. This conception appears in the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*, but on a larger scale.

Though Spenser does not use the device of the dream, *Mutabilitie* bears resemblance to Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*—the landscape setting, the long debate followed by the brief decision, given in both by the goddess Nature. Her word is brief, effective, acceptable, final. In these respects the design of the poems is the same.

"Nature in Spenser is calm and cheerful. Her demeanor is symbolical of the ultimate rest which Spenser (two stanzas later) would seek. Her sudden disappear-

ance seems to prefigure the invisible power which ultimately will bring about the unforeseeable eternity."

In phrasing as well as in the assertion of divine control over diabolical disorder, *Mutabilitie* is like Luther's "Ein' feste Burg." Its contrast of the mystery of life with certainty is like the contrast between the eastern pediment and the western pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. In the western pediment Apollo as divine order stills the violent lust and hatred of the struggle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs.

The theme of order prevailing over rebellion is also that of the Promethean trilogy, and of the Gigantomachia generally. Claudian late in the fourth century twice treated the Gigantomachia, in a period of controversy and disorder. He was particularly influential from the twelfth to the sixteenth century and affected Alain, Chaucer, and Spenser; and his *First Book against Rufinus* is in plot "considerably like" *Mutabilitie*, though the characters are different. "The contrast is between a Lucretian philosophy and a Platonic, and the latter is victorious. Granting that *Mutabilitie* is not strictly a Lucretian character, one may surmise that other scholar-poets of Spenser's day would have recognized in the polyphonic music of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* the voice of Claudian, and it would have reminded them of Lucretius and his Epicurean perplexities. They would have heard also the voices of Boethius, Ovid, Alan of Lille, Chaucer, and echoes of the pre-Socratics. They would have acknowledged the dominant timbre of Christian Platonism."

Mutabilitie, then, is a philosophic poem in the Platonic tradition of philosophical poetry, embodying the age-long doctrines of Nature, God's other self, the proponent of order. In design it is like a musical composition "when after an exultantly fiery passage it comes to a rest, an abrupt silence. Then after a measured pause, resuming motion in a serene and authoritative manner, it proceeds to a dignified yet almost immediate close."

GEORGE WILLIAMSON ("Mutability, Decay, and Seventeenth Century Melancholy," pp. 121-150). The ancient idea of the decay of the world, strong in the waning Middle Ages, increased with the astronomical knowledge of the late sixteenth century. It seemed to find confirmation in the new admiration for Antiquity, and in the observations of mutability in the heavenly bodies made by Tycho Brahe and Galileo. "The new astronomy introduced corruption and change into the most retired regions of the incorruptible and unchangeable heavens." George Hakewill's *Apologie or Declaration*, 1627, the most important assertion of constancy amid this mutability, gives "precisely the answer which Nature makes to *Mutabilitie*" in 7. 7. 58. For his authority he cites Philo "Platonizing" (*De Mundi Incorruptibilitate*), Plato's *Timaeus*, Ovid (*Met.* 15. 241-251), and Sylvester's DuBartas; and he finds a convenient statement of the theme of decay in Lipsius's *De Constantia*, 1583, especially in 1. 16.

Spenser's yearning for the golden age is only another aspect of his belief in the decay of the world, the most significant idea that he shared with the seventeenth century. "In holding to this belief, however, Spenser would not have felt himself guilty of a Lucretian heresy."

In the dispute over Spenser's sources and meaning, Cumming's argument for Ovid as an immediate source, as opposed to Lucretius, is the stronger. But Greenlaw

has an advantage in his regard for the confusion of philosophies in a mind like Spenser's. DuBartas, Hakewill, and Spenser are all alike in the way in which they mingle in their arguments Pythagorean notions of change with Lucretian theories of mortality. But both Greenlaw and Cumming miss the effect of the new astronomy in supporting Spenser's idea of decay. This effect is especially manifest in 5. Pr. 4-8 see [notes in Book V, pp. 155-160] and in that part of Mutability's argument based on the inconstancy of the moon and planets, rising to its climax in 7. 7. 54.

The idea, then, that mutability first upset the laws of Nature and brought death into the world, expressed in 7. 6. 6, is the chief root of seventeenth-century melancholy. Yet Spenser, caught between the love of this world and the desire for an abiding state, was quite orthodox in concluding that God was the only refuge from the sway of mutability. "To call his belief in the decay of the world 'medieval' is to neglect one aspect of the Renaissance in a religious mind."

Other literary exemplars of the idea of decay and the melancholy which it generates are Raleigh's *History of the World*, 1614; Donne's *First Anniversary* and *Biathanatos*; Hagthorpe's *Visiones Rerum*, 1623; Drummond's *Cypresse Grove*, 1623; Reynolds' *Mythomystes*, 1633; Forde's *Lusus Fortunae*, 1649, which refers to the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*; and Sir Thomas Browne's *Urn Burial*, 1658, together with passages in *Religio Medici*.

"Spenser could anticipate Hakewill's answer, and yet not escape the melancholy to which he replied. Men's emotions and imagination were still involved in a Ptolemaic universe, in which the new astronomy had destroyed the distinction between the Globe of Mortality and the immutable Heavens, thereby accelerating the decay of the world."

ROLAND M. SMITH ("Spenser's Irish River Stories," pp. 1047-1056). "Certainly Spenser did not *invent* these stories about the Bregoge and the Mulla (*Colin Clouts* 92-155), or the Funcheon and the Behanagh (7. 6. 38-55); to maintain as much would be to deny Spenser's own assertion concerning their antiquity (*Colin Clouts* 100-3). Yet if Spenser had not specifically disclaimed 'invention' in these lines, the stories would still bear a striking enough resemblance to local folk-traditions as well as legends in the Irish place-name collections preserved in both prose and verse, to suggest that Spenser was not weaving his tales out of whole cloth."

Joyce and Renwick both explain Mole as from Mulla, and Renwick adds [plausibly enough considering Spenser's etymological practice and habit] "with the Latin *moles* behind it."

"The name Mole, as a matter of fact, Spenser obtained in exactly the way he obtained his Mulla—from the second element in a compound place-name. In the fourth book of *The Faerie Queene* (4. 11. 40-4) Spenser lists among the Irish rivers 'the three renowned Brethren,' the Shure (*an tSiúr*), the Newre (*an Fheóir*), and the Barow (*an Berbha*),

Which that great Gyant *Blomius* begot,
Of the faire Nymph *Rheusa* wandring there.
One day, as she to shunne the season whot,
Under Slewbloome in shady grove was got,
This Gyant found her. . . .

Blomius and *Slewbloome* are the forms which Spenser chooses from the Irish legendary Blod (Blad) or Bladma, and the mountain named for him, Slíab Bladma, now commonly spelled Slievebloom. But it was obviously from the Anglicized form (Slievesmole) of Slíab Smóil, another old name for these mountains, that Spenser, making a less correct partition of the word than in the case of Mulla, drew his Mole. The long-perpetuated theory that Mole is a 'back-formation from Mulla' must be discarded. The name of Molanna may have been formed by Spenser, as Joyce proposed, from a combination of *Mole* and *Behanna* or *Behanagh* (Irish *Bethachánach*, 'full of birches'), but it should be pointed out that if Spenser made the fifty-five mile journey by road from Kilcolman (via Lismore) to Youghal, where Raleigh's house still stands, he would doubtless have been familiar with the name of the sixth-century abbey Molana (Irish *Molanfhaidh*). As for Armulla, the last of the related names which Joyce considered fictitious, it is difficult to say where, in the absence of Spenser's own statement, the poet found his prefix *Ar-*." Miss Henley's derivation from Armoy, the old name of the barony of Fermoy, has less to recommend it than a derivation from Arlo (7. 6. 36). If we could only find an *Ard mullaig*, "height, or mountain-side, of Mulla," it would satisfy the case!

If the actual [Irish] river stories which Spenser used ever come to light, it should be easy to equate the Gaelic goddesses in them with the classical goddesses.

"It is not necessary to demonstrate that the Irish legends which Spenser drew upon were uncontaminated by classical mythology. The country about Kilcolman teemed with traditions which still survive. In Spenser's time the region from the Hill of Allen (Almu) in Kildare to Loch Léin in Killarney, of which Spenser's Ballyhoura Hills and Galtee Mountains comprise the very heart and center, had become the traditional home of the epic which had grown up about the hero Finn mac Cumhaill. It is only natural, then, that Spenser should have been more familiar with the Fenian, or Ossianic, cycle than with the Ulster, or Red Branch, cycle. The earlier Fenian tales show none of the classical accretion which begins apparently in the twelfth century and is found so marked, for example, in the later *Duanaire Finn*. Even if Spenser knew an Irish tale untouched by foreign influences, as seems quite likely, the parallelism between classic and Fenian myth would still suggest itself: the story of Bregoge and Mulla would remind him of Ovid's tale of Alpheus and Arethusa, and the story of Fanchin and Molanna could hardly help recalling the legend of Actaeon and Diana.

"It is just this resemblance between the two mythologies which makes it easy to explain, in part, Spenser's fondness for the Irish landscape and the topographical legends connected with it — almost the only feature of his Kilcolman existence designed to be congenial to a poet of his training and temperament. It is a resemblance which has been given surprisingly little attention. A recent study of Gaelic deer-divinities, however, will serve at once to help us identify the Irish goddess whose legends Spenser may have learned in one form or another, and to explain his readiness to substitute, out of deference to his English readers, the classical huntress Diana. (J. G. McKay, 'The Deer-Cult . . . of the Ancient Caledonians,' *Folk-Lore* 43 (1932). 144-174.)

"Finn, from whose *fiana* the Fenian cycle is named, was originally more than a hero: he was a god, whose ancestors were likewise immortals and whose chief

pursuit was hunting. Finn's son by Sadb—who was transformed into a deer by a rival goddess—was the famous Ossian, whose very name (Oss-ín) means 'little deer.' Among the best-known Fenian tales in Spenser's time were apparently the Chases of Slieve Cullinn, Slieve Fuad, and Slievenaman (in southern Tipperary, about twenty-five miles east of Galteemore); in the *Duanaire Finn*, for example, fifteen of the lays have to do with a Fenian chase. It is this stress upon hunting which could only lead Spenser to associate Finn and his companions with Phoebus and Diana. . . .

"In the tale of the Fanchin and Molanna the distinguishing traits of Spenser's Diana are her bathing in the Molanna and her resentment at the eavesdropping of the 'foolish Faune' (7. 6. 45-47), . . . the decision to punish the offender as Actaeon had been punished (7. 6. 50), and the further punishment of the 'guilty' Molanna, whom they 'whelm'd with stones.' The Irish goddess of ancient times who in each detail corresponds to Spenser's Diana is Aine, a virgin fertility and water goddess who until very recent times has been worshipped on the commanding height of Cnoc Aine, now Knockainey, barely ten miles north of the source of Spenser's own Bregoge. . . . Spenser's treatment of the bathing scene recalls the resentment of Aine when, upon Ailill Aulom's attempt to violate her, she bit off his ear. . . . A late survival of the Ailill Aulom legend is to be seen in the popular belief concerning the Earl of Desmond, who violated Aine (here a water goddess, who still 'dwells on Cnoc Aine') after she had been bathing in the river Camoge, at the foot of Cnoc Aine. Finally, that Spenser's account of the 'whelming' of the Molanna with stones is appropriate to the goddess Aine is made clear by her status as a 'stone-carrying woman.' . . .

"The Earl of Desmond story just referred to seems to be a survival not only of the Ailill Aulom tradition, but also of the legend of Aengus 'Mac ind Oc' and Caer Ibormeith, the scene of which is laid at Loch Bél Draccon at the 'harp of Clíu (*oc cruitt Clíach*)—in other words, at Spenser's very doorstep. . . . Clíu, the ancient name for the Spenser country, is explained in the *Dindsenchas* of Crotta Clíach (the Harps of Clíu), which further accounts for the name of Loch Bél Draccon. Clíu, the supernatural harper of Smirdub son of Smól (the same Smól from whom Spenser derived his 'old father Mole'), is in love with Báine, but their love is thwarted by Báine's father Bodb Derg, just as the love of Spenser's Bregoge and Mulla is thwarted by the lady's father Mole. . . ." [Smith here quotes Westropp, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 34, sec. C, p. 157, to the effect that "rarely in Western Europe do we tread so closely in 'the footsteps of the dead old gods' as around Cenn Febrat and the Galtees."]

"From the extant stories concerning legend-haunted Belach Febrat (Spenser's Ballyhoura hills) and the Sléibe na Caillted (the Galtee Mountains), many analogues to Spenser's stories could be cited, but a few more from the *Dindsenchas* should suffice to show the prevalence of such topographical myths in sixteenth-century Ireland." Smith cites four instances analogous with the Bregoge-Mulla episode (see note on *Colin Clouts* 104-151), and two analogous with that of Fanchin-Molanna. (1) The story of Loch Meilge. That Spenser knew the story is shown by his line "Sad Trowis that once his people overran" [4. 11. 41. 7; see JOYCE's note in Book IV, p. 268]. In the *Dindsenchas* of Faffand, Aige

undergoes two transformations: first into a deer, whereupon she is slain by the hounds of the *Fíanna* of Meilge of Imlech (Emly, a few miles from Knockainey) and changed into a river not identified. (2) "Aided Duinn (*Duanaire Finn*, pp. 130-2). A late poem, but without question current in Spenser's time. Donn, turned into a deer by the jealous queen of Aed, is slain after a long chase by Finn and his *Fíanna*.

"Even if Spenser's sources for his river stories are unwritten or no longer extant, there can be little doubt that he drew heavily on the topographical lore he picked up in Ireland. This is the only view which is consistent with his recognized knowledge of Irish legend."

C. S. LEWIS (*The Allegory of Love*, pp. 353-7, not condensed). In the poem as a whole our understanding is limited by the absence of the allegorical centre, the union of Arthur and Gloriana. In the *Mutabilitie* cantos the opposite difficulty occurs—we have there the core of a book without the fringe. The fact that this should be so is interesting because it suggests (what is likely enough *a priori*) that Spenser was in the habit of writing his "cores" first and then draping the rest round them. But we lose much by not seeing the theme of change and permanence played out on the lower levels of chivalrous adventure. It is obvious, of course, that the adventures would have illustrated the theme of constancy and inconstancy, and that the mighty opposites would have appeared in the form of *Mutabilitie* and the Gods only at the central allegorical gable of the book—which is the bit we have. It is obvious too, that the Titaness, despite her beauty, is an evil force. Her very name "bold Alteration," and the fact that she rises against the gods, put her at once among the enemies for any reader who understands Spenser's conceptions of health, concord, and subordination. The state of affairs which she would fain upset in heaven and has already upset in earth, is precisely that state which Spenser (or Aristotle) would have described as just and harmonious,

all which Nature had establisht first
In good estate, and in meet order ranged
She did pervert.

She is, in fact, Corruption, and since corruption, "subjecting the creature to vanity," came in with the Fall, Spenser practically identifies his Titaness with sin, or makes her the force behind the sin of Adam. She it is who

Wrong of right, and bad of good did make
And death for life exchanged foolishly:
Since which all living wights have learn'd to die,
And all the world is woxen daily worse.
O pittious worke of Mutability,
By which we all are subject to that curse,
And death, instead of life, have sucked from our Nurse!

The full impact of that last line can be felt only when we have read the whole *Faerie Queene*. The enemies of Mutability are, first, the gods, and then *Nature*. Taken together they represent the Divine order in the Universe—the concord, the health, the justice, the harmony, the Life, which, under many names, is the real heroine of the whole poem. If we take them apart, however, then the gods repre-

sent precisely what we should call "nature," the laws of the phenomenal universe. That is why the Titaness so far prevails with them—they are that world over which, even in the highest regions, she asserts some claim. But *Nature*, taken apart, is the ground of the phenomenal world. The reverence with which Spenser approaches this symbol contrasts favourably with the hardier attempts of Tasso and Milton to bring God, undisguised, upon the stage—and indeed it would be a pleasant task, if this chapter were not already too long, to show how much more religious a poem *The Faerie Queene* is than the *Paradise Lost*. Mutability's appeal, it should be noticed, is not in the first instance to Nature at all, but

to the highest him, that is behight
Father of Gods and men of equall might,
To weete the God of Nature.

Yet when this appeal is answered it is the goddess *Natura* who appears, as in Claudian, Bernardus, Alanus, and Jean de Meun,

This great Grandmother of all creatures bred,
Great Nature, ever young, yet full of eld;
Still mooving, yet unmoved from her sted,
Unseene of any, yet of all beheld.

The woody pavilion (unlike those fashioned by the "idle skill" of craftsmen) which rises up to receive her, the "flowers that voluntary grow" beneath her feet, and the homage of the river-god, are all in the same tradition. Yet at the same time Spenser can compare her garments to those of Our Lord on the mount of Transfiguration, and even put into the mouth of Mutability words that separate *Nature* by a great gulf from the mere gods:

Sith heaven and earth are both alike to thee,
And gods no more then men thou doest esteeme;
For even the gods to thee, as men to gods, do seeme.

The modern reader is tempted to inquire whether Spenser, then, equates God with Nature: to which the answer is, "Of course not. He was a Christian, not a pantheist." His procedure in this passage would have been well understood by all his contemporaries: the practice of using mythological forms to hint theological truths was well established and lasted as late as the composition of *Comus*. It is, for most poets and in most poems, by far the best method of writing poetry which is religious without being devotional—that is, without being an act of worship to the reader. In the medieval allegories and the renaissance masks, God, if we may say so without irreverence, appears frequently, but always *incognito*. Every one understood what was happening, but the occasion remained an imaginative, not a devotional, one. The poet thus retains liberties which would be denied him if he removed the veil. For even Spenser, daring though he is in such matters, could hardly have descended so suddenly and delightfully as he does from the high court of the universe to the grotesque antimask of Faunus ("A foolish Faune indeed"), if he had placed the Almighty undisguised instead of "Nature" on the bench of that high court; though in the long run this intermeddling of the high and low—the poet's eye glancing not only from earth to heaven but from the shapeless, funny gam-

bollings of instinct to the heights of contemplation—is as grave, perhaps even as religious, as the decorum that would, in a different convention, have forbidden it.

I find the significance of the whole *débat* hard to determine with precision because of the deep obscurity of the lines in which Nature gives her sentence; but the general outlines of the meaning I think I have grasped. It is a magnificent instance of Spenser's last-moment withdrawal from dualism. The universe is a battlefield in which Change and Permanence contend. And these are evil and good—the gods, the divine order, stand for Permanence; Change is rebellion and corruption. But behind this endless contention arises the deeper truth—that Change is but the mode in which Permanence expresses itself, that Reality (like Adonis) "is eterne in mutabilitie," and that the more Mutability succeeds the more she fails, even here and now—not to speak of her more ultimate ruin when we reach the

rest of all things, firmly stayd
Upon the pillars of Eternity.

To praise this fragment seems almost an impertinence. In it all the powers of the poet are more happily united than ever before; the sublime and the ridiculous, the rarified beauties of august mythology and the homely glimpses of daily life in the procession of the months, combine to give us an unsurpassed impression of the harmonious complexity of the world. And in these cantos Spenser seems to have soared above all the usual infirmities of his style. His verse has never been more musical, his language never so strong and so sweet. Such poetry, coming at the very end of the six books, serves to remind us that the existing *Faerie Queene* is unfinished, and that the poet broke off, perhaps, with many of his greatest triumphs still ahead. Our loss is incalculable; at least as great as that we sustained by the early death of Keats.

RUDOLPH B. GOTTFRIED ("Spenser and the Italian Myth of Locality," pp. 107-125). "The value of the incidental as evidence of Spenser's literary character may be shown, I believe, by a study of two related episodes from his poetry. The first of these digressions is the tale in which Colin Clout sets forth the unfortunate loves of the Bregog and Mulla, or Awbeg, streams encircling the poet's own estate of Kilcolman. . . . With this first legend the poet himself associates the second, an incident told in the *Mutabilitie Cantos* [quotes 7. 6. 40. 1-8]. . . .

"An obvious difference separates the two tales: the second has been complicated and lengthened by the addition of classical figures, Faunus and Diana, to the purely Irish material of the first. But even without Spenser's own cross-reference it would be equally obvious that the two are companion pieces. Both concern geographical features of central Munster: Mulla and Molanna are equally daughters of old Father Mole, the names of all three probably derived from one root. Both tales likewise suggest the real physical peculiarities of the streams concerned: the first explains why Bregog flows underground and is blocked with stones; the second, how the Behanna springs out of two marble rocks and why its course is similarly blocked with stones. But most important, both tales use these local geographical forms as characters in myths of Spenser's own devising, a type which, for want of a better name, I shall term the *myth of locality*. And the boldness of the invention is here strengthened by the fact that the poet, while he calls the Mulla and Molanna

nymphs, treats them and their lovers from first to last as the actual streams and Mole as the actual mountain; it is therefore impossible to visualize the story in any realistic sense; but this visual inconsistency, which is typical of Spenser's poetry, avoids the ridiculous by a certain half-serious exercise of the fancy, the pleasure of the mind in outwitting reality. The device, it may be added, can be effected far more successfully in such a myth of locality, which implies chiefly action, than in a topographical pageant like the marriage of the Thames and Medway, the descriptive nature of which tends to defeat itself by withholding the visual picture which the imagination may justifiably expect of a description.

"These evident characteristics, however, only partially explain the intention of Spenser's Mulla and Molanna myths."

The Actaeon myth, clearly imitated in the story of Faunus in 7. 6. 40-55, from the *Metamorphoses*, is not a myth of locality. But the story of Arethusa in Ovid is such in some measure, because it deals with the misadventure in love of an actual stream, and in this respect is like Spenser. It is unlike Spenser, however, in not being an original invention by the poet, and in its metamorphosis of a nymph into a stream.

A later instance occurs in Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon* (8. 12), of the third century, wherein Diana turns a love-lorn nymph into a spring near Ephesus; but whether Achilles himself invented and localized the myth is not known.

The type reappears as early in the Renaissance as Boccaccio's *Ninfale Fiesolano*, and was popular for two centuries. Boccaccio's long and florid poem tells why two Fiesolan streams run red with the blood of two swains who seduced nymphs of Diana, and how the nymphs themselves were turned by the angry goddess into spring or stream. (W. W. Greg, *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 36-7, 99-100, 137, first noticed how Boccaccio borrowed his mythological element in this poem from Ovid, and passed it on to Lorenzo, Sannazaro, Spenser, and William Browne.) Boccaccio added to the tradition of the myth of locality by inventing his own legends about local Tuscan streams.

In 1479 Luca Pulci published his *Driades*, an imitation of Boccaccio, about the loves of Diana's nymphs and their metamorphosis into local streams. The numerous editions of Boccaccio's and Pulci's poems show how popular the type became. Lorenzo the Magnificent followed the now established mode of the localized myth with his much briefer *Ambra*, a story of a nymph Ambra, whom Diana changed to an island on Lorenzo's estate to save her from pursuit by the river god Ombrone. Among other experimenters in the *genre* was Alamanni, a sixteenth-century Florentine, who explained the origin of the French river Charente by the transformation of a nymph of Diana to save her from Mars; and to Alamanni was wrongly attributed a Latin poem about Florentia transformed to the Mugnone to save her from the Arno.

"If the Florentine school reaches an undistinguished end in such poets as Alamanni and the unknown author of the *Arnus*, it should not be forgotten how far that school had brought the myth of locality. Boccaccio introduced the classical form into Tuscan but completely altered the spirit of Ovid by the daring invention of his own myths and a new emphasis on the familiar, local elements. Lorenzo gave the transformed type a better proportioned and more graceful expression.

And then Alamanni attempted, though feebly, to transplant the same type to a locale less familiar than the valley of the Arno."

A later school of the *genre* flourished about Naples, chiefly in Latin. Pontano wrote several local metamorphoses—of a nymph's tears turned to local flowers; of spilt ambrosia turned to the fountain Casis; *De Quercu Diis Sacra*, wherein Pan saw and loved a nymph bathing in the river Vigia; *De Conversione Sebethi*, of a young lad who loved a nereid and was changed to the river Sebeto. He also composed *Lepidina*, a wedding pageant at the wedding of this Sebeto to the patron nymph of Naples, Parthenopea, with legendary digressions somewhat like Spenser's wedding pageant of the Thames and the Medway (4. 11).

"If Boccaccio invented his own myth on the old pattern, Pontano invents his own patterns. He cuts and combines classical forms to suit the material of his private choice, and these modifications, it may be added, tend to interpret the landscape he loves in more human and sensuous terms. Like Spenser he will at times omit the transformation from myth to actual landscape; but the omission, quite unlike that in Spenser, throws the whole emphasis on the real and carefully visualized picture."

Pontano's more popular follower, Sannazaro, in his *Arcadia* personified local rivers and his own villa; and in his *Salices* explains how the local willows are nymphs transformed under pursuit by satyrs. In his *In Morum Candidam* the nympha Morinna, descending from the mountains near Naples, is turned by Diana into the white mulberry tree to save her from Faunus.

"The *Salices* and *In Morum Candidam* were published together with Sannazaro's other Latin works in 1535, 1547, and 1570. The same volumes included his *Piscatoria*, or fisher eclogues, to which E. K. alludes in the Epistle which serves as preface to *The Shepheardes Calender*. The connection may explain the vague similarity of the name Morinna to Spenser's Molanna."

Berardino Rota, an imitator in his *Egloghe Piscatorie*, about 1533, tells of nymphs transformed to local cliffs, of Vesevo changed into the volcano, of Sebeto changed into the river.

"The fountain myths of Ovid and Achilles Tatius are separated from Spenser's Mulla and Molanna by a long interval of time. Toward the close of it, between the fourteenth and the sixteenth centuries, two groups of Italian poets which have been called the Florentine and Neapolitan schools developed a peculiar counterpart of the older myths. Within certain limits of classical convention this new type, the myth of locality, allowed the poet to invent his own legends about familiar, individual parts of the landscape. In an effort characteristic of the Renaissance he sought to throw a bridge between classical imagery and contemporary inspiration; since the inspiration in this case was a natural background similar to that which had once produced the imagery, genuine poets like Lorenzo and Pontano were able to establish the success of the new type.

"Spenser's Mulla and Molanna, it has been already shown, are likewise myths of locality: about the familiar streams of Munster the poet has likewise invented his own legends on a semi-classical pattern. May it then be assumed that Spenser was indebted to the Italian mythologists for at least the general conception of this type? The whole body of English topographical poetry, as Miss Taylor has pointed out, may have derived inspiration from such various sources as the Neo-Latin poets

of Germany, public pageants, and by the seventeenth century from masques; but Miss Taylor's evidence also makes it clear that the myth of locality was either undeveloped or not available to Spenser in such sources. (Hilda Taylor, *Topographical Poetry in England during the Renaissance*, a dissertation in the Library of the University of Chicago, pp. 44-58, 59-110, and 111-128.) . . .

"The majority of them [poetical myths of locality] had been printed frequently by the last quarter of the sixteenth century; one of them, it has been indicated, may very well have been known by the editor of *The Shepheardes Calender*. But through whatever channel, direct or indirect, it found its way to Spenser, we have good presumptive reason to believe that before writing of Mulla and Molanna he had already met the Italian myth of locality.

"His tributes to the Irish wilderness, we may then conclude, draw strength from a tradition: the boldness of his innovation is itself borrowed. Not, however, that he leaves the tradition as he found it. The Ovidian metamorphosis had remained an essential part of most of the Italian poems; only Pontano seems to have deliberately discarded it, and then in order to emphasize the visual aspect of his myth. But Spenser omits the metamorphosis for a very different reason. Not his poem, but his inspiration is realistic. Unlike his more literal-minded predecessors he feels no compulsion to bring his story into visual consistency with real things. His myths of locality arise from happy meditation; they are experiences of the mind and fancy. Within a tradition he thus reveals the peculiar character of his genius."

APPENDIX II

THE DATE OF THE CANTOS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE *FAERIE QUEENE*

(Condensed by BRENTS STIRLING)

All the assurance we have that the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* were intended as a part of Spenser's greater poem comes from parallels in stanza and canto forms, from the hint in 7. 6. 37, and from the warrant of the publisher (1609). Hence, the connection of the fragment with the *Faerie Queene* was questioned early and probably will remain uncertain.

In 1928 Dr. Albright published a study designed to show that the cantos were intended as part of a book in the *Faerie Queene*, but that Spenser was persuaded by his friend Gabriel Harvey to reject them. She also advanced the theory that some of the *Mutabilitie* materials were finally incorporated into Book V and the Garden of Adonis episode.

Miss Albright's position (notably its corollary of a very early date for the writing of the cantos) has been variously attacked. In the first place, this theory requires that the poem antedate the Spenser-Harvey correspondence, a theory that several scholars find untenable. Again, internal stylistic evidence, such as the frequency of compound words and parenthetical expressions, has been adduced by Mr. Padelford to show a late date of composition for the cantos, at least in their present form. Opposed to this, a recent investigation of color words and of "light and shade" terms suggests, by analogous reasoning, that the cantos were as early as Book I. On the basis of contrary results from stylistic evidence, the author, Mr. Purcell, concludes that no inference can be drawn from such data. It may be observed, however, that in a poem as full of pageantry as *Mutabilitie*, color imagery would naturally reach the high frequency of Book I, whether produced early or later in Spenser's career. This objection would not apply to frequency of compound words or parenthetical expressions.

Whether or not internal evidence yields an answer to this vexing question, there remain several formidable objections to Miss Albright's contention, chief among which are the presence in *Mutabilitie* of materials presupposing Spenser's residence in Ireland, and the indefiniteness of the Spenser-Harvey correspondence.

A study by Mr. Charles G. Smith concludes, from parallels between Book IV and the *Mutability* cantos, that they were composed at about the same time, or shortly after 1590.

RALPH CHURCH (*The Faerie Queene* 4. 417 n.). "It does not appear that these two cantos and the beginning of a third, were intended particularly for *the seventh book*."

SEBASTIAN EVANS ("A Lost Poem by Edmund Spenser," pp. 145-150). The *Cantos of Mutabilitie* constitute a separate and different poem, not a "wholly incongruous and only half-intelligible appendage to the *Faerie Queene*." Their

present connection with the main epic is only upon the questionable authority of the publisher; all other evidence is to the contrary. The same is true of the arbitrary numbering of the cantos and the labelling of the concluding stanzas as an unfinished canto. The cantos should be looked upon as a noble and independent composition which exhibits a precocious and prophetic grasp on Spenser's part of astronomy, physics, and philosophy.

In 1596 Spenser no longer intended to complete twelve books of the *Faerie Queene*. This is shown by suppression of the letter to Raleigh "intimating the manifesto of his design." The poem is committed to the world as ended, if not concluded, and no internal evidence indicates intended completion.

ALEXANDER GROSART (*The Complete Works of Edmund Spenser* 1. 508-10). In Mr. Sebastian Evans' argument that by 1596 Spenser had decided not to complete the *Faery Queene*, every statement "is historically and critically inaccurate." The title page of 1596 expressly declares that the poem was to be completed in "xij bookes." The letter to Raleigh was not suppressed, but was reproduced in every copy. The poem has frequent postponements of descriptions and incident "because an after-place must be found for them." Finally and conclusively, in *Amoretti* 80 and 33, and in the sonnet to Essex, an intention to complete the *Faerie Queene* is expressly declared.

The question is still open "whether the *Two Cantoes of Mutabilitie* and the two stanzas were or were not intended by Spenser to be incorporated in the *Faery Queen*." [Cf. 8. 274.]

THOMAS J. WISE (*Spenser's Faerie Queene* 1. lxxix). "The two cantos of *Mutabilitie* were included by Gabriel Harvey [?] in the Folio of 1609, with a note suggesting that they might possibly form a portion of some lost continuation of *The Faerie Queene*. This suggestion may be at once dismissed. Neither in thought nor treatment do they evince any similarity to the seventy-two cantos to which they are appended.

"The sole form of resemblance presented by them is the fact that they are composed in what is now styled 'the Spenserian Stanza.' Possibly they form the only surviving portion of a second projected or attempted Epic. Nevertheless, to the end that the present edition of Spenser's masterpiece may be rendered as complete as possible, it has been decided to append them to the six completed Books of *The Faerie Queene*."

[OLIVER ELTON] ("Giordano Bruno in England," p. 506) implies his opinion that *Mutabilitie* is a fragment of the *Faerie Queene*. Quoting 7. 7. 58. 6-9, he says: "The notion, *which appears elsewhere in the Faerie Queene* 3. 6. 37-8) (*italics ours*), is an old one. . . ." In the reprint of this essay in *Modern Studies*, 1907, p. 33, the italicized words are omitted.

WILLIAM P. TRENT (Introduction to *The Complete Works of Edmund Spenser*, p. xii, n.). [Commenting on Evans] "Certainly it is hard to see how Spenser could have worked the two cantos into the scheme of his poem, and it is clear that in no other cantos are we so completely separated from human actors—from the brilliant knights and ladies in whom Spenser's imagination took such delight. Practically the best way to treat the cantos is to regard them, in Mr. Evans' words,

'as one of the noblest independent poems of the noblest age of English poetry' but [to advance an opposing argument] do not the lines that open the thirty-seventh stanza of the first canto almost settle it that Spenser intended to join these cantos to the main poem?

And were it not ill fitting for this file
To sing of hilles and woods mongst warres and *knights*.

Besides, each canto is provided with the slightly doggerel epitome that is found before each canto of *The Faerie Queene*."

[C. L. FALKINER] ("Spenser in Ireland," pp. 184-8). The political motive of the "Legend of Justice," and especially of Sir Arthegall's adventure with Irene, has of course been often noticed, and indeed is almost too obvious to be missed by any reader at all acquainted with the history of the time. But the like intention has not been so generally recognised in the two cantos of *Mutability*. Yet their applicability to Ireland and to the changes in the attitude of English policy after Lord Grey's recall is too striking to be merely accidental. It would seem as though the "Legend of Constancy" of which these fragments were meant to be a part was designed to furnish that supplement to the "Legend of Justice" which is promised in the last stanza of the fifth book. It is at any rate manifest that the evils which the poet bewails in these cantos are precisely those which the ex-official deplored in his *View of the State of Ireland*, and which the Munster undertaker reprobated in the last known writing of Spenser, that letter addressed to the Queen which he either brought with him on his last journey to London, or composed as he lay sick in King Street on what proved to be his death-bed.

The parallel between the two works is indeed astonishingly close. The chief burden of the *View*, in its constructive suggestions, is the need for consistency in the policy to be pursued by the Crown in Ireland. Spenser's ideal administration was the stern and inflexible but never purposeless severity of the administration of Lord Grey. He could conceive no greater injustice to Ireland, nothing more injurious to the well-being of his adopted country, than the making her the sport of English politicians, or the arena for the rivalries of the English courtiers who contended for the favour of Elizabeth. Inconsistency or inconstancy in action, lack of purpose and vacillation on the part of the representatives of the Crown, he considered injurious alike to both the English and the Irish elements of the population. Spenser's acute sense of the mischief wrought by this unfortunate feature in a system of government whose working he thoroughly understood, and whose actions he had had the best means of noting during fifteen years' residence in Ireland, is stated with great clearness and emphasis in the remarkable passage in his prose treatise in which he reviews the motives and conduct of successive Deputies [Globe ed., p. 649]:

The sequel of things doth in a manner prove, and plainly speak so much, that the governors usually are envious one of another's greater glory, which if they would seek to excel by better governing it should be a most laudable emulation. But they do quite otherwise. For this (as you may mark) is the common order of them, that who cometh next in place will not follow that course of government, however good, which his predecessors held, either for disdain of himself, or doubt to have his doings drowned in another man's praise, but will straight take a way

quite contrary to the former: as if the former thought (by keeping under the Irish) to reform them; the next, by discountenancing the English, will curry favour with the Irish, and so make his government seem plausible, as having all the Irish at his command: but he that comes after, will perhaps follow neither the one nor the other, but will dandle the one and the other in such sort as he will suck sweet out of them both, and leave bitterness to the poor country, which if he that comes after shall seek to redress, he shall perhaps find such crosses as he shall hardly be able to bear, or do any good that might work the disgrace of his predecessors.

Such is the burden of the song which was continually on Spenser's lips as often as he referred to Irish problems, and such is the significance of the stanzas of *Mutability*, which sound like its musical accompaniment. The date at which these posthumously published cantos were written is not known, but they almost certainly belong to that period of trouble and disorder in which the poet's closing years were spent, and were inspired by the apprehension of that calamitous rising in which the Munster plantation was overwhelmed and his own fortunes ruined. So read, and it is impossible for anyone who knows the historical facts to read them otherwise, they are full of a melancholy personal significance from the commencement to the close. The metrical argument prefixed to each canto indicates not obscurely the motive of the allegory and its application to the ills of Ireland, while the fact that the scenery of both cantos is laid in Munster, and that the machinery moves in the solitudes of the Galtee mountains, is even more clearly indicative of the poet's meaning and purpose.

J. C. SMITH (*Spenser's Faerie Queene* 1. xv). "I cannot accept the view that these two cantos are an independent poem, in the sense that they were not designed to form part of *F. Q.* The lines (7. 6. 37)—

And, were it not ill fitting for this file,
To sing of hilles and woods, mongst warres and Knights—

show clearly that they were so designed. That they may have been written independently, in the sense in which the *Wedding of Thames and Medway* was written independently, I am not concerned to deny." [But see note on 4. 11. 11-53 in Book IV, p. 241.]

(1. xiii, n.). In the whole of Books I-III there is only one feminine ending, viz. in 2. 9. 47. In Books IV-VI such endings abound.

(1. xv, n.). The occurrence of feminine endings makes it very unlikely that the pageant of months and seasons was among the Pageaunts mentioned by E. K. The greater part of the *Mutabilitie* cantos was certainly written in Ireland, probably in 1597-8.

[See FLOYD STOVALL below.]

WILLIAM FENN DEMOSS (*The Influence of Aristotle's "Politics" and "Ethics" on Spenser*, pp. 49-57). Apparently *Mutabilitie* was written as a part of the *Faerie Queene*, either of "these first twelve bookes" or of "the other part." The numbering of the cantos, 6, 7, 8 shows that they are a fragment of something and the two stanzas of canto 8 follow Spenser's custom in the *Faerie Queene* of beginning a canto with reflections on its predecessor. "And there are several

additional facts which make this conclusion probable. The fragment is in the form of the *Faerie Queene*. It is divided into cantos like the *Faerie Queene*. The cantos are summarized in a proem, as is the case in the *Faerie Queene*. And the stanza form is that of the *Faerie Queene*. Again, a comparison of *Mutabilitie* 6. 37, and *Faerie Queene*, 1, Prol. 1, . . . indicates that the fragment was written as a part of the *Faerie Queene*. Note in both passages the reference to *knights*, 'warres,' and the sternness of style demanded by epic poetry. Spenser's usual meaning for the word 'warres' is combats between two or more knights. Furthermore, all the characters of the fragment are frequently mentioned in the *Faerie Queene*. Even its personification of rivers is a theme which is dwelt on at length in the *Faerie Queene*. And the 'records' of Mutability's 'antique race and lineage ancient' are found registered 'in Faery Land.' "

The fragment may not be a "parcell of some following book," but rejected cantos from a preceding book. The numbering of the cantos suggests that the poem belongs in the middle of an existing book, for it is improbable that the remainder was lost or that Spenser began with a sixth canto. A reason for rejection might be the great length to which the fragment runs without carrying on any thread of the story of the *Faerie Queene*. It might have been rejected for reasons of tact or patriotism. Finally, the fact that the cantos constitute a unit in themselves would make rejection easy.

The fragment would fit neatly between cantos 5 and 6 of Book II, "between Cymochles' determination to avenge the death of his brother and his being led into Incontinence in which he forgets all about his brother." An episode of reflections upon Constancy would be fitting at such a place.

The cantos would also fit well into Book III; there is a curious resemblance between cantos 6 and 7 of the fragment and those with the same numbering in Book III. In the former we have Diana, or Cynthia, or Phoebe; in the latter Diana and Belphebe. Again, in 3. 6-7 we have a discussion of cyclical change and decay which is essentially that of the *Mutabilitie* fragment. Once more in both episodes we have impressive use of the figure of the Wheel. Compare 3. 6. 32-33 with 7. 6. 1. Further, in Book III there are the lustful giant twins, Argante and Olyphant, who are descendants of Titan. They "feed their fancy with delightful change." In the fragment, Mutability is a descendant of Titan.

Again, how would the fragment fit into the book on Justice? Nothing impressed the Renaissance like the rise and fall of individual men, the turning of Fortune's wheel. Now in 5. 5, which the fragment would follow in numbering of cantos, Artegall has fallen to the status of bond servant to a woman. Artegall, moreover, represents Lord Grey. The opening stanza of *Mutabilitie* would naturally follow this incident, especially since Spenser habitually begins a canto with reflections on the preceding one. Artegall represents also Justice. Does this suggest some miscarriage of Justice such as the recall by Elizabeth's government of Lord Grey, which the poet condemned in the *Vene*? If so, rejection of an episode in which Artegall is degraded and humiliated at the hands of a woman would be understandable on grounds of tact or patriotism.

F. I. CARPENTER (*Reference Guide*, p. 164) cites the close analogy in Samuel Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia* (1598), lines 895-960 (Malone Society reprint), to

the Mutabilitie Cantos, and queries whether Brandon had not seen Spenser's cantos in MS before 1598.

FREDERICK M. PADELFORD and WILLIAM C. MAXWELL ("Compound Words in Spenser's Poetry," pp. 498-513). Spenser's use of compounds represents one phase of the great endeavor by sixteenth-century English poets, after the French example, to enrich the language. This endeavor in both countries was much reinforced by Greek influence. In the formation of compounds Sidney and Shakespeare, as well as Spenser, "set a fashion which has enriched our poetry for more than three centuries."

The authors are concerned not with compounds in general use, but with those which the poet coined, or at least employed for conscious poetic effect. Of these, verbal adjectives used as epithets are far the most numerous (420); then come participles (78), adjectives (86), nouns (70), verbs (26), adverbs (6); altogether 686. In the *Faerie Queene*, Book I contains four and one-half times as many compounds as Book VI. In Book III there is one compound to every 78 lines, in V and VII one to every 73; on the other hand, in IV the ratio is one to 106 and in VI one to 148. "May it not be that Book Five and the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* were written prior to Book Four? . . . The frequency of the compounds in the *Mutabilitie* cantos would encourage the conclusion that they were written relatively early, perhaps even before the poet's first return to England, while his mind was engrossed with this fundamental problem. This conclusion is further supported by the decorative pageantry of the cantos, which is after the manner of the poet's earlier work."

But while the use of compounds seems to decline in the course of the *Faerie Queene*, such is not the case in the minor poems. In the fourth hymn they show greater frequency than in any other poem except *Muiopotmos*. Spenser seems to have come to regard compounds as "more happily accommodated to lyrical than to narrative verse."

FLOYD STOVALL ("Feminine Rimes in the *Faerie Queene*," pp. 91-5). In Books I-III occurs only one regular feminine rime (2. 9. 47) and one "irregular," that is, in *-ed* (3. 2. 15); in Books IV-VII are 163 regular and 125 irregular feminine rimes. They vary from canto to canto: 4. 4, 8; 5. 1; 6. 1 have none, while the three cantos 4. 1, 2, 10 contain more than half of all in Book IV. "In general they become less frequent as the poem progresses from Book IV to the end."

As chronological evidence they are not reliable, as there is a wide variation among the minor poems. [See *Minor Poems, Sh. Cal.*, Appendix on Metre.] But the subject-matter and tone are important. The author concludes "that Spenser, when he wrote the first three books . . . believed or felt that feminine rimes impaired the dignity of a serious poem. . . . As the poem progressed, however, his opinion of feminine rimes possibly changed for the better," and in Book IV he used them in a deliberate change to a less restrained style. "This deliberate return to the use of feminine rimes accounts for their unusual frequency in the first few cantos of Book IV. After a while the conscious purpose to use feminine rimes became less and less acute, and so we have a corresponding decrease through the last two books."

EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT ("Spenser's Reason for Rejecting the Cantos of Mutability," pp. 93-127). "I shall try to show in this paper that the Mutability cantos were certainly intended as part of a book in *The Faerie Queene*; that the theme of the book was probably to have been English affairs in Ireland; that this early version of part of a book on Ireland was deliberately rejected by Spenser because he sent it to Harvey for criticism and Harvey and a circle of Cambridge friends to whom he read it criticised it severely; that Spenser conserved a good part of the matter of Mutability in his published works, using a bit of it for the preface to a new book on Irish affairs (Book V) and other bits elsewhere in the early poems with a changed emphasis and tone which may be traceable to Harvey's criticism. Most significant, perhaps, for a study of Spenser's philosophy of life is the date of composition of the Mutability cantos, which must thus be placed at 1579-1580.

"To Mr. J. C. Smith's [and de Moss's] argument that the Mutability cantos belong to *The Faerie Queene* . . . we may add these points: Spenser's invocation in Mutability to Clio, the epic Muse [Does the author mean Calliope the epic Muse, or Clio the historic Muse?]; his references to his style, which resemble those in which he is wont to refer to the epic style of *The Faerie Queene*; and the unfolding of the lineage of Mutability (7. 6. 2),

As I have found it registered of old,
In Faery Land mongst records permanent.

The general character of narration and description, the philosophic ideas, the Irish setting of both cantos (on Arlo Hill), the prominence of Cynthia, the labeling of the legend by a virtue (Constancy), the numbering of the cantos as if in the midst of a larger work, the use of the *Faerie Queene* stanza, all tend to confirm one's impression of an original intention to incorporate this bit somewhere in *The Faerie Queene*. But it is useless to attempt to fit it back into any of the cantos as they now stand. It will not fit anywhere; hence the usual tendency to place it after the sixth book and to regard it as an imperfect book, composed late in the poet's career."

The Mutability cantos were probably among the parcels of *The Faerie Queene* sent to Harvey for his criticism as early as 1580, which Spenser recalled in his letter of "Quarto Nonas Aprilis," 1580. In Harvey's *Letter Book* is the draft of a letter to Spenser, probably of 1579, combatting Spenser's complaints of the degeneracy of the world and of the mutability of all things. These seem to be directed at the Mutability cantos, though they may apply also to the *Ruins of Time* and the *Visions*, with which they have a certain correspondence. (Cf. *Ruins of Time* 42-56; 206 with 7. 7. 17-8; and *Visions of Petrarch* 85-93 with 7. 8. 1-2.) But Harvey dwells upon and impugns certain points of detail conspicuous in the Mutability cantos, such as the permanence of Nature (7. 7. 58); the quality of fire, of air, of water, of the elements in combination or opposition (7. 7. 21-5); of all which Spenser is not by learning qualified to speak. Harvey touches also on the mutability of the seasons (7. 7. 18, 28-43) and of the moon (7. 7. 8 ff.). [Quotes passage from Harvey printed on p. 447 below.] In his *Marginalia* jottings of 1579 Harvey animadvert upon the seas' mutability, which is asserted by Spenser in 7. 7. 20, and upon the fluctuations of men's minds (cf. 7. 7. 19);

and upon the unwisdom of extreme attacks upon a ruler, which may allude to Spenser's covert criticism of Elizabeth's vacillation by way of the moon's (Cynthia's) mutability (7. 7. 50). "If the Constancy legend was intended in part as a criticism of Elizabeth, it probably had to do with her shifting Irish policies. The setting of the two cantos on Arlo Hill and the little tale of an injury sustained by Ireland from Cynthia and her followers locate the matter definitely."

Warm as was their friendship, Spenser and Harvey were in marked respects unlike. Harvey was more cheerful, more learned at least in some directions, and of coarser tastes. "The contrast between Harvey's and Spenser's natures tempts one to inquire whether a close and long-continued contact with Harvey proved a baneful influence on Spenser either as a poet or as a man. The chief effect on his poetical work seems to have been to encourage publication of the *Calender* and of some such pieces as appear in the *Complaints* and to delay publication of *The Faerie Queene* until other friends (Sidney, Bryskett, and Raleigh) had given the poet confidence in its worth. More specifically, Harvey's criticism was no doubt directly responsible for Spenser's rejecting a plan for one proposed book on Irish affairs at a date when he knew comparatively little about them at first hand and substituting at a later date a new book of much more vigorous tone, Book V. Certain portions of the old book are preserved in Book V, and other portions appear in other poems; so that the intention to abandon the Mutability cantos seems evident."

Harvey's objection to *The Faerie Queene* was based on his dislike of "backward-looking views of society, fantastic republics, abstract contemplations, idle dreams, and transcendentalism." See his *Marginalia*, ed. Moore Smith, pp. 197-8.

"If as a result of this sort of criticism Spenser changed his emphasis and method somewhat before he published *The Faerie Queene*, it is possible that the change was not wholly for the bad. . . . Spenser's interest in abstract ideals, his desire to criticise, correct, elevate, he could not lay aside; but he could and did create a world of something more definite and substantial than air, wind, fire, and water for the common mind. And so we have the gorgeous figures of the great tapestry unrolled in canto after canto, many of them concrete figures from the life of his own day, the events prismatically colored by the poet's eye, but not entirely remote from reality."

Much of the discarded Mutability cantos, then, was salvaged elsewhere; first, in the Proem of Book V, where Justice is much like Nature: compare 7. 7. 6 and 14 with 5. Pr. 10; and 7. 7. 55 ff. with 5. Pr. 1-8. "Of the eleven stanzas prefacing Book V, then, none except the last fails to show definite kinship with the matter of the Mutability cantos."

But more of the rejected matter was used in the account of the Garden of Adonis in 3. 6. 33 ff.: notably the conception of Chaos (cf. 7. 6. 26; 7. 7. 17-8 with 3. 6. 36); "the eternity of substance along with the shift of form" (cf. 7. 7. 18 with 3. 6. 37); the wheel of change (cf. 7. 7. 1 and 18 with 3. 6. 32-3); and the intrusion of death through Mutability or Time (cf. 7. 7. 47 with 3. 6. 39-40). The ruling principle of Order appears in both (cf. 7. 7. 4 with 3. 6. 35).

"The progress of forms toward perfection does not appear in Adonis. But the eternity of the life principle is preserved and elaborated. That this is carried over from Mutability is suggested by the wording at 3. 6. 47, on Adonis as the

father of life. . . . In Mutability the poet's mind is dwelling more on change, decay, and death, than on constancy or eternal life. . . .

"No doubt Harvey would regard the Garden of Adonis as much better than Mutability. It is far more concrete, sensuous, positive, a little clearer as to philosophic conceptions, and much easier to read because of its story form. Whereas the Mutability cantos show the influence chiefly of the Stoic philosophers, the Garden of Adonis more nearly lines up with the Epicureans."

H. M. BELDEN ("Alanus de Insulis, Giles Fletcher, and the *Mutabilitie Cantos*," pp. 142-144). In the Harvey correspondence which Miss Albright presents there is nothing to show that Spenser's "letter, or rather bill of complaynte," was a poem of over a thousand lines. It was more likely a much briefer production, an actual letter in which Spenser discoursed upon the fickleness of man's estate and speculated upon the four elements. If we recall that this portion of Harvey's letter-book is actually a draft of that publication (to be issued as surreptitiously given to the world by Spenser against the author's will and judgment), and that, as the earthquake letter shows, Harvey rather fancied himself a philosophical physicist, we may suspect that the letter is made by Harvey out of whole cloth as an exhibition of learning and versatility—a brief symposium of the kind so usual in the Renaissance. And even if we assume that Harvey was referring to an actual Spenser poem, it does not follow that it was the Mutability cantos. The attitude Harvey rebukes is, as Miss Albright admits, that of the *Tears of the Muses*. There is nothing distinctive, moreover, in what either Harvey or Spenser says about the four elements, for such matters were then scientific commonplaces.

There is, however, much more certain ground than this for rejecting the date 1579-80 for *Mutabilitie*, and this evidence is that of the cantos themselves. Not only is the setting Irish, but it represents a part of Ireland about which Spenser, so far as we can tell, knew nothing until he occupied Kilcolman, not earlier than 1586. That he knows this scene in topographical detail is made clear in the myth of the Fanchin and the Molanna. "It is his *home*; the mountain range lying back of his estate is 'my old father, Mole.'"

Still further: there are two specific references in Canto 6 to *Colin Clouts*, which cannot have been written before 1591, and which was not published until 1595. In stanza 36 the poet speaks of

. . . my old father Mole, whom shepheards quill
Renowmed hath with hymnes fit for a rurall skill;

and in stanza 40 he is even more definite:

Molanna, daughter of old Father Mole,
And sister unto Mulla, faire and bright,
Unto whose bed false Bregog whylome stole,
That Shepheard Colin dearely did condole,
And made her lucklesse loves well knowne to be.

The reference, of course, is to the Bregog and Mulla story (*Colin Clout* 104-155). And both references ("renowmed" and "well knowne") indicate a writing subsequent to the publication in 1595 of *Colin Clouts*.

EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT ("On the Dating of Spenser's 'Mutability' Cantos," pp. 482-498). Spenser's habit of re-working old materials is well known; the author's former argument simply showed that despite his discouragement from Harvey, he cherished the work sufficiently to take it to Ireland and to borrow from it for the revision and fresh composition of other pieces. This does not preclude the possibility of a small tentative effort at adornment by local color before final abandonment of the cantos for inclusion in the *Faerie Queene*.

As it is clear from their correspondence that Harvey and Spenser habitually exchanged parcels of poetry for criticism, Mr. Belden's objection that what Harvey criticized was nothing but a letter is not at all conclusive, especially since Harvey immediately corrects "letter" and says, "Or rather, bill of complaynte." Further, the objection that Harvey's rebuke is directed at Spenser's attitude in the *Tears of the Muses* is evasive, for most of Harvey's remarks have no possible connection with the poem.

Mr. Belden's argument is not convincing because he leaves unsolved the riddle of how Harvey, in 1579-80, could possibly invent and ascribe to Spenser the very points which the poet, according to Mr. Belden, did not work up until after 1595. How may we account, moreover, for the strange duplication of themes in *Mutabilitie* and other works completed before 1594? This overlapping was explained as the result of progressive pillaging from the poem and final abandonment of it as a publication venture.

Mr. Belden's objection that there is a reference to *Colin Clout* in 7. 6. 36, 40 has no bearing on the date, since the Molanna story is obviously an insertion. It is clearly digressive and Spenser frankly apologizes for the incongruity of matter and tone (6. 37).

The same sort of insertion is likely in Spenser's episode on the Medway and Thames where there is added a five stanza list of Irish rivers (4. 11. 40-45). The entire passage on the English rivers is episodic, a warming over of old materials, preserving essential features of the *Epithalamion Thamesis*, "laboriously projected in 1579 according to Spenser's letter to Harvey explaining his method of research on rivers." [But see note on 4. 11. 11-53 in Book IV, pp. 241-2.]

The allusion in *Mutabilitie* to the *Colin Clout* passage does not require composition subsequent to the publication date of the latter poem, for the circulation of pieces in manuscript among Elizabethans was sufficiently established to warrant the allusion being made as early as 1589, the probable composition date of *Colin Clout*.

By itself the local color in *Mutabilitie* is not sufficient to require residence in Kilcolman before its production. Some of it was famed in legend, most of the details on the rivers could have been acquired from books, as Carrie Harper and Professor Osgood have shown, and the rest may have been gathered by Spenser from talk and travel in Ireland prior to residence at Kilcolman.

There are indications on Spenser's part of an original intention to discuss fluctuating policies in Ireland in connection with the general theme of abstract justice and constancy. These rather indefinite signs are at 6. 8, 6. 12, and 7. 50. There is likelihood, moreover, that Sidney, in 1579, suggested to Spenser a book on Irish policies, for we learn from a letter of Edward Waterhouse that Sir Philip was engaged in preparing a defense of his father's official conduct in Ireland. This

defense is extant in part and shows the same attitudes toward Ireland and the Irish that Spenser exhibits in Book V and the *View*. It should be remembered that the latter document emphasizes changeableness in policy as a fundamental source of evil.

Finally, the immature stage of development exhibited by *Mutabilitie*, a characteristic shown elsewhere, renders it unthinkable that its composition was subsequent to the definitive and solidly-founded Book V.

EDWIN GREENLAW ("Spenser's 'Mutabilitie,'" pp. 695-703). The longer of Harvey's letters, like the famous Spenser-Harvey letters themselves, may have been a mere literary exercise designed chiefly to win publicity. More important, we cannot be sure that Harvey disagreed with Spenser, that he was not being merely ironical. But these doubts should be dropped and Miss Albright's thesis examined on the assumption that the letter is to be taken at its face value.

In the first place Miss Albright includes irrelevant material, such as the long discussion of the poem "A Schollars Love." Secondly, she often suggests a possibility which is later assumed to be an actuality and used as evidence for a conclusion. There are two vital examples of this. "On page 102, and throughout the later portion of her essay, she assumes as proved that Harvey read the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* to the friends spoken of in his letter. Her words are 'Harvey's judgment of Mutability was very different from that of most modern critics.' If we look back over the earlier pages to see just how we know that what we have in the letter is Harvey's judgment of a particular poem, we find, on page 97, the words, 'We may then infer that the letter shows that the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* were read by Harvey to his circle.' We rub our eyes at this calm assumption, and look still farther back, in order to find some grounds, only to discover nothing but the fact that among many other things in the letter is a passage in which Harvey criticizes the poet, or seems to criticize him, for holding views about mutability. That is, there is no indication whatever in the letter that Harvey was speaking of ideas that Spenser had put into verse; the letter is not criticism of poetry but of ideas; and, moreover, these ideas are not so peculiar that their occurrence in the poem *Mutabilitie* arrests our attention; they are commonplaces of the time."

Actually, the natural interpretation of this letter would seem to be that Spenser had expressed envy of the quiet life of the Cambridge scholars and that Harvey had been deputed by the circle to rebuke him for such exalted views of academic seclusion. After some cynical remarks about academicians, Harvey attacks Spenser for holding bookish views and criticizes these, among them the idea of mutability. Nothing in the letter indicates criticism of a poem, nor is the mutability matter the only one of Spenser's ideas placed under review.

Another instance of begging the question appears in Miss Albright's discussion of the fancied first book of Irish affairs. An assumption is made (p. 115) in the following words: "His [Harvey's] criticism was no doubt directly responsible for Spenser's rejecting a plan for one proposed book on Irish affairs at a date when he knew comparatively little about them," etc." This is followed by the assertion that "certain portions of the old book are preserved in Book V." Through the remainder of the essay this is looked upon as proved and made the basis of conclusions. But if we look back to find evidence for Spenser's projection, in 1579-80, of a book on Irish affairs, we find (p. 109) a statement that the Constancy legend, if intended

as critical of Elizabeth, probably was concerned with her shifting Irish policies. This, suggested initially without evidence, is later taken for granted. Moreover, on the same page appears a quotation from *Marginalia* warning against treason and political frowardness, but with no apparent reference to Spenser. From this Miss Albright draws the unwarranted conclusion that Harvey feared for Spenser's security in issuing the assumed treatment of Irish policy. We may be certain that Harvey was not considering Spenser in his note and that the book on Irish affairs is imaginary. If we trace the last assumption to its inception (p. 95) we find merely a reference to the Irish setting of both cantos.

Approaching the problem from a different angle and purely on its merits, let us examine the possibility that Spenser rejected the *Mutabilitie* cantos because of Harvey's censure. Here again the evidence is lacking. In the first place, there is no connection between Harvey's letter about returning the *Faerie Queene* and the one which Miss Albright interprets as a criticism of the first draft. There is no date for the letter of criticism and no indication from its contents that Spenser's poetry is being discussed. In the second place the *Faerie Queene* letter suggests comparison of the material received by Harvey to the *Orlando Furioso*, a poem utterly different from *Mutabilitie*.

As for Miss Albright's hypothesis of a first book on Ireland, we have noted that there is no evidence save that the *Mutabilitie* setting is Irish. This setting, however, has a value that denies Miss Albright's thesis. For the poem belongs to the post *Colin Clout* period. Even, however, if it did not, Miss Albright would have Spenser inserting a large amount of the "rejected" material into Book V and other portions of the poem. Thus we are in the position of assuming that Spenser rejected *Mutabilitie* because of Harvey, but that he actually used the major portion of it. To a possible objection by Miss Albright that the controversial and disloyal part was the section criticized, we must answer that there is no evidence of such material.

The Harvey passage on which Miss Albright rests her thesis is indubitably a sort of gloss on the idea of mutability; Harvey notes change and approves. So his objection would not be to the cantos, but their conclusion. Spenser's ideas of mutability and degeneration from the golden age were criticized by Harvey, but, strangely enough, they are not confined to *Mutabilitie* alone; they recur again and again elsewhere. The golden age doctrine is the *Faerie Queene's* fundamental principle. So that far from accepting or profiting by Harvey's criticism, Spenser's major body of poetry is based upon a negation of it. Not only does the poet differ from his critic on the points above, but the attitude of the second book is directly contrary to Harvey's championing of appetite *versus* reason. If, then, we assume *Mutabilitie* as already written in 1579-80, we have the same reason for assuming that all the rest of the *Faerie Queene* had also been written by that time.

"The truth of the matter is, that while Harvey's letter is valueless as a source, since Spenser certainly did not get his ideas from his friend, or trim his course to the advice contained in the letter, it is of high value in that it contains in solution an analysis of the major ideas of Spenser's poetry, thus indicating, first, that the two men discussed these ideas together, and, second, that Spenser's thought was not an evolution, but was fairly consistent."

FREDERICK M. PADELFORD ("The Cantos of Mutabilitie: Further Considerations Bearing on the Date," pp. 704-715). In view of the controversy over the date of the Mutability cantos it is worth while to examine them from a purely prosodic and stylistic point of view. This will not necessarily determine whether or not they were old material revamped, but there may be satisfaction in knowing the approximate date when the cantos assumed their present form.

An examination, with the aid of the *Concordance*, of every word in these two cantos discloses no words, idioms, or phrases that are distinctive of any one period of composition. We must therefore use other tests, recognizing, however, that considerable wariness must be exercised in drawing conclusions from a book of but two cantos instead of twelve.

A study of compound words shows a much lower frequency in Book VII than in Book I. Those of Book VII have a ratio identical with that of Book V and close to that of Book III. The frequency ratios of the various books are as follows: Book I, one compound to every 39 lines; II, one to 64; III, one to 78; IV, one to 106; V, one to 73; VI, one to 148; VII, one to 73. The Mutability Cantos thus fall between the two extremes of Books I and VI.

The Shakespearean run-over line test is not particularly applicable in the case of the *Faerie Queene*, because variations in use of such lines are slight in Spenser; from the first he was a master of this line. Herewith is the proportion of run-over lines based upon the editions of Dodge and of Smith. Dodge punctuates fully, while Smith follows closely the 1596 edition (Book VII, the 1609 edition). The frequency of run-overs computed in lines is as follows: Dodge. Book I, one run-over to every 6.63 lines; II, one to 6; III, one to 4.97; IV, one to 5.3; V, one to 6; VI, one to 5.2; VII, one to 4.8. Smith. I, one to 6.39; II, one to 6.33; III, one to 5.63; IV, one to 6.94; V, one to 6.94; VI, one to 5.8; VII, one to 5.32.

By the punctuation of either edition the frequency of run-overs is higher in Book VII than in any other book and testifies to a much freer flow of verse when the seventh book is compared to the first.

A more significant test is furnished by feminine endings, which have been made the subject of a paper by Mr. Floyd Stovall. . . . [See p. 438 above.]

Padelford concludes from Stovall's compilations that the feminine endings would seem to prove conclusively that Book VII in its present form was written subsequently to the first three books. They encourage the conclusion (although Book VII does not present a very trustworthy quantitative range) that it was written earlier than Book VI, for Book VII averages $8\frac{1}{2}$ feminine endings (regular and irregular) to a canto; Book IV, $8\frac{2}{3}$; V, $8\frac{1}{2}$; and Book VI, only $5\frac{5}{6}$.

"We come now to certain peculiarities of composition which seem to set Book VII rather apart. No one can read these Mutability cantos without being struck by their narrative flexibility. If read aloud, they call for a variation of tempo and a flexibility of tone not required by any other cantos of the *Faerie Queene*. They have something of the naturalness, spontaneity and unexpectedness of oral composition. One seems to catch the thoughts taking shape in the mind of the poet, or at least to see their utterance taking shape. The stanzas are literally sown with explanatory phrases, appositions, short apostrophes, rhetorical questions, and asides and *sotto voces*. Not that these are unknown to the other books, but that they occur here

with altogether unprecedented frequency." Examples chosen from many cited by Padelford will make this clear:

Explanatory phrases (7. 6. 8. 5-7):

Whose silver gates—*by which there sate an hory
Old aged sire, with hower-glasse in hand,
Hight Tyme—she entred. . . .*

Apposition (7. 6. 22. 2-4):

and with his brow—
*His black eye-brow, whose doomefull dreaded beck
Is wont to wield the world unto his vow,
And even the highest powers of heaven to check—
Made signe to them. . . .*

Apostrophe (7. 6. 49. 6):

Yet he—*poore soule!*—with patience all did beare.

Rhetorical question (7. 6. 36. 6):

That was, to weet, upon the highest hights
Of Arlo-hill—*Who knowes not Arlo hill?—
That is the highest head. . . .*

Aside and *sotto voce* (7. 6. 26. 7-8):

But by the fathers—*be it not envide—
I greater am in bloud—whereon I builde—
Then all the gods. . . .*

These stylistic forms give to the Mutability cantos a unique impromptu character. One may object that this is because much of the text is direct address, but there are other long passages of direct address in the *Faerie Queene* without these peculiarities. Further, these devices are no more pronounced in the stanzas given over to direct address than they are in the remainder.

Another stylistic peculiarity is an extensive use of modifiers which keep far apart the subject proper and the predicate. A study of but one type of such modifiers, relative clauses, demonstrates the point. Book VII (two cantos) contains thirty examples, which is an average of fifteen to the canto, while in Book I there are only twenty-seven of these clauses all told. Although the number increases with the later books, there are seldom more than six to a canto, and there are occasional cantos with none at all.

These characteristics imply late composition, for they contrast with the tightness of Spenser's earlier work, and indicate freedom and rapidity of composition. The explanation may be that the poet used modifiers, explanatory phrases, appositions, and the like as padding when recasting earlier material into the longer Spenserian stanza form. Be that as it may, the Mutability cantos in their present form manifest clearly a late date of composition.

"The feminine endings prove that the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* must have been written after the first three books. The compound words and run-over lines would

suggest that they were composed before Book VI. The far weightier evidence, however, of certain distinctive peculiarities of composition favor a date subsequent even to *The Legend of Courtesie*."

DOUGLAS BUSH ("The Date of Spenser's *Cantos of Mutability*," pp. 954-7). "Without going into all the ramifications of Miss Albright's theory, I should like to suggest some reasons for thinking the basis of it unsound." Her selections quoted from Harvey's letter, along with certain suppositions, give a more plausible (though not convincing) notion of the relation between the letter and *Mutabilitie* than does the letter read as a whole. Harvey begins with an accusation of staleness: "You crie owte of a false and trecherous worlde, and therein ar passinge eloquent and patheticall in a degree above the highest." This might be strained so as to apply to the world of *Mutability*, but Harvey's examples and comments at once show that he has a very different conception in mind. He appeals to Cain's slaying of Abel and other stories to show that "the first men" were "ower masters in villanye," a line that leads far from Spenser's poem.

It is hard to see that Harvey's long discourse on fire and the four elements has anything to do with Spenser's stanzas on the subject. Physics of a sort was a favorite topic with Harvey and, "remembering his epistolary ways, one may ask with Mr. Belden if the letter might not have been made out of whole cloth as a personal display." At any rate, unless Harvey was a "tricksy spirit," he could hardly, on the basis of Spenser's lines, have departed on the wild tangent he follows.

Harvey proceeds to another topic, Spenser's unwarranted alarm at reason and the custom of former ages being constrained by appetite and "fansye." "Fancy" has its regular Elizabethan meaning, and Harvey says that Spenser thinks sensual pleasures are to be abandoned in favor of contemplative delights. Miss Albright assumes that while these ideas have reference chiefly to other poems, part of Harvey's argument on the theme of reason *versus* appetite does apply directly to *Mutabilitie*. In support of this position the following passage is quoted:

There is a variable course and revolution of all thinges. Summer gettith the upperhande of wynter, and wynter agayne of summer. Nature herselfe is changeable, and most of all delightid with vanitie; and arte, after a sorte her ape, conformith herselfe to the like mutabilitie. The moone waxith and wanithe; the sea ebbith and flowith; and as flowers so ceremonies, lawes, fashions, customs, trades of livinge, sciences, devises, and all thinges else in a manner floorishe there tyme and then fade to nothings. Nothing to speake of ether so restorative and comfortable for delighte or beneficiall and profitable for use, but beinge longe together enjoyed and continued at laste ingenderith a certayne satietye, and then it soone becumeth odious and lothsum. So it standith with mens opinions and iudgmentes in matters of doctrine and religion.

Miss Albright considers this to be a summary and answer to four of Spenser's topics in *Mutabilitie* and shows parallels. A characteristic comment which she adds provides a specious plausibility: "Spenser's long pageant of the seasons (canto 7, stanzas 18 and 28-43) is briefly dismissed by Harvey, doubtless because it is one of the old stale subjects of which he has already complained." Harvey, however, far from dismissing the pageant, does not even hint of it.

The passage quoted above is the chief foundation of Miss Albright's case. Read

out of its context it may seem a comment upon *Mutability*, but Harvey is actually pleading for appetite against reason, a subject foreign to Spenser's cantos. Harvey is simply using familiar naturalistic arguments of the sixteenth century and, while *Mutabilitie* is ultimately related to the same current of relativistic ideas, it is not treated in such a way that Harvey's argument meets it; "Spenser is writing about the government of the universe, not about sexual morals."

Further, Harvey's choice of illustrations shows that he does not have Spenser's poem in mind. A critic does not comment by letter and employ illustrations similar to the author's, in utter unconsciousness that the latter has used them.

Miss Albright replies to Mr. Belden's objection (that *Mutabilitie* has an Irish setting and refers to *Colin Clouts*) by observing that Spenser could have obtained local color from books and talk before settling at Kilcolman. She states further that the allusions belong to what "is quite obviously an inserted passage," that their digressive nature, their incongruity, and Spenser's apology therefor prove this. Here we have a large assumption. If digression is evidence of later insertion, then the *Faerie Queene* is a tissue of insertions. If incongruity does not fit our code of decorum, it fits Spenser's and provides a good part of his charm. Finally, "if conventional apologies are an argument, *Lycidas* must have been composed at several times, for it has two apologies for a change of tone."

To speak of less concrete matters, it is impossible to accept Miss Albright's view of *Mutabilitie* as a youthful conception. Nowhere in Spenser are there two cantos which carry stronger testimony of mature thought and power, and more widely display the poet's special gifts.

JOSEPHINE WATERS BENNETT ("Spenser and Gabriel Harvey's *Letter-Book*," pp. 163-186). While the letter in question (the fourth in the group in Harvey's *Letter-Book*) was probably not a real letter, but was only one of a group of literary compositions intended for publication, yet if, for the sake of argument, we do consider that it might have been a real letter, we must take into consideration the fact that it contains no clue whatsoever as to the identity of the person to whom it was addressed, and that there is no reason for even supposing that this person could have been Spenser. This letter is one of a group of letters none of which is known to have been addressed to his poet friend. True, the first of the group had been addressed to "Immerito," but was later changed to "Benevolo," a pseudonym used by Harvey for Wood, not Spenser.

While Harvey's use of the word "letter" has been the cause of much speculation as to whether he actually meant "letter" or "poem," there is, however, nothing in Harvey's arguments to lead us to think that he could have been replying to anything more than a letter. Miss Albright takes Harvey's discussion of the four elements as a reply to Spenser's account of the mutability of the elements. But Harvey's account of the nature of the elements is merely a part of his own argument, not that of the "complaint" which he is attempting to refute. "The only thing that we learn about the document which Harvey is answering is that in it the degeneracy of the world is asserted."

"What Harvey does say about the document to which he is replying does not apply, then, to the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* at all, not only because Harvey is replying to a letter and not to a poem, but also because he is replying specifically to a point

of view which was not peculiarly Spenser's, and to arguments which are not in the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*. Moreover, he is not replying to anything that is in the *Cantos*, in any direct and unambiguous way. Both the four elements and the mutability theme are introduced by Harvey as a part of his own argument, and not as a part of the document which he is refuting. The idea of a golden age was so much a commonplace that mention of it in both Harvey and Spenser cannot possibly be construed as evidence of a relation between the two documents under consideration."

DOUGLAS BUSH (*Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*, p. 121). It would be hard to find anywhere in *The Faerie Queene* two cantos that give stronger testimony of mature powers, or afford in such small compass a wider display of Spenser's particular gifts. Few readers are likely to dissent from Courthope's judgment, that *Mutability* is "both in conception and execution, the most sublime part" of the poem. It is to be sure the Elizabethan, not the Miltonic sublime; one does not expect from Spenser and his fellows a completely ordered and sustained nobility. When sources range from Ovid to Alanus de Insulis, and moods from the celestial to the earthy, when the poet pauses in his search for unity to paint gorgeous pictures of diversity, the total impression may well be somewhat clouded.

CHARLES G. SMITH ("Spenser's Theory of Friendship," pp. 496-9). The antithesis between concord and discord in Book IV is strikingly parallel to the conflict in *Mutabilitie*, though in Book IV it is social, in *Mutabilitie* it is cosmic. The characters and their functions in the one find their counterparts in the other. Thus Venus and Nature are both of them veiled, beautiful, awe-inspiring, the mothers of all good; and as Venus works order and harmony through Concord, so Nature works through Sergeant Order (cf. 4. 10. 34-5 with 7. 7. 4, 14). So also Ate and Mutability derive, one from Hell, the other from Chaos (4. 1. 19; 7. 6. 26-7), and wear a borrowed beauty (4. 1. 31; 7. 6. 28-30); with Ate goes Duessa, with Mutability goes Bellona, whose common function is to make trouble, and each of whom strives to undo the work of Concord and Nature respectively (4. 1. 29-30; 7. 6. 5).

The theme of Mutability occurs also in Book IV, notably in the choruslike stanzas at 4. 8. 30-4; 4. 10. 34-5, and retrospectively in 5 Pr. 3, 4, 6. Time the destroyer, a Lucretian theme, appears in both books (4. 2. 33; 7. 7. 47). Chaucer's influence is felt and acknowledged in both books (4. 2. 32; 7. 7. 9). In both, the rivers are personified (4. 11; 7. 6. 40-1).

These parallels, together with the Lucretian elements in both, suggest that they were written about the same time, that is, soon after 1590.

The frequency of feminine rhymes in *Mutabilitie* and Book IV as compared with Books V and VI also supports this inference.

JANET SPENS (*Spenser's Faerie Queene, An Interpretation*, pp. 26-7). Now there is other evidence that the number of the cantos in the original version was not 12 but 8.

Most critics agree with the seventeenth-century printer who gave them to the world, that the *Mutabilitie Cantos* seem to be part of some following book of *The*

Faerie Queene. These cantos are numbered 6, 7, and 8. We must suppose that they were so numbered in the manuscript which came into the printer's hands, for the episode being complete in itself, his natural course would have been to number them 1, 2, and 3; or if he thought they formed a suitable close to a book of twelve cantos, 10, 11, and 12. Some critics have professed to find a special type of episode in certain books, but any such arrangement is far too shadowy to suggest to the publisher that these two cantos belonged to a particular stage of an unwritten book. Other critics have regarded the two stanzas of the third canto as an envoi to the rest, but apart from the definite statement in the text, "The viii Canto unperfite," there is the evidence of the likeness of the matter to opening stanzas of cantos in other books, where the poet reflects on the task he has just finished and gives his judgments on questions raised by it.

But if the numbering is impossible as the printer's own invention, it is at least surprising even for the poet, unless he intended the book to have only eight cantos, when it would be perfectly natural. The episode, although complete in itself, must be related to the rest of the Book and this could be done in one canto.

The cantos apparently were twelve because there were to be twelve books. It does not, of course, follow that because there were only in the first plan eight cantos in each book there were only eight books. But Spenser had certainly a passion for symmetry, and, when we find independent evidence that the number of books was originally eight, the testimony of cantos and books is mutually supporting.

J. M. PURCELL ("The Date of Spenser's *Mutabilitie* Cantos," pp. 914-917). This paper, "depending upon the same *type* of evidence as was used by Professor Padelford, will at least cast doubt upon some of the evidence presented in support of the argument for a late date of composition." It comes to directly opposite conclusions.

The present study employs the lists of words used by Fletcher [SP 31. 152-9] in his examination of color, light, and shade words to determine Spenser's changes in style between the first three and the second three books of the *Faerie Queene*. The percentages are as follows:

Book	Color Words	Light and Shade Words
I	35.98	50.56
II	35.57	30.74
III	28.508	31.46
IV	20.20	18.53
V	17.34	20.53
VI	15.52	18.05
<i>Mutabilitie</i>	30.70	52.63

This would seem to show that the style of *Mutabilitie* is more nearly like that of the first three books than that of the last three, and so of about the same date as the former. The argument for a late date is thus rendered questionable.

Professor Padelford's study of Spenser's use of compound words, and the conclusions he draws from Floyd Stovall's article on Spenser's use of feminine rimes,

do not agree with these findings. If, however, my conclusions are wrong, Professor Padelford's must be wrong also, for exactly the same method, though a different set of words, is used in both; and if my conclusions seem to lead Professor Fletcher further than he might wish to go in his analysis of Spenser's style, nevertheless, I have used exactly the same material in exactly the same way.

"From these various studies analyzing Spenser's style—Padelford's, Fletcher's, and the present article—it is safe to draw only one conclusion; that is, that the counting of words in a partial analysis of vocabulary is not satisfactory evidence for determining the dates of composition of portions of *The Faerie Queene*."

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 BRUNO. Appendix I: Evans, Elton, Liljegren, Levinson, Albright.
 CASTIGLIONE. Commentary: 7. 3-59.
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 NATALIS COMES. Appendix I: Lotspeich; Commentary: 6. 1. 1-5; 6. 9; 6. 15. 8-9; 6. 16. 6; 6. 27; 6. 29. 6; 6. 42 ff.; 6. 42-45; 7. 26. 4; 7. 26. 5; 7. 26. 6; 7. 26. 7; 7. 37. 3-9; 7. 39. 7-8; 7. 41. 7; 7. 42. 8-9; 7. 44. 5-6; 7. 53.
 PONTANO. Appendix I: Gottfried.
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- SAINT AUGUSTINE. Appendix I: Greenlaw.
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- BOOK OF BALLYMOTE. Commentary: 6. 36 ff.
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TEXTUAL APPENDIX

VARIANT READINGS

The text of Book VI is based on three copies of 1596 in the Tudor and Stuart Club collection (copy three has leaves Kk₂, Kk₃, and Kk₄, i. e. F. Q. 6. 12. 20. 6—6. 12. 41. 9, in facsimile) and of Book VII on the Tudor and Stuart Club copy of 1609. Differences in copies of 1596 and of 1609, whether recorded by earlier editors or noted here for the first time, have been checked in the following copies: 1596—Folger Shakespeare Library, 4 copies; Library of Congress; University of Washington; C. G. Osgood, 2 copies, Armour and Sheldon; Huntington Library; British Museum, 4 copies; Bodleian Library, 2 copies, Malone and Selden; 1609—Folger Shakespeare Library, 3 copies; University of Washington; Osgood; Huntington Library; British Museum; Bodleian Library.

The list of variants includes (1) verbal differences in 1609 and 1611; (2) the readings of 1596 for Book VI and of 1609 for Book VII altered in our text; (3) changes in spelling in early editions which involve a possible change in pronunciation, the adding or dropping of a syllable, or any apparently significant peculiarity; and (4) examples of the readings of later editions. Unless it is involved in the change, punctuation is not given in recording a variant. Minor variations in spelling, such as the adding or dropping of a final e, the use of v and u, capitalization, and the use of the hyphen, are not distinguished in the variants given from the editions later than 1596 for Book VI and 1609 for Book VII. Inconsistencies in the use of ligatures are ignored in all the editions. Our usage in regard to typographical conventions is explained in the general note in Book I, p. 516.

The following symbols are used for reference to the editions and commentaries cited:

<i>b</i>	1596 (three copies)	<i>U</i>	Upton, 1758
<i>c</i>	1609	<i>C</i>	Church, 1758
<i>d</i>	1611-12-13 (two copies)	<i>T</i>	Todd, 1805
<i>E</i>	1679 [second title-page dated 1678]	<i>Ch</i>	Child, 1855
<i>H₁</i>	Hughes, 1715	<i>Co</i>	Collier, 1862
<i>J</i>	Jortin, 1734	<i>M</i>	Morris and Hales, 1869
<i>H₂</i>	Reprint of Hughes, 1750	<i>G</i>	Grosart, 1882-4
<i>B</i>	Birch, 1751	<i>D</i>	Dodge, 1908
<i>W</i>	Warton, 1762 [first ed. 1754]	<i>S</i>	Smith, 1909-10

HEADING

- line 1. SIXTH] SIXTE *b* (all copies examined except *T.* and *S.* 3, *U.* of Washington, and British Museum copy 686. g. 22) *cd ChCoMDS*
 5. S.] Sir *cd EHUCTChMD*

PROEM

- i. 1. through] throggh *c*
 9. It] tI *b* (all copies examined except *T.* and *S.* 3, *U.* of Washington, and British Museum copy 686. g. 22)
 ii. 2. Parnasso] Pernasso *d E*
 3. treasures] treasures *d EH*

- iii. 4. worlds] words *B*
- 5. Since] Sith *cd EH*
- iv. 9. eies] eics (*broken e in some copies*) *b eries B*
- vi. 9. name] fame *CoMGD*
- vii. 1. dreaded] dreadcd *c*

CANTO I

- iii. 8. flattery,] flattery. *d E*
- iv. 4. *Artegall]* *Arthegal(l)* (*and so throughout*) *cd EHC*
- vii. 6. that] this *d E*
- Beast?] Beast, *cd EHUCH Beast CT*
- (then] then, *CT*
- replide.]) replide) *b G replide? cd EHUT replide. CCb*
- viii. 7. wretched] wicked *d E*
- ix. 1. leaue,] leaue *b BG*
- 2. see] fee *B*
- x. 7. drad,] drad: *bcd EUChGDS drad; HBCT*
- 8. withall:] withall, *b withall; cd E withall! CTCb withall. UCoMDS*
- xi. 9. losde] loos'd *cd EH*
- xiii. 9. pay.] pay *b*
- xiv. 5. that] the *d E*
- xvi. 6. vnhabl] vnabl *cd EHB*
- xvii. 4. lest] list *H₂*
- xix. 9. fro] from *H*
- xxiii. 6. carkasse] carkarsse *b G*
- 7. entraunce] entrance *d EH*
- xxiv. 4. day,] day. *b*
- xxv. 9. requight.] requight *b*
- xxvii. 1. for] from *B*
- xxviii. 4. he] ye *H₁*
- 5. Cowherd] Coward *cd EH*
- 6. Ere he] Ere thou *b B*
- xxxi. 1. light] light, *b BG*
- xxxiv. 2. sound] swound *ChM*
- xxxv. 8. to] ro *S (corr. in 1-vol. ed.)*
- xxxvi. 9. breath] breathe *c H*
- xxxvii. 5. potshares] pot-shards *d EHC*
- xxxviii. 1. hie] hie, *b G*
- 2. At once] Attonce *cd EH*
- xl. 9. yearne] earne *cd EH*
- xlii. 4. since] sith *cd EH*

CANTO II

- ii. 7. is] *om. B*
- 9. deserue] deserves *H₂*
- iii. 2. act] deed *cd EHUCHMDS*
- word] deed *b CTC_o*
- 3. eares] eyes *bcd EHBUCTS*
- 4. eyes] eares *bcd EHBUCTS*
- v. 7. Lincolne] lincolne *b UG*
- belayd with] belay dwith *c*
- 8. an] a *d E*
- vi. 7. launch] launce *cd EH*

- vii. 2. What] what *b G*
 4. slaine,] slaine? *cd E*
 5. knight;] Knight? *H*
 plaine?] plaine. *cd EHC* plaine! *TCb*
 viii. 1. him,] him *b BG*
 ix. 1. That] Then *B*
 xiii. 3. had] he *d E*
 xiv. 3. Sayd] Staid *c*
 Neither] neither *bcd EHG*
 xv. 8. since] sith *cd EH*
 xvi. 5. iolliment] iolliment, *b G*
 xvii. 8. from] fro *B*
 9. presumptuous] presumptuous *cd EH*
 xix. 1. since] sith *cd EH*
 6. whot] hot *cd EH*
 8. smot] smote *cd EH*
 xx. 2. Whilest] Whiilest *B*
 xxi. 9. and] aud (*turned n*) *d*
 xxii. 4. cause] *om.* *B*
 xxvii. 1. May] may *b G*
 xxx. 6. wrong.] wrong *b* wrong: *UTCbCoM*
 xxxi. 3. ydlesse] idleness *ET*
 xxxiii. 2. seldome] sildome *cd E*
 7. since] sith *cd EH*
 xxxiv. 4. Faire] faire *b G*
 xxxvii. 6. dread] drad *cd E*
 xxxix. 2. implements] ornaments *cd EH*
 xli. 8. can] 'gan *H*
 xliii. 3. Ioying] Ioyning *d E*
 xliv. 2. demand] demaund *cd H₁*
 xlvi. 9. loue,] loue; *b G* love *UCTCbCoMD*
 xlviii. 1. layd] lay *B*

CANTO III

- i. 3. a] *om.* *EHG*
 iii. 6. incline.] incline, *cd EHS* incline; *BUCTCbCoMD*
 iv. 5. dolefull] doolefull *cd E*
 v. 7. is] his *B*
 Keasars] Cesars *H*
 vi. 7. sigh'd] sigh't *cd E*
 vii. 9. meanesse] meannesse *c EH* meaneness *d*
 ix. 7. When] Then *d E*
 x. 2. to no] not to *cd EH*
 7. of] all *H*
 swound] swoun *cd EH*
 xi. 5. sigh'd] sigh't *cd E*
 6. she] he *H₁*
 xii. 7. saue] salue *d EH₁*
 hole] whole *cd EHBUTCbCoS*
 xiii. 5. Brust] burst *d E*
 7. rust,] rust. *b*
 xvi. 6. wite] Wight *H*
 8. can] gan *d EH*

- xvii. 5. in] it *B*
 xviii. 6. her had] had her *d E*
 xix. 8. most] dost *B*
 xxi. 8. default] assault *G*
 xxiii. 2. *Serena*] *Crispina* *b* (*U. of Washington; Osgood, A. and S.; Huntington; Bodleian M. and S.; noted by Upton and Smith*)
 5. delight,] delight; *bcd EHG*
 9. daungers] danger *d E*
 xxiv. 4. bare,] bare. *bcd EHG* bare *CTCoM*
 5. in vaine] *om. d EHUCTCoMG*
 8. starting vp,] starting, vp *b* (*U. of Washington; Osgood, A. and S.; Huntington; Bodleian M. and S.*)
 xxvi. 2. on] in *H*
 xxvii. 1. (so hight)] , so hight, *BUTChS*
 8. ground,] ground *UCTChCoMS*
 xxviii. 6. soft footing] softing foot *bcd BU*
 xxx. 9. prepared through] prepar'd thorough *b* prepar'd thorough *cd EHBUCTChCoMGDS*
 ride.] ride *b*
 xxxi. 5. steed.] steed, *b* steed: *cd EHUTChGD* steed; *CoM*
 xxxii. 6. displeased,] displeased. *b* (*teste Smith; all copies examined have a comma*)
 xxxiii. 6. Knight;] Knight *b* Knight, *CoM*
 xxxiv. 2. him,] him: *c H* him. *d E* him; *UCTChCoMG*
 5. *Calepine*] *Calepine* *c*
 xxxv. 3. Which] That *b* (*U. of Washington; Osgood A. and S.; Huntington; Bodleian M. and S.; noted by Child, Morris and Smith*) *U*
 5. forsake;] forsake, *b* (*U. of Washington; Osgood A. and S.; Huntington; and Bodleian M. and S.*) *UCTChCoMDS*
 xxxvi. 3. pryde] pryde, *b G*
 xxxvii. 9. did for her] for her did *b* (*U. of Washington; Osgood A. and S.; Huntington; Bodleian M. and S.*) *UCh*
 xxxviii. 7. place] place *d*
 xxxix. 3. whose] wose *c*
 xli. 1. fro] from *H*
 7. withall] with all *b CoMGD*
 xlii. 4. approue] reproue *b G*
 7. reproue] approue *b G*
 xliv. 1. why,] why? *UTCh*
 xlv. 4. dread] drad *cd EH*
 xlv. 3. vnhabable] vnable *d EH*
 xlviii. 6. deedes] deed *E*

CANTO IV

- iv. 7. stroke] strokes *cd EH*
 8. beare,] beare *b G*
 v. 1. stayed not t'aduize] stayd not to aduize *cd EH*
 vi. 5. dismay:] dismay. *bcd EHBCoG* dismay, *S*
 6. despize.] despize: *bcd EHBCChCoGS* despize, *M*
 viii. 7. Who euer,] Who, euer *cd EHBUCTChCoM*
 x. 1. right] full *d E*
 xiii. 4. perswade.] perswade *b* perswade, *G*
 7. gloomy] gloamy *cd E*
 8. There] Where *cd EHBUCTChCoMDS*
 trode] troad *cd E*

- xvi. 8. hurts] hurt *d EHCCbMD*
 xvii. 6. befell] befall *B*
 xviii. 1. srike] scieke *cd E* shriek *H*
 5. Percing] Pearcing *cd E* Piercing *H*
 6. him] him, *bcd EHG*
 xx. 5. loose] lose *cd EH*
 9. on] of *H*
 xxii. 4. gripe] grpe *B*
 5. ground he] drown the *B*
 xxvi. 3. champion] Champain *d EH*
 xxviii. 1. What] what *b G*
 xxx. 2. As] And *d E*
 5. these] those *cd EH*
 6. ouerthrow] ouerthow *b* (*all copies examined except T. and S. 2 and Hunts-
 ington; also noted by Grosart*)
 xxxiii. 2. sides] side *cd EHU*
 xxxiv. 6. Faire] faire *b G*
 xxxv. 3. Lo] Low *b BCo*
 xxxviii. 3. she] sne (*broken ligature?*) *c*
 xl. 9. vnderstand,] vnderstand; *b* (*Bodleian, Malone copy only*)

CANTO V

- Arg. 1. Serena] Matilda *bcd EBGS*
 i. 2. be wrapt] bewrapt *b*
 9. his] it's *H*
 v. 4. launcht] launc't *cd E* launc'd *H*
 6. and] aud *b* (*turned n*)
 vi. 6. nould] would *B*
 viii. 7. curats] Curass *HC*
 x. 8. began] 'gan *H*
 xi. 7. require] requre *b*
 xii. 1. recured] recour'd *H*
 5. Nether] Neither *cd EHBC*
 xiii. 2. enemies] en'mies *cd EH*
 xv. 5. into] vnto *d E*
 7. tame,] tame. *c*
 9. oftentimes] oft-times *cd EHC*
 xvii. 3. woods] wood *d E*
 xviii. 1. Sharpely] Sharply *cd EH*
 xxiii. 9. bene] bin *cd EH*
 xxv. 6. that] the *d EC*
 xxvii. 6. demand] demaund *cd EH*
 xxviii. 2. liue] liues *cd EHCTCoM* lived *Ch* (*corr. in later ed.*)
 9. Since] Sith *cd EH*
 xxix. 2. long] longly *E*
 xxxiv. 7. towards] toward *d EH*
 9. neighbourhood] neighbourhoood *b*
 xxxv. 9. not] nor *B*
 how.] how? *d E*
 xxxvi. 4. of] off *cd EHBUCTCoMS*
 7. Some] Soome *b BG*
 xxxvii. 5. to] too *HBC* to[o] *Co*

- xxxviii. 5. flowers] Flow'rs *H*
 xxxix. 3. glee] gree *cd EH, ChMD*
 7. Squire,] Squire *b*
 xli. 2. there] their *b*

CANTO VI

- iv. 4. Of] In *d EHCT*
 9. bird] birds *E*
 vi. 5. Faire] faire *b G*
 vii. 8. talk restraine] talke restaine *b* (*copy 1; Folger 1, 2, and 3; Library of Congress; and British Museum copies C. 12. b. 18 and 686. g. 22*) *B*
 x. 3. is] in *d E*
 xi. 9. Make] Makes *EHUCTChCoM*
 xii. 9. secrete] secret *cd EH*
 xvi. 1. th'other] the other *cd EHBCTChCoMDS*
 xvii. 7. *Calepine*] *Calidore* *bcd EBUGS*
 xx. 8. fight] fight, *bcd BG* sight, *E*
 xxi. 3. why] why? *UTCh*
 xxv. 6. whereof shall] whereofshall *b*
 xxvi. 6. cowherd] coward *cd EH*
 Knight] Knight, *bcd EHG*
 xxx. 7. ground] gound *b*
 xxxi. 9. strooke] stroake *cd* stroke *EH*
 xxxiii. 4. cowheard] coward *cd EH*
 xxxiv. 2. cowheard] coward *cd EH*
 xxxv. 6. fight] right *b B*
 xxxvi. 1. since] sith *cd EH*
 thy] this *c*
 6. breath] breathe *cd H*
 xxxix. 4. them] him *d EHU*
 xli. 7. infest,] infest; *bcd EHUTCoM*
 9. Through] Trough *c*
 xlii. 5. could] would *d E*

CANTO VII

- i. 1. the] a *cd EH*
 iii. 5. scath] scathe *c H*
 7. arm'd] armed *cd EHBUCTChCoMGDS*
 v. 2. youthly] youthfull *B*
 7. Where] where *b G*
 vi. 4. tyde.] tyde: *bcd EG*
 9. loue more,] Loue, more *cd EH* loue more *UCTChCoMD*
 vii. 4. at once] attonce *cd EH*
 x. 2. fight] flight *U*
 xiii. 5. deed.] deed, *b*
 xiv. 6. How] how *b G*
 xv. 9. yearned] earned *cd EH*
 xvii. 6. tracting] tracking *cd EH*
 7. whereas] whenas *T*
 8. deadly] dead and *B*
 xxv. 7. cowheard] coward *cd EH*
 xxvi. 3. humbled] humble *H*
 xxxi. 5. Whylest] Whil'd *E*
 xxxii. 9. they there] there they *B*

- report;] report. *b UG* Report: *H* report, *Ch*
- xxxiii. 2. which] wich *c*
 fyled] fill'd *H*
- xxxv. 8. there] their *cd EH*
- xxxvii. 2. with] by *H*
 7. this] the *d EC*
- xxxviii. 7. Through] Throgh *b* (*copy 1; U. of Washington; Osgood A. and S.; Huntington; Folger 1; Library of Congress; Bodleian S.; and British Museum C. 12. b. 18*) *CoD*
 9. therefore?] therefore. *bc HG* therefore! *UCTCh*
- xl. 9. nor] not *B*
- xlili. 3. rare] rare, *bcd EBG*
 7. With which] Which with *B*
- xliv. 3. not, by force] not by force *bcd G* not, by force, *EHUTChCoD* not by force, *B*
 not; by force *C*
- xlvi. 2. vildely] vilely *cd E*
- xlvi. 1. villaine,] villaine *b BUG*
 8. abide] abide, *b B*
- xlvi. 6. rore:] rore, *b G* rore; *CTChCoMD*

CANTO VIII

- Arg. 1. ouercomes] overcomes *d*
 i. 1. gentle] gently *d*
 iii. 6. nought] not *d E*
 8. entreat,] entreat *b G*
 9. misust] misus'd *cd EHC*
- iv. 4. that] *om.* *E*
 v. 9. therewithall.] there-withall, *cd EC* therewithall; *TCbCoMD*
- x. 9. had] did *d E*
- xi. 5. weld] wield *cd H* weild *E*
 9. two] tow *b Co*
- xv. 2. instrument] instruments *d E*
 3. powned] powned *cd EH₁*
- xvii. 6. From] For *b B*
- xix. 9. For] The *B*
- xxii. 2. accompt] account *cd EH*
- xxiii. 3. lust] lust, *b BCGS*
- xxvi. 4. withall] with all *b BGD* with-all *cd E*
- xxviii. 3. vnweldy] vnwiely *cd EH*
- xxxii. 4. nought,] nought. *b* nought *CTChCoMD*
- xxxiv. 1. plaints] plaints, *b G*
- xxxviii. 5. since] sith *cd EH*
- xxxix. 4. daintest] daintiest *cd EH*
 xl. 3. hallowing] hollowing *cd EH*
 xli. 2. iewels] iewls *b G*
 6. Now] And *E*
- xlvi. 1. alablaster] alabaster *d E*
 4. sides,] sides *bc* sides; *CTChCoM*
- xlvi. 3. toyle] toyles *b BGS*
- xlvi. 1. glims] glimse *cd* glimpse *EH*
 9. launch] launce *cd EH*
- l. 4. they] shee *cd EHBUCTG*
 9. a whit] awhit *bcd EHBCoM*

CANTO IX

- i. 4. hath] had *T*
 ii. 4. hast] haste *cd EH*
 iv. 3. flockes] Flock *H₁*
 8. cots] cotes *cd EH*
 vi. 5. him] them *b BUCTChCoMGD*
 6. Then] The *H₁*
 vii. 8. tyde,] tyde. *b B*
 xi. 6. vnwares] unawares *E*
 xii. 7. fell,] fell *b H*
 xiii. 3. hast] haste *cd EH*
 xiv. 9. accompted] accounted *d EH*
 xvii. 6. their] her *E*
 xix. 5. disease;] disease? *bcd EHBUG*
 9. lot] love *E*
 xxi. 3. loose] lose *cd EH*
 4. doth] do *EH₁*
 xxiv. 3. amongst] among *d E*
 xxvi. 1. eare] care *cd EH₁*
 4. rapt] wrapt *c EHUT*
 xxviii. 6. th'heauens] the heauens *d EHCTChCoDS*
 8. transposed] transported *E*
 xxxi. 7. retrate] retreat *d EH*
 xxxiii. 4. fro] from *H*
 xxxv. 8. euer] ev'r *cd EU* e'er *HCTCh*
 xxxvi. 8. *Oenone*] *Benone* *bcd EBTCO*
 xxxvii. 7. need] meed *E*
 xxxix. 2. present] pesent *c*
 xli. 6. *Clout*] *clout* *b*
 xliii. 2. maisteries] masteries *cd EH*
 xlv. 5. breeds] breeds: *b*
 9. dearely] dealy *E*
 xlvi. 5. dwell] well *bc H₁BC* [d]well *G*

CANTO X

- ii. 8. report] report, *b BG*
 9. on] in *cd EHBUCTChMGDS*
 iv. 9. now, by course] now by course, *cd EHBUCTChMD*
 vi. 4. stately] lately *B*
 viii. 4. course about] course-about *cd ETCh*
 5. might] might, *b* (*recorded by Smith, but not noted otherwise*)
 xii. 6. midst] midst *cd EH*
 three,] there *d E*
 xiii. 4. fray] fray. *b* (*U. of Washington; Library of Congress; Osgood A. and S.; Huntington; and Bodleian M. and S.*) fray, *H₂S*
 5. them] him *d E*
 xvi. 7. lout;] lout: *CoMS*
 xviii. 7. wight,] wight,, *b*
 xx. 1. happy,] happy *b G*
 2. thence] hence *H₂*
 xxi. 4. within her] with in her *b* with her in *B*

- xxii. 1. Ioue] Love *E*
 5. *Æacidee*,] *Æecidee*. *b* *Aecidee*, *cd* *EBUT* *Æcidee*, *H* *Æecidee*, *CCo*
ÆEacidee. *G*
 6. selfe] felfe *b*
- xxiii. 6. complements] Compliments *H*
- xxiv. 7. froward] forward *bc* *HBUG*
- xxv. 8. countrey] counrtey *b* (*U. of Washington; Library of Congress; Osgood A. and S.; and Bodleian M. and S.*)
- xxxi. 5. Which] Whch *b*
- xxxii. 5. donne] donne, *b*
 6. impure:] impare *b*
- xxxiii. 2. her to] to her *d* *E*
 6. games] game *B*
- xxxiv. 4. forth] fierce *B*
 9. her] ere *G*
- xxxv. 3. cowherd] coward *cd* *EH*
- xxxvi. 6. head, it] head, [he] it *ChCoGS* head, he it *M*
- xxxvii. 3. cowherdize] cowardize *cd* *EH*
- xxxviii. 1. woo'd] wood *b* (*U. of Washington; Library of Congress; Osgood A. and S.; Huntington; Bodleian M. and S.*) *UTChMDS*
- xxxix. 9. flocks] flocke *c* *H₁*
 xl. 5. sorrowfull] sorrowfuil *c*
- xlii. 1. their] thei_r *c* (*inverted r*)
 5. dred] drad *cd* *EH*
 6. dwelt.] dwelt: *HC* dwelt; *UTChCoMD* dwelt, *S*
 7. lightned] lighted *d* *E* lighten'd *H*
- xlili. 5. them] they *E*
- xliv. 3. Where] (Where *cd* *EHUCT*
 did but] but did *H*
 7. glade.] glade) *cd* *EHU* glade; *B* *Co* glade;) *CT* glade--- *ChMD*
 8. But] And *cd* *EHUCTCoM*

CANTO XI

- iii. 7. eyes,] eyes *cd* *EHBUCTChCoMD*
- iv. 2. whot] hot *cd* *EH*
 6. showed] shewed *cd* *H*
 8. vowed:] woo'd: *H* wowed, *UCTChCoD* wowed; *MS*
- vi. 2. raines] reanes *d* *E* Reins *H*
- ix. 7. the instant] th'instant *cd* *EBUT*
- x. 7. demaund] demands *E*
 8. be] he *c*
- xi. 6. that] the *cd* *EH₁*
- xiv. 2. prises] prices *cd* *EH*
- xv. 5. prises] prices *cd* *EH*
- xvi. 1. amongst] among *B*
 3. fiercely] freely *d* *E*
- xix. 4. pretended] protended *H*
 9. Launcht] Lanc't *cd* *E* Launc't *H*
- xx. 7. attonce] at once *d* *EH*
- xxi. 3. vphild] vp-held *d* *EH*
- xxiv. 1. reliu'd] reviv'd *cd* *EH*
- xxvi. 4. there:] there, *b* *G* there; *HUCTChCoM*

- xxviii. 8. hew:] Hue; *HCTChS* hew, *U* hew? *Co*
 xxix. 5. alas!] alas *bcd EG*
 xxx. 2. Where] where *b G*
 xxxii. 1. alone?] alone: *b*
 2. boot:] boot: *CoM* boot, *S*
 7. wast] waste *cd H*
 8. iollyhead] iolly head *bc*
 xxxvii. 3. themselues] themselves *b B*
 8. keepe,] keepe *b*
 xxxviii. 2. feare:] feare; *HUTDS* feare, *BCCbCoM*
 xliii. 4. awaking light,] awaking light *UTChCoM* awaking, light *C*
 xlv. 8. cost] coast *cd EH*
 xlv. 3. new] now *d E*
 4. lyfull] lifefull *cd EHBUT*
 xlvii. 2. day:] day; *UTChCoM* day, *S*
 xlviii. 1. whottest] hottest *cd EH*
 4. fare:] fare: *U* fare, *S*
 xlix. 2. pray:] pray, *ChS*
 li. 8. restore.] restore *b* (*recorded by Smith, but not otherwise noted*)

CANTO XII

- i. 2. cost] coast *cd EH*
 iii. 7. endured] endur'd *H*
 iv. 1. *Claribell*] *Caribell* *d E*
 vii. 7. christall] crystall *cd EH*
 x. 8. ether] either *cd EH*
 xii. 8. loos] praise *cd EHUG*
 xiii. 5. Throughout] Troughout *b*
 xvi. 3. sith] since *cd EH*
 xvii. 5. liefel] life *E*
 xviii. 9. liue.] liue *b*
 xix. 9. faine?] faine. *b BG* faine! *C*
 xxii. 1. loued] lovely *E*
 9. tract] track *cd EH*
 xxv. 2. Chancell] Chaneell *d*
 4. th'Images] the Images *c UT*
 xxvii. 4. cry,] cry. *b G* cry: *cd E* cry; *HCTChCoM*
 7. snar] snarl *H₂*
 xxviii. 7. Kesars] Kesar *d E* Cesars *H*
 xxix. 5. spitting] spetting *cd EH*
 xxxi. 6. suppressel] surpassel *d E*
 xxxiv. 7. vnto] any *d E*
 xxxv. 5. sunne] sin *E*
 6. To] The *d E*
 8. doth] do *H₂*
 xxxix. 1. scath] scathe *cd EH*
 xl. 7. learned] gentle *cd E*
 xli. 2. Hope] H'ope *b*
 3. cleanest] clearest *bcd EBUGS*
 5. tongues] tongnes *b*
 FINIS] *The end of the sixt Booke* *cd*

BOOK VII

- Heading, line 4. both for Forme and Matter] *om.* *H*
 5. parcell] part *H*
 11. Neuer before imprinted] *om.* *E* (*and frequently thereafter*)

CANTO VI

- iv. 5. And] At *S*
 6. examples] example *B*
 v. 2. which] with *H₁*
 vi. 4. exchanged] exchangeth *H₁*
 vii. 4. th'empire] the empire *d ECTChCoMDS*
 x. 1. That] Tho *HU*
 8. to haue] t'have *HUT*
 xii. 5. countenaunce] count'naunce *d EM*
 xvi. 9. him] hm *d*
 xxi. 2. That] And *B*
 5. were] werc *d*
 match] matcht *E*
 xxii. 9. hot] her *H*
 xxv. 9. thou] *om.* *H*
 xxix. 5. *Procrustes*] *Procustes* *cd BUG*
 xxx. 1. that] this *E*
 xxxiii. 3. interesse] Interest *H*
 xxxvi. 7. sights] sight *H*
 xxxviii. 2. wealths] Wealth *HU*
 9. ground.] ground *d*
 xxxix. 7. on] in *H₂*
 xliii. 7. betraid] hetrayd *d*
 xlv. 5. hounds] wounds *B*
 xlvi. 3. spy] espy *B*
 5. laughter, loud] laughter loud, *HC*
 6. A] O *G*
 7. couldst] could *B*
 li. 6. betraid?] betraid. *d EHBCTChD*
 liv. 8. champion] champain *d EHM*
 lv. 9. found.] found *d H₁*

CANTO VII

- i. 9. dispossesse.] dispossesse? *d UTCh*
 ii. 3. feeble] sable *cd EBCTCoG*
 iii. 5. vnto] vnto vnto *d*
 iv. 5. euery] cuery *c*
 vii. 8. they] thcy *c*
 viii. 3. as] ar *c*
 8. bloosming] blooming *H*
 9. shew] showe *d EHBCM*
 ix. 1. hard] heard *c*
 7. *kindes*] kinde *ChMD*
 x. 3. sweet,] sweet; *HBUCTChCoMGDS*
 4. mores] more *HC*
 7. which] *om.* *HCTChCoMG*

- xii. 1. neuer] neucr *c*
 5. *Peleus*] *Pelene* *c B*
 xiii. 8. obaysance] obeysance *d EH*
 xiv. 9. to each] to'each *c G*
 xv. 6. I both alike do] are both alike to *d E*
 8. esteeme] esteeme *c*
 xvi. 3. thy] my *d EH, CTG*
 xvii. 2. worlds] world *d E*
 xxi. 4. randon] random *d EHCoM*
 xxviii. 3. bloosmes] blosoms *E*
 did] *om. d E*
 xxxi. 9. hable] able *EH*
 xxxiv. 9. *Cupid*] *Cupid's* *H*
 xxxv. 5. him did] did him *B*
 xxxvi. 6. The] Th' *H*
 7. array;] array; *c*
 xl. 1. full] full full *c*
 xli. 5. rade] rode *cd EHBUCTChCoMGS*
 7. *Idæan*] *læan* *cd EHBUCTCo I[d]æan G*
 xlii. 4. he] ye *C (corr. in his errata)*
 xliii. 9. found.] found *d E*
 xlvi. 3. disseise] disseife *c*
 xlix. 8. if] If *c*
 l. 2. you] yon *B*
 li. 2. seeme] seemc *d*
 liv. 3. be;] be; *c* bee; *S*
 lv. 7. saine] faine *d E*

CANTO VIII

- Heading. *VIII.] Eighth H*
vnperfite] imperfect HB
 i. 7. to] and *d EH,*
 ii. 8. Sabbaoth] Sabaoth *d ECTM*
 9. O!] O *c (T. and S. copy; Osgood; Huntington; British Museum C. 57. f. 6)*
d EHUGDS
 that] Thou *G*
 Sabbaoth] Sabaoth *d ECTM*
 grant] graunt *c (T. and S. copy; Osgood; Huntington; British Museum C. 57. f. 6)* *d HChGDS*
 Sabaoths] Sabbaoth's *HB* Sabbath's *CT*

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE TEXT

HEADING

Running title. *Cant. I.*] In *b*, the running title of Books 5 and 6 contains the words "*Cant. I.*" They do not appear in the running title of the Proem to Book 4.

line 1. SIXTH] SIXTE *b* Press correction made very late in the course of printing the inner forme of the outer gathering of quire Z. See also Proem 1. 9.

PROEM

i. 9. It] tI *b* Press correction. See textual note on Heading, line 1.

vi. 8, 9. name . . . name] Jortin: "Perhaps 'name' should be changed to 'fame' in the last line, or last but one, that 'name' may not rhyme to it self. But the same fault is to be found [at] 3. 3. 22. 6, 9." Upton conjectures the change should be made in line 8 on the supposition that the compositor anticipated the word. Church cites 3. 11. 47. 8, 9 and 6. 3. 21. 8, 9, and comments: "The Poet . . . seems to have been less solicitous about the Rhime than the Words, which particularly in the present Instance, are, I think, aptly chosen." He calls attention to the difference in meaning of the words in lines 8 and 9. See textual note on 5. 2. 46. 9, Book V, p. 367.

9. name] fame *Co*, following the correction he records in Drayton's copy of 1611.

CANTO I

iii. 3. vsage] visage corr. in Drayton's copy of 1611, recorded by Collier.

vii. 6. Beast? (then] *Beast* then, *C* Church considers "then" an expletive at the end of the question.

x. 7, 8. drad, . . . withall:] drad: . . . withall, *b* Most editors retain the quarto punctuation after "drad" or use a semicolon; all change the comma at the end of line 8 to a semicolon, period, or exclamation mark. It seems likely that the compositor of *b* may have exchanged the terminal punctuation of the two lines.

xiii. 6-7. Church is probably right in his argument for the inclusion of line 7 within the parentheses.

7. and] the conj. Church.

xxi. 2. is pent] ipent *or* ypent conj. Upton.

xxiv. 8. shame] flame emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, recorded by Collier.

xxxiv. 2. sound] swound *ChM* Smith cites 3. 5. Arg. 4.

xl. 9. yearne] earne *cd EH* Church notes the use of the word at 6. 7. 15. 9, where there is possibility of dittography. *NED* cites Nashe, *Prognost.* 23 (1591).

xliv. 7. Who] Whom conj. Upton. Spenser probably wrote "Whō."

xxiii. 7. entraunce] entrance *d EH* The folios, particularly *d* and *E*, and *H* usually alter the spelling of words in -aunce as here, but cf. 2. 44. 2 where "demand" is changed to "demaund," despite the fact that the visual rhyme is -and. See 5. 27. 6 in 1609 for the same change in the same word, "demand" > "demaund"; also 8. 45. 8, "t'aduance" > "t'aduaunce."

CANTO II

i. 9. timely] truly emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier, who thinks the change unwarranted.

iii. 2. act and word] act and deed *b CTC* deed and word *cd EHUCbMDS* Todd

finds the quarto reading "inelegant" because of the reduplication. The transposition in lines 3 and 4 leads Smith to entertain "a doubt as to whether the printer is responsible for" the error in this line. The emendation of Birch and Grosart (conjectured by Church) is the closest approximation to the quarto reading giving the desired meaning, and we have adopted it.

3, 4. eares, . . . eyes] eyes, . . . eares *bcd EHBUCTS* The emendation is found first in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier, who thinks it justified. Church is the first editor to propose the correction formally. Smith: "'Eyes' and 'eares' ought of course to have been transposed. But there is no evidence that the error is not Spenser's." See his note on line 2 of this stanza. See also the textual note in Book II, p. 507.

xxiv. 7. fit] sit conj. Upton, with citation of 1. 1. 30. 9; 2. 7. 10. 1; 5. 5. 10. 4.

xxxix. 2. implements] ornaments *cd EH* Smith: "This change looks less like a printer's error than an editorial improvement."

4. the] that conj. Upton, who thinks the compositor repeated the word from the previous line.

xlii. 3. arayd] assay'd conj. Church.

xlvi. 9. coportion] copartner conj. Church. It is paleographically possible.

CANTO III

viii. 7. at earst] See textual note in Book V, p. 366.

xii. 7. hole] whole *cd EHBUTChCoS* According to *NED*, the spelling with "wh" did not become common until about 1600.

xxi. 8, 9. default . . . default] assault . . . default emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier, who regards the alteration as unnecessary though plausible. Smith thinks the emendation probably correct, although the chance of parablepsy "is here unusually strong."

xxiii. 2. *Serena*] *Crispina* *b* This is the first of five press corrections in the outer forme of the inner gathering of quire Bb. Smith: "A striking instance . . . Mr. Ostler points out that the corrections in stanzas 23, 35, and 37 all occur" in the same forme. To these should be added the press correction in stanza 24.

xxiv. 5. in vaine] *om. d EHUCTCoMG* Smith: "To reduce the line to a pentameter."

8. starting vp,] starting, vp *b* A press correction; see textual note on 23. 2.

xxviii. 6. soft footing] softing foot *bcd* Upton cites 6. 6. 7. 2 in support of the correction of what Jortin calls "a typographical blunder."

xxx. 9. prepared through] prepar'd thorough *b* prepar'd thorough *cd EHBUCTChCoMGDS* Dodge first proposed the emendation as a conjecture. As printed in the quarto, the line is metrically deficient. The correction of the folios, adopted by all later editors, seems less satisfactory than the reading adopted from Dodge, because it throws a false accent on the second syllable of the second word. The error is certainly to be traced to the compositor, who must have been accustomed to spelling each word in two ways.

xxxv. 3. Which] That *b* A press correction made, Smith observes, to avoid the repetition of "that"; see textual note on 23. 2 above.

5. forsake;] forsake, *b* Press correction. See textual note on 23. 2.

xxxvii. 9. did for her] for her did *b UCh* Smith: "Change made at press for euphony." See textual note on 23. 2.

xxxviii. 6-7. The catch-word on Bb_v (page 394) is "And," which is the first word of line 6, the *second*, not the first, line on Bb_r (page 395).

xlii. 4, 7. approue . . . reproue] reproue . . . approue *b G* Smith: "The rhyme-words have been transposed."

xliv. 1. for why,] for why? *UTCh* Collier: "But it is not a question, only a mode of expressing 'because.'"

xlvi. 2. and] with conj. Upton, who thinks the compositor repeated the initial word of the line. Church makes the same conjecture independently, and Morris approves it.

CANTO IV

vi. 5, 6. dismay: . . . despize.] dismay. . . . despize: *bcd EHBCoG* dismay, . . . despize: *S* The compositor of *b* may have exchanged the terminal punctuation of the two lines, although there are many instances of aphorism preceded by a period; cf. p. 486.

xiii. 8. There] Where *cd EHBUCTCbCoMDS* This change, presumably made because of the use of "there" in line 9, does not seem warranted.

liuing] louing emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier who supposes it intended as antithesis to "wild" in line 9.

trode] troad *cd E* The change was apparently made to secure a visual rhyme with "broad" in line 6.

xvi. 8. hurts] hurt *d EHCCbMD* Todd thinks the second folio reading correct (and Smith agrees) but does not adopt it.

xxi. 2. But] And Suggested by Church.

xxx. 6. ouerthrow] ouerthow *b* This press correction in the outer forme of the inner gathering of quire Cc seems to have been made very late in the course of printing, for it occurs in only two copies examined, T. and S. 2 and Huntington, whereas the other press correction in this forme occurs in all copies examined with the single exception of Bodleian Malone. See 40. 9 below.

xxxii. 5. our vnhappy paine] this our happy Plaine conj. Church. Collier records the emendation of "paine" to "gaine" in Drayton's copy of 1611.

xxxii. 5. forthinke] Upton would read "forethinke." But Collier rightly defends the original.

xxxvii. 1. sensefull] sensible conj. Church, who thinks "sensefull" a coinage of Spenser, and equivocal. *NED* cites its use in Sylvester, *Du Bartas* 1. 6. 997 (1591).

xl. 9. vnderstand,] vnderstand; *b* A press correction; see note on 30. 6 above.

CANTO V

Heading. *Cant. V.] Cant. V b*

Arg. 1. *Serena]* *Matilda bcd EBGS* Dryden made the correction in his copy of 1679. Smith agrees that Hughes' emendation is correct but retains the reading of *b*; the error was "Spenser's own." Upton's note that the confusion of names was occasioned by reason of a misreading of 6. 4. 29. 3 is probably correct. But authorial or editorial changes in the name of the heroine of this incident seem to have occurred; cf. the printing of *Crispina* in the uncorrected state of the outer forme of the inner gathering of Bb (6. 3. 23. 2). The emendation is obvious; see note in Book II, p. 507.

viii. 7. curats] Curass *HC* But, as Upton notes, the quarto spelling frequently occurs; see 5. 8. 34. 8, for instance.

x. 8. began to assay] began t'assay *or* began assay conj. Upton, who points to "T'amend" in the next line.

xxiv. 7. time] *om.* conj. Church.

xxv. 5. some right] some knight conj. Upton, needlessly, for "some" = "someone." Todd considers "right well renowned" as a sort of title.

xxviii. 2. liue] liues *cd EHCTCoM* lived *Ch* (*corr. in later ed.*) Collier believes "liues" is correct unless we are to understand "doth" before "liue"; see also 6. 6. 11. 9.

xxix. 2. long] longly *E* *corr.* by Dryden in his copy of 1679.

xxxii. 9. To make them to endure the pains, did them torment] To make them to endure the pains that did torment conj. Upton. He argues that though Spenser frequently omits relatives, the fault here is with the printer, who has in addition repeated the personal pronoun. The conjecture is not warranted paleographically.

xxxvii. 6. delight] debate emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier.

xxxix. 3. glee] gree *cd EH₁ChMD* Todd thinks this emendation "certainly might be

defended." Spenser uses "gree" at 1. 5. 16. 4; 2. 3. 5. 8; 5. 6. 21. 7; *SC* July 125; *Ded. Sonnets* 3. 1. Smith: "On the other hand, the alliteration favours 'glee'; and we find 'nor gold nor glee' in 1. 9. 32. 7."

xli. 2. there] their *b* Todd characterizes this as a typographical error.

CANTO VI

Arg. 3. *He*] Editors have frequently pointed out that this refers to Arthur. Smith: "But no emendation is possible."

vii. 8. talk restrain] talke restaine *b B* A press correction in the inner forme of the inner gathering of quire *Dd*.

x. 3. is] *om.* conj. Upton, who objects to it as a probable insertion of the compositor. The emendation is unnecessary, for "hideous" is frequently dissyllabic.

xi. 9. Make] Makes *EHUCTChCoM* Upton thinks the emendation necessary unless we understand "doth." Probably an error of the compositor, who set -e instead of -es.

xvi. 1. th'other] the other *cd EHBCTChCoMDS* Smith considers this a case of erroneous apostrophation, but see textual note in Book 5, p. 367.

4. indeed] Upton would prefer "in deed."

xvii. 7. *Calepine*] *Calidore bcd EBUGS* Collier records that his copy of *b* has been corrected in the margin to read *Calipyne*; Dryden's copy of 1679 also contains the marginal emendation, as does the Osgood copy *S.* of 1596, and *T.* and *S.* copy 3. The frequent confusion of proper names in this section of the text is sufficient warrant for following Hughes's edition. See textual note in Book 2, p. 507.

xxi. 3. for why] for why? *UTCb* See note on 6. 3. 44. 1.

xxiv. 5. Came] This, the first word on *Dd*^r, is printed likewise as the catchword on *Dd*^r, contrary to the practice in this quarto of giving catchwords only on the versos of leaves.

xxvii. 8. the Knight] that Knight conj. Upton. If Spenser wrote "y^t," the compositor might easily have misread it "y^e."

xxxii. 1. Her weed she then withdrawing, did him discover] Her weed withdrawn, she then did him discover conj. Church, who objects that the verse is one foot too long. Upton suggests that the third and fifth feet may be read: "withdrawing . . . discover." Todd agrees.

xxxix. 4. them] him *d EHU* Church points out that this word refers to "signes," and Todd agrees.

CANTO VII

iii. 7. arm'd] armed *cd EHBUCTChCoMGDS* Syllabic "m"; see textual note in Book 5, p. 369.

vi. 2. soft footing] fast footing emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier. See 6. 3. 28. 6.

x. 2. fight] flight *U* Upton notes this error of the compositor of his own edition of *FQ*, perhaps as an instructive example of how the compositor of 1596 might on occasion set a word from another line (in this case Upton's compositor picked up a word from 9. 1).

xiii. 8. weeke] Upton observes that Spenser is forced to use "weeke" instead of "night," as might have been expected, by the necessity of rhyme.

xv. 9. I yearned] I earned *cd EH* Possibly a case of dittography in *b*, but Church and Todd cite 6. 1. 40. 9, which is free from suspicion, and *NED* records other examples from this period.

xxiii. 3. plight,] plight; *cd E* There is a spot above the comma in *b* which makes it look like a semicolon.

xxvi. 3. humbled] humble *H* Upton approves Hughes's emendation without adopting it.

The adjective, he notes, belongs properly to "he" but is applied by poetical inversion to "grass." Even so, the original reading is to be preferred.

xxxviii. 7. Through] Throgh *b CoD* Press correction in the outer forme of the outer gathering of quire Ff. In many copies of *b*, particularly those which have the corrected spelling, the last two words in line 7, "lackt place," are slipping down and to the outside margin. In the Folger Evelyn copy the displacement is considerable.

xlix. 9. Words] Swords conj. Church. Smith: "The sense, as often, favours Church's conjecture; but the alliteration favours the text."

CANTO VIII

vi. 7. the] that conj. Upton, for the sake of parallelism with the line preceding. But is not the variation more pleasing?

vii. 9. before] behind conj. Church, with 2. 8. 37. 9 in mind.

xvi. 8. But] He conj. Upton, mistakenly.

xvii. 6. From] For *b B* Upton thinks the compositor of *b* glanced at the first word in line 8.

xix. 4. restord, then] restored, conj. Church, to avoid repeating "Then" of line 1.

xxxix. 4. daintest] daintiest *cd EH* Since the verse admits of it, Church thinks Spenser probably had "daintiest." Todd considers the word the superlative degree of "daint"; cf. 1. 10. 2. 1 and 4. 1. 5. 2.

xl. 9. embrew] Upton notes that the -s is dropped for the sake of the rhyme.

xlvi. 3. toyle] toyles *b BGS* Grosart: "Another of Spenser's neglects, so hard for the Purists and finical." Possibly, but the mistake may have occurred in the printing house, for final -e and -es are easily confused. See textual note in Book II, p. 507.

6. lost] tost emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier.

xlix. 5. hand] brand conj. Upton, who thinks the emendation in Spenser's manner. He accounts for the supposed error by suggesting that the compositor glanced at line 2. Todd regards the emendation as unnecessary, citing 2 Samuel 18. 12.

l. 4. they] shee *cd EHBUCTG* Though adopting the folio emendation, Upton suggests that the transition from the singular to the plural (i. e. from Serena to women in general) is here easy "and agreeable to the best writers of antiquity." Collier takes the passage to mean "what women owned by nature," and Smith agrees that 1609 so understood it (he cites 2. 8. 40. 4 and 7. 7. 9. 8, where he thinks there is also a confusion of "ought" and "owned"). But does the quarto reading offer any difficulty? Garments being worn for the sake of decency, Serena feels acutely the lack of "clothes to couer, what they ought by kind," i. e. what they are naturally intended to conceal. As for 2. 8. 40. 4, Spenser's probable intent in *b* is to cancel the somewhat ambiguous clause in *a* ("great God thy right hand blesse, | To vse that sword *so well as he it ought*" — as he who owned it) and substitute the more direct wording, "so wisely as it ought" — as it, thy right hand, ought to use it. But it may well be that the passive sense is intended: "so wisely as it ought" to be used; as in 7. 7. 9. 8, where the meaning is clear: "set forth so as it ought" to be set forth.

CANTO IX

iv. 9. time] tine *or* teen conj. Upton, who cites 4. 3. 23. 7, "wearie winters teene," a Chaucerian expression. Church, making the same conjecture, adds 4. 12. 34. 6.

vi. 5. him] them *b BUCTChCoMGD* "Were" in line 4 is probably a subjunctive singular, not a plural form.

x. 1. shepheards swayne] shepherd swayne conj. Church. Probably a case of dittography.

- xi. 6. vnwares] unawares *E* corr. by Dryden in his copy of 1679.
- xxviii. 6. th'heauens] the heauens *d EHCTChCoDS* See textual note on 5. 3. 11. 7, Book V, p. 367. Elision of final *e* before initial *h* occurs also at 6. 7. 45. 7, *Virgils Gnat* 41, and *Ruines of Time* 609.
- xxxii. 9. driue] Upton notes that here again the spelling is to be explained by the necessity for rhyme.
- xxxvi. 3. addrest] he drest conj. Church.
8. *Oenone*] *Benone* *bcd EBTCO* corr. by Dryden in his copy of 1679. Upton: "And yet Spenser I believe wrote '*Benone*'; for he loves to miswrite proper names." It is easier to believe that the compositor misread *O* as *B*.
- xliv. 9. dearely] dealy *E* corr. by Dryden in his copy of 1679.
bought] sought conj. Church.
- xlvi. 3. got] Church would prefer "gain'd" or "won" to avoid internal rhyme with "blot" in line 4.
5. did dwell] did well *bc H₁BC* did [d]well *G* Church argues for the quarto reading by explaining that Calidore was favored most of those who "did well" (i. e. strove to recommend themselves to Pastorella). Todd and Collier correctly consider this a case of haplography.

CANTO X

- ii. 9. on] in *cd EHBUCTChMGDS* Smith: "Spenser is apparently thinking of the Latin proverb 'in portu navigare'; yet it does not mean exactly what he desires to convey here. In Terence, *Andria* 1. 3. 22, 'ego in portu navigo' = 'I am out of danger': Spenser means 'never reaching the land.' Possibly 1596 is right, and we have here a nautical phrase that has been lost." Collier defends the quarto reading, rightly, as meaning "towards."
- v. 8. fill] will conj. Grosart.
- vi. 3. Collier: "This line shows how Spenser relied upon the ear of his reader; otherwise, he might have written 'sdaine' for 'disdaine,' (as he has done in some other places) and 'the earth' for 'th'earth.'"
- ix. 6. *Cytheron*] Jortin, followed by Upton and Church, notes that this is Chaucer's spelling and that Spenser uses it also at 3. 6. 29. 4. Child: "The similarity of the names Cythera and Cythæron led our old poets into the mistake of supposing this mountain to be a favorite haunt of Venus." Jortin objects that here Spenser is guilty of false accent though he does not err at 3. 6. 29. 4, but as Church, Todd, and Collier point out, "euen" is to be pronounced as a monosyllable.
- xi. 3. For] Or conj. Church. Upton believes the word should be "And," the compositor having repeated the first word in line 2.
- xii. 6. same] *om.* conj. Church to improve what he considers a hypermetrical line, but, as Todd points out, "middest," "whilest," and the like are not necessarily dissyllabic.
- xiii. 4. fray] fray. *b* fray, *H₂S* Three obvious corrections were made at press in the outer forme of the inner gathering of quire Hh (see 25. 8 and 38. 1).
- xx. 2. thence] hence *H₂* Church is convinced the emendation is correct; cf. line 7.
- xxii. 5. *Æacidee*] *Æecidee*. *b* *Aecidee*, *cd EBUT* *Æecidee*, *H* *Æecidee*, *CCo* *Æecidee*. *G* Jortin: "He should have said 'Æacides,' but the rhyme would not admit it." He quotes without approval Milton's defense (*Animadv. upon the Remonstr. Defense against Smectymnuus*) of the "strange liberties with proper names" taken by the old English poets.
- xxiv. 7. froward] forward *bc HBUG* Jortin cites the conjecture of a friend that the word should be "froward" as in *d*. Upton, in his notes, repudiates his reading in favor of that in *d*. Smith cites the Gloss on SC, April 109, as conclusive proof in favor of "froward."
- xxv. 8. countrey] counrtey *b* Press correction. See note on 13. 4.

xxx. This stanza is misnumbered 29 in *cd*; the error in stanza numbers continues to the end of the canto.

xxxiv. 9. her] ere emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier, who thinks it probably correct; Grosart is the only editor to give this lection.

xxxvi. 6. head, it] head, [he] it *CbCoGS* head, he it *M* "He" was first supplied in Tonson's edition of 1758, possibly as a result of Jortin's remarks: "I once thought it should be: 'And hewing of his head, he it presented' to make the verse complete; but I now rather think, that Spenser makes 'head' a dissyllable, as they still pronounce it in some places." Upton agrees with Jortin, but Church conjectures that "he" should be supplied. Objecting to Jortin's suggestion, Collier regards the insertion of "he" as the easiest way to improve the metre of the line, but notes that Drayton did not see fit to make alteration of his copy of 1611. Grosart regards this as "a clear inadvertent omission." Emendation is unnecessary if we read "presented"; but to this it may be objected that the line should have a light ending as lines 6 and 9 do. Smith: "Though Spenser is not above this kind of bad rhyme, I do not find that he ever accents 'presented.'"

xxxviii. 1. woo'd] wood *b UTCbMDS* A press correction. See note on 13. 4.

xlii. 1. For] Far conj. Upton.

5. daily] deadly conj. Church, citing 1. 5. 14. 7 and 6. 10. 44. 4.

xliv. 1-7. Smith: "The reading and punctuation of 1609 . . . are, of course, much more logical; but not therefore more Spenserian." Lines 1-7 are one long sentence that trails off unfinished, as Child's punctuation of line 7 (see Variants) indicates.

CANTO XI

iv. 6. showed] shewed *cd* The folios frequently alter the spelling to produce a visual rhyme; here the reverse has taken place.

vi. 6. gracing] graced conj. Upton, unnecessarily.

xix. 4. pretended] protended *H* Though Hughes's reading conveys the intended meaning perfectly and meets with Collier's approval (he cites 3. 3. 4. 8 in support), emendation is needless, as Warton (2. 254) and Grosart point out. Upton's reference to 6. 4. 10. 4 is inapropos, for there the word means "designed, intended."

xxx. 2-5. Upton: "The construction is designedly embarrassed; for the words are spoken by a man in a fright and hurry."

xxxiv. 3. source] fource emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier, who considers it an easy compositor's error.

xlix. 6. his] their conj. Upton, objecting to the change from singular to plural. But is not Spenser simply using the equivalent of the Latin objective genitive?

CANTO XII

i. 3. Is met] Imet or Ymet conj. Upton.

iv. 2-7. These lines are beginning to slip out of position in T. and S. copy 2 of *b*.

vi. 7. he] her conj. Upton, doubtfully.

vii. 8. mold] mole conj. Upton, who supposes the spelling was occasioned by the need for rhyme. *NED* does not record the -d spelling with this sense.

xii. 8. loos] praise *cd EHUG* Upton believes Spenser altered the reading after 1596 to avoid the jingle of "loss" and "loos." Smith agrees that this is a possibility, but notes that the editor of 1609 may have failed to recognize the obsolescent "loos" and corrected it as a printer's error.

xiii. 5. Throughout] Troughout *b* The word is spelled correctly as the catchword of the preceding page.

xx. 5. At this point the compositor began crowding in order to save paper. He put an extra line on *Kk*^v and was thus able to set two lines of a new stanza on *Kk*₃, seven lines of a new stanza on *Kk*₂^v, two lines of a new stanza on *Kk*₃, etc., to the end of the canto.

xxi. 3. fylde] Upton: "I. e. felt: the spelling answers the rhymes."

xxv. 2. robd] daub'd conj. Church.

xxvii. 5. groynd] royn'd conj. Church, citing 5. 9. 33. 9.

xxx. 8. is feld] yfeld conj. Upton, who suspects a compositor's error. Did he anticipate the first word of line 9?

xxxv. 5. sunne] sin *E*. corr. by Dryden in his copy of 1679.

8. which] and conj. Upton.

xxxvi. 5. was left] These words have slipped out of position in *T*. and *S*. copy 2 of *b* and in Folger 1.

xli. 3. cleanest] clearest *bcd EBUGS* By a curious mix-up, Morris seems to read "clearest" in *b* and "cleanest" as a conjecture first offered by Child. Smith agrees with Church that Hughes is probably right, for the stanza is carelessly printed, "but Spenser has too many imperfect rhymes to allow us to consider the emendation certain." An easy error for the compositor to make; see textual note in Book II, p. 507; and on *Sh. Cal.* Epistle.

BOOK VII

CANTO VI

Heading, line 5. some following Booke] Church: "It does not appear that these two Cantos, and the Beginning of a third, were intended particularly for the seventh Book, as the running title in [1609] specifies: however, for the sake of the References, it may be allow'd one to consider them as having been part of that Book. . . . But it were to be wish'd that the managers of that Edition had told us by what means these valuable Remains were preserved." [See Commentary.]

line 11. Neuer before imprinted] *om. E* (and frequently thereafter).

v. 4. their] her conj. Upton, unnecessarily. "Their" refers to "all" in line 2.

viii. 8. stage] siege conj. Upton, who cites 2. 2. 39. 9. Todd's defense of the original may be amply supported by citations in *NED*.

ix. 6. the] by th' conj. Church.

x. 8. to haue] t'haue *HUT* haue conj. Church.

xxi. 9. God] Goddes conj. Upton.

xxii. 9. hot] her *H* This has Church's approval. Todd rejects the emendation, properly enough.

xxv. 9. thou] *om. H* with Church's approval. Upton thinks the change unnecessary because "thou" is absorbed in scansion. Warton believes the *e* in "idle" is "sunk, or cut off."

xxxii. 2. inducement light,] inducement, hight conj. Church, taking the word to mean "invited." Though "hight" may have the meaning Church desires (cf. *Daphnaida* 11), the conjecture is wrong, for "light inducement" pairs with "vaine error."

xxxiv. 9. For] Or conj. Church, unnecessarily.

xxxviii. 2. wealths] Wealth *HU* This meets with Church's approval. Probably the compositor misread -e as -es and carelessly failed to set the "e." Smith regards this as an easy misprint. The reading occurs first in Ware's ed. of the *View* (1633), sig. L₁^v. Ware seems to have used a copy of 1611 as the source of his selection from *Mutabilitie* (see textual notes on 51. 6 and 54. 8 below).

xli. 6. So] Tho conj. Church, who considers the word necessary after "first" in line 1.

xliv. 4. Fanchin] Smith notes that the stream, a tributary of the Blackwater, is called

Funchin in *CCCHA* 301. "Here Spenser perhaps intended an etymological connexion with Faunus."

xlvi. 6. A] O G Possibly the MS read "Ah," but *NED* gives no example of A = Ah later than 1523.

xlix. 9. Mome] Mouse Variant introduced by Ware in his edition of *View* (1633), sig. L₃.

li. 6. betraid?] betraid. *d EHBCTChD* So in Ware's ed. of the *View* (1633), sig. L₃.

8. That 'twas] That't was Ware in his edition of *View* (1633), sig. L₃.

9. attonce] at once Ware in his edition of *View* (1633), sig. L₃.

liv. 8. champion] champain *d EHM* So in Ware's ed. of the *View* (1633), sig. L₃.

CANTO VII

ii. 3. feeble] sable *cd EBCTCoG* Church cites in favor of the original reading *Purple Island* 3. 4, "Shed in my mistie breast thy sparkling light," and *PL* 1. 22, "What in me is dark Illumine." He considers that "feeble" is appropriate enough at *F. Q.* 1. 11. 6. 1, *H. of Love* 27 and *H. of Beautie* 3, but finds "sable" more appropriate here. Possibly the compositor was accustomed to pronouncing "feeble" as "fable" and carelessly substituted "f" for "s."

iii. 4. other] nether emendation in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier.

iv. 3. of] or conj. Church.

v. 8. that wimpled] ywimpled conj. Upton, who explains that the compositor misread "y" as "y^t."

viii. 4. states] state conj. Church.

ix. Upton argues that this stanza should properly follow stanza 12.

[If any rearrangement were to be attempted, stanza 9 would more properly follow stanza 7, since both deal with the dazzling garments of Nature. Stanza 12, on the other hand, completes the description—contained in sts. 8, 10, 11—of the delight that created things take in nature, by recalling the joyous assemblage of the gods on "Hæmus hill" at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and leads up to st. 13, where Mutabilitie appears before Nature, enthroned on Arlo hill and surrounded by her votaries. St. 9 would thus be altogether out of place if it were to follow st. 12.—F. M. P.]

7. *Plaint of kindes*] *Plaint of kinde* conj. Upton. As Smith notes, Chaucer, *Parl. of Foules* 316, has "Pleynt of Kinde." Dodge: "Spenser probably knew Chaucer's verse well enough." The compositor might easily have misread -e as -es. Child, Morris and Dodge have adopted Upton's conjecture.

8. ought] See textual note on 8. 50. 4.

x. 3. sweet,] sweet; *HBUCTChCoMGDS* Some copies of *c* have a speck of dirt or ink above the comma.

4. mores] more *HC* Upton points out that in Western Europe "mores" = "roots" was still current in the eighteenth century. Smith agrees that "mores" is probably right, though he does not find that "more" elsewhere ever means anything but root, or stock. *NED* gives no other instance of "more" used in the sense of "plant."

7. which] *om.* *HCTChCoMG* Church thinks the word crept in from the foregoing line.

xvi. 3. thy] my *d EH₂CTG* Church: "As Mutability contends with the Gods for the sovereignty of the world, 'my' appears to me the better reading." But Mutabilitie is trying to show that Jove and the rest have tried to arrogate to themselves not only her prerogatives but those of Nature herself.

xxxi. 4. And the] Into conj. Church, mistakenly.

xxxv. 4. right] *om.* conj. Church. But, as Todd notes, "yrons" is here contracted into a monosyllable.

xxxvi. 6. The Nemæan] Th' *Nemæan* *H* The emendation meets with the approval of Jortin and Upton. Warton (2. 78-9) objects that Spenser never "cuts off the vowel of 'the' before a consonant" and observes that though Spenser accentuates "*Nemæan*" at 5. Pr. 6. 4, he never scruples to violate the accents of proper names. Church points out, and Todd concurs, that the second syllable of "*Nemæan*" is short here, as in *Hamlet* 1. 4. 83 and *Polyolbion*, Song 17.

xxxvii. 4. Forth by] Forby conj. Church, to agree with 5. 11. 17. 1.

xli. 5. rade] rode *cd EHBUCTChCoMGS* The correction was first made in Drayton's copy of 1611, according to Collier, who approves, as do Morris and Dodge. The compositor might easily have misread "a" as "o." The spelling adopted is warranted by *NED*. See textual note in Book II, p. 507.

7. *Idæan*] *Iæan* *cd EHBUCTCo* Church, however, approves the emendation; and Upton considers that a typographical error has occurred.

xlvi. 6. *Times* do] *Time* does conj. Church. In his demand for consistency with line 5, he misses the subtlety of Spenser's change in number. Grosart compromises: *I[d]æan*.

1. 2. you] yon *B* This meets with the approval of Church and Todd and is probably correct; probably a turned or misread letter. This remark is not addressed to Cynthia; cf. 51 ff., where the remarks are not addressed to the gods named.

8. and] now conj. Church. But "brown" and "gray" are paired as the opposites of "bright," as "hornd" and "round" are opposed.

lii. 5. these] the conj. Church. The emendation would spoil the metre.

liv. 3. be:] be ; *c* bee ; *S* In *c* there is sufficient space before the semicolon for a dropped "e," which may have survived in some copies.

lv. 7. saine] faine *dE* Drayton corrected the reading in his copy of 1611, according to Collier.

CANTO VIII

ii. 9. O! . . . grant] O . . . graunt *c* Press correction for the sake of punctuation. The spelling change is made to justify the line. 1679 and Upton have no exclamation mark but spell "grant"; Child prints the exclamation mark but spells "graunt."

that great] thou great conj. Collier.

Sabaoths] Sabbaoth's *HB* Sabbath's *CT* Upton and Child agree in preferring "Sabbath's" here, in order to secure the opposition of Sabbath (rest) with Sabbaoth (hosts) of lines 8 and 9. Smith: "The distinction exists in Hebrew; but it seems to spoil the point of the stanza to suppose that Spenser drew it here. No inference can be based on the varying spellings of 'Sabaoth' in 1609, 16(11)-12-13." Mrs. Bennett ("Spenser's Venus and the Goddess Nature," *SP* 30. 190-1, n.) is of the opinion that Spenser may have intended to play upon the two words. She notes the contemporary use of "Sabbath" to signify Eternity or the eternal world and suggests that Spenser is addressing a petition "to the Lord of Hosts . . . for the sight of that New Jerusalem of whose coming 'all shall changed bee, And thenceforth none no more change shall see.'" See Commentary and Appendix.

THE PUNCTUATION OF THE FAERIE QUEENE

The problem of Spenserian punctuation has received but scant attention. In the Introduction to the Oxford edition of the *Faerie Queene*, J. C. Smith remarks that "Spenser's punctuation, though by no means sacrosanct, is less arbitrary than might at first appear: but, as Mr. Gregory Smith says of the punctuation of Addison, it has a rhetorical rather than a logical value. We feel its force best when we read the poem aloud. Two peculiarities are so common that the reader may be warned of them here. One is the absence of punctuation with vocatives: the other is the single comma after qualifying phrases" (p. vi). Aside from these few remarks, nothing has been published on the subject of the punctuation, save in the Textual Appendix of Volume One of the present edition (pp. 525-7).

Yet the *Faerie Queene* is peculiarly adapted to such a study, both for determining what were the essential characteristics of the punctuation, and for determining whether author or compositor was primarily responsible for it. This is partly because it is a long narrative poem, reasonably uniform in style, and partly because of the peculiar conditions which attended its printing. The first three books were printed by Wolfe in 1590. Six years later these books were reset from the earlier edition by another printer, Field, and three additional books were set up from manuscript. If the punctuation were found to be uniform throughout the two editions, one would be forced to conclude either that it was essentially the work of the author, or that the two printers followed the same style-sheet. If there were found to be marked differences between the pointings of the first three books of the 1596 edition and those of the last three, and if the pointings in the last three, set up from the author's manuscript, were found to depart further from the characteristic punctuation of the 1590 edition than the first three of 1596 set up from the printed text of 1590, one would be forced to conclude that the printer had at least a considerable hand in the punctuation. Incidentally, one would discover the rules of punctuation employed by each house, or at least by two compositors or sets of compositors working six years apart.

The present study attempts (1) to analyze the punctuation used in Books I-III of the 1596 edition, formulating the rules employed, (2) to compare this punctuation with that in the 1590 edition, (3) to compare the punctuation of the earlier and later books in the 1596 edition, and (4) to draw the inevitable conclusions therefrom. Supplementary to this, an analysis will be made of the punctuation in the 1609 edition. The 1590 edition will be designated as a , the first three books of the 1596 edition as b_1 , and the last three books as b_2 .

THE PUNCTUATION OF b_1

The punctuation of b_1 is fairly systematic and consistent. It is perhaps irrelevant to try to decide whether the punctuation is primarily "grammatical" or primarily "rhythmical." It satisfies both requirements so well that in reading the poem aloud—the real test, as Professor Smith suggested—one is seldom uncertain of the construction and is pleasantly aware of the easy flow of the verse.

The period, the colon, the semi-colon, and the comma have on the whole their present relative values. Thus, for example, with few apparent exceptions the semi-colon is subordinate to the colon when both are employed in a stanza, and the exceptions usually suggest a misunderstanding of the thought.

The distinction between major thought units and minor units is generally observed in the punctuation. It is necessary to remark at the outset, however, that the extreme formality and structural punctiliousness which Spenser employed at the beginning of the poem gradually gave way to a less formal and less precise organization of stanzas and sentences, and that this change is necessarily reflected in the punctuation. Moreover, as will subsequently appear, the values of the respective marks were somewhat differently conceived by Wolfe's compositors in 1590 and Field's compositors in 1596, a difference which may have resulted from changing theories of punctuation in a period when there was a rapid development in the art of printing.

To illustrate the distinction spoken of above, we may take the Proem and canto one, stanzas 1-5, of Book One. These stanzas all follow the practice of treating the stanza as one large thought unit. Each closes with a period and in no one is the period employed within the stanza. In the Proem, the first stanza declares the poet's acceptance of a new type of composition, a romance of chivalry; the second stanza appeals to the muse; the third appeals to Venus, Cupid, and Mars; the fourth to the Queen. In canto one the first stanza is a general picture of the mounted knight; the second stanza is a more detailed picture of his armor and is more expressive of his character; the third is a general announcement of the adventure upon which he is bound; the fourth a picture of his lady; the fifth a more specific explanation than in stanza three of the service which the lady requires of her knight.

When we examine the stanzas more in detail, we find that, with one exception, each stanza is a major unit, consisting of two or three minor units, separated by colons, instead of by periods. The first stanza of the Proem consists of two such minor units, the second, which constitutes the last line, restating concisely the thought of the first. The second stanza likewise contains two minor units, one of eight lines and the other of one, but they are coordinate members of an invocation to the muse, and introduced in common by the word, "helpe." Similarly the two minor units in the third stanza form the two elements of an invocation to classical deities and are coordinated by the word "come." In the final stanza of the Proem, as in the first and second stanzas, the second minor unit is confined to the ninth verse, but in this instance modern punctuation would regard the line merely as a relative clause to be preceded by a comma. Why then is so formal a mark as the colon used? The probable explanation is that "which" is not regarded as a relative pronoun at all, but rather as a demonstrative, just as in the fifth stanza of canto one "whom" is a personal pronoun and not a relative. This usage appears again and again.

The first stanza of the canto is a major unit consisting of three minor units, separated by colons, each of which is complete in itself. The first shows the general appearance of the knight and his armor; the second shows the appearance of his steed; the third the appearance of the knight on his steed. Similarly in the second stanza the first minor unit describes the cross on the knight's breast; the second describes the cross on his shield; the third his demeanor as a knight of the cross.

The third stanza consists of two minor units, although they are separated by a semi-colon at the end of line 5, rather than by the customary colon. This mark was probably a carry-over from *a*. The theme of the stanza is the eagerness of the knight for his adventure. The fourth stanza is more loosely constructed than the rest, for its ninth line belongs logically with the following stanza. The eighth line should have been followed by a period, but here again the compositor followed the punctuation of *a*. Lines 1-8 consist of two minor units; the burden of the first is Una's costume, of the second her sadness. The fifth stanza likewise consists of two minor units: the first declares the character of Una, indicative of noble blood, and the antiquity and authority of the royal house from which she came; the second, the specific service which she required of the knight in the interest of this house.

The use of the semi-colon as a mark subordinate to the colon is several times illustrated in the stanzas under consideration. In some cases the modern reader might expect the comma, but these semi-colons are deliberate and effective. In the first stanza of the Proem, the first minor unit is divided into two subordinate units, one of five lines, the other of three. In *a* a comma only was employed at the end of the fifth line, but in *b*₁ this was changed to a semi-colon with the obvious intention of giving a coordinate value to these two subordinate units. The second is in part a repetition of the first, and in part an amplification. Stanzas one and two of the canto employ "yet" clauses and set them off by semi-colons. In each case an emphasis is given to the clause which a comma would not have carried. Again, the semi-colon in 3. 8 is nicely chosen, for a deliberate pause is desired before the full announcement in the following line of the character of the foe; a comma would have made line 9 appear as an incidental afterthought. In *a* a colon follows 4. 7 but in *b*₁ this was changed to a semi-colon, since it marks only the subdivision of a minor unit. Similarly, *b*₁ changes the original comma at the end of 5. 6 to a semi-colon. The latter mark is to be preferred, for it helps to differentiate two periods in the affairs of the kingdom. Our modern rule that a temporal clause calls for a comma here yields to another consideration. Although the tendency to treat the stanza as one large thought unit gradually yields to a more flexible practice, fifty-eight per cent of the stanzas in *b*₁ are so treated.

The major unit is closed by a period, save in a few instances where an obvious printer's mistake has been made. While such units sometimes terminate within the stanza, the end of the stanza is normally coincident with the termination of a unit; the stanza, therefore, almost invariably ends with a period or an interrogation point. Occasionally, to be sure, the end of a stanza does not even complete a sentence, much less a unit, but so strong is the predilection for closing the stanza with the period that this mark is sometimes used in clear violation of grammatical construction, e. g. 1. 6. 40; 1. 6. 46; 2. 1. 26. There are, however, eight instances (1. 11. 5; 2. 7. 1; 2. 9. 41; 2. 10. 57; 2. 10. 62; 3. 4. 29; 3. 4. 34; 3. 7. 42) of stanzas properly punctuated as run-overs.

As stated above, the distinction between major units and minor units is generally observed, but it is sometimes violated. Thus while fifty-eight per cent of the stanzas in *b*₁ are punctuated as major units, that is, employ no period within the body of the stanza, and while the majority of the remaining stanzas introduce a fresh major unit within the body of the stanza, and properly indicate this by a preceding period, there are a good many stanzas in which sentences and clauses, really

minor units, are set off by periods, where severely consistent punctuation would have dictated colons or semi-colons. The same construction may thus be punctuated differently in different stanzas. The clauses most subject to this variation are coordinate clauses, additive or adversative; relative clauses, the relative pronouns introducing such clauses usually having the force of personal or demonstrative pronouns; and causal and result clauses. These clauses are, by their nature, more nearly independent than subject and object clauses, temporal clauses, conditional clauses, and clauses of purpose, of manner, and of attendant circumstance. The clause which most frequently follows the period is the adversative, and the reason is that clauses introduced by "But" are more readily construed as introducing a fresh unit of thought. Examples: additive clause, 2. 1. 23. 5; adversative clause, 2. 2. 5. 6; relative clause, 2. 2. 39. 7; causal clause, 2. 1. 14. 7; result clause, 3. 6. 4. 8. For table, giving totals, see p. 498.

Normally, the colon, the semi-colon, and the comma are used to set off minor units, though the distinctions between the comma and the semi-colon, and the semi-colon and the colon are not drawn with perfect consistency, since the one responsible for the punctuation had to use his own judgment. At times, of course, the choice was determined by superior considerations of coordination and subordination within the major unit itself. Thus, if correctly punctuated, a clause was not preceded by a colon if it were itself subordinate to another clause set off by a colon.

The inconsistency in punctuation is nicely illustrated by 3. 3. 40. 6 and 41. 6, where of two very similar causal clauses one is set off by a period and the other by a colon.

The differences between the punctuation of *b*₁ and present day punctuation are as follows:

I. A subject noun or pronoun occurring at the end of a line is sometimes separated from its predicate by a comma.

3. 1. 67. 7: So earely ere the grosse Earthes gryesy shade,
 Was all disperst out of the firmament,

II. A. The comma is used to separate the noun clause used as the object of a verb, as a delayed subject, or where inversion is employed. The last is in accordance with modern practice.

1. 1. 10. 7: That makes them doubt, their wits be not their owne;
1. 1. 31. 8: For to all knighthood it is foule disgrace,
 That such a cursed creature liues so long a space.
1. 1. 10. 9: That which of them to take, in diuerse doubt they been.

B. No distinction is made between restrictive and non-restrictive relative and demonstrative clauses, and normally both types are separated by punctuation from the word which they modify. If, however, a relative or demonstrative clause immediately follows a subject pronoun upon which it depends, normally no comma intervenes between the subject pronoun and the pronoun introducing the clause unless the subject pronoun follows its predicate through inversion.

1. 1. 43. 7: He that the stubborne Sprites can wisely tame,
3. 1. 27. 7: But what reward had he, that ouercame?

C. If a temporal clause immediately follows a conjunction or an adverb, the comma before the clause is omitted.

2. 2. 14. 1: Where when the knight arriu'd, he was right well
 Receiu'd,

III. A. A prepositional phrase which immediately follows the subject proper, but which actually modifies the predicate, is grouped with the subject, no comma preceding the phrase, but a comma following it.

1. 1. 45. 1: Who all this while with charmes and hidden artes,
 Had made a Lady of that other Spright,

B. When an adjective phrase, introduced either by an adjective proper or a participle, immediately follows the noun which it modifies, the comma is normally omitted before the phrase.

1. 8. 13. 1: The proud *Duessa* full of wrathfull spight,
2. 1. 2. 9: As weather-beaten ship arriu'd on happie shore.
2. 1. 14. 1: The knight approching nigh, thus to her said,

IV. Rhetorical questions are usually followed by the interrogation point.

1. 8. 18. 9: What mortall wight could euer beare so monstrous blow?

Occasionally, however, and especially if the question concludes a stanza, the period is used.

1. 5. 23. 9: O what of Gods then boots it to be borne,
 If old *Aveugles* sonnes so euill heare?
 Or who shall not great *Nightes* children scorne,
 When two of three her Nephews are so fowle forlorne.

Indeed, so marked is the tendency to close the stanza with a period, that one direct question is followed by a period.

2. 7. 63. 9: Thou fearefull foole,
 Why takest not of that same fruit of gold,
 Ne sittest downe on that same siluer stoole,
 To rest thy wearie person, in the shadow coole.

In two instances the rhetorical question is followed by an exclamation point, this point supplanting the interrogation point of 1590.

1. 2. 22. 6: Was (O what now auaieth that I was!)
 Borne the sole daughter of an Emperour,
2. 9. 46. 9: O who can tell the prayes of that makers might!

In one instance an elliptical question is followed by an interrogation point:

3. 5. 47. 5: How then? of all loue taketh equall vew:

V. The comma is employed to mark interrupted speech.

2. 3. 42. 1: In Princes court, The rest she would haue said,
3. 10. 25. 7: That seeke a Lady, There he suddein staid,

VI. Parentheses are used to set off the more obviously parenthetical phrases or clauses.

1. 1. 28. 7: So forward on his way (with God to frend)
 He passed forth,
 1. 2. 40. 4-5: Till on a day (that day is euery Prime,
 When Witches wont do penance for their crime)

Ordinarily no mark of punctuation precedes the second parenthesis, the parenthetical remark being treated strictly as an aside. This is true even if the remark is quite unattached and comes between two sentences, as in 3. 7. 58. 5:

Because I could not giue her many a Iane.
 (Thereat full hartely laughed *Satyrane*)
 The second was an holy Nunne to chose,

However, if the parenthetical remark closes the sentence, it is followed by the period within the parenthesis: 2. 1. 52. 6; 2. 10. 50. 7; 3. 6. 11. 9 (sentence actually not complete, but so conceived as shown by reiterated subject in next stanza), 3. 6. 23. 8.

Some parenthetical passages are irregularly punctuated, but the punctuation is carried over from *a*. Thus in a few instances, the particular mark which would normally have been employed before the first parenthesis is transferred to the conclusion of the parenthetical remark, i. e., is placed before the second parenthesis. 2. 12. 3. 3; 3. 1. 8. 8; 3. 9. 47. 5:

Indeed he said (if I remember right,)
 That of the antique *Troian* stocke, there grew

Again, the following passages are punctuated precisely as they would have been if no parentheses at all had been used: 2. 12. 24. 8; 2. 12. 59. 1-2:

One would have thought, (so cunningly, the rude,
 And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,)

Finally, there are three instances of clauses within parentheses followed by the colon, and one of a clause followed by the period, where the punctuation is highly irregular and cannot be justified. Two of the clauses followed by the colon are causal, 3. 1. 52. 7-8 and 3. 10. 54. 3-4:

Where when he found it not (for *Trompart* bace
 Had it purloyned for his maister bad:)
 With extreme fury he became quite mad,

The normal practice would have placed a comma after "not" and no mark after "bad." The third clause followed by the colon is appositional, 2. 5. 38. 6:

For he has vowd, to beene aueng'd that day,
 (That day it selfe him seemed all too long:)
 On him,

The normal practice would have omitted the colon. The clause followed by the period is found in 3. 9. 42. 5:

Till he with old *Latinus* was constraind,
 To contract wedlock: (so the fates ordaind.)

Wedlock contract in bloud, and eke in blood
Accomplished, that many deare complained:

Such an expression is normally unpunctuated, and the probable explanation for the period is that the compositor thought the clause was to terminate the sentence, especially as the context would encourage that impression.

VII. Quotations are not consistently punctuated. For convenience, they may be divided into the unbroken and the broken. The unbroken quotations may again be divided into those formally introduced and those informally introduced. A formal introduction employs such phrases as "spake thus," "made this answer," "spake these words," and the like; an informal, such phrases as "said then Britomart," "to whom Calidore," and the like.

Quotations formally introduced are preceded by the period, the colon, the semi-colon, or the comma, the semi-colon being employed most commonly. The totals for the three books are as follows: period, 11 (10 of these at the end of a stanza); colon, 4; semi-colon, 27; comma, 9.

Quotations informally introduced are preceded by the period, the semi-colon, or the comma. The totals for the three books are as follows: period, 1 (at the end of a stanza); semi-colon, 31; comma, 79.

The interpolations in broken quotations are normally set off by parentheses.

3. 5. 6. 1: Now certes swaine (said he) such one I weene

Occasionally, however, commas are employed. In one case (2. 12. 11. 1), presumably a printer's error, the second comma is omitted:

That may not be, said then the *Ferryman*
Least we vnweeting hap to be fordonne.

In some cases double punctuation is employed, that is, the punctuation that would otherwise be used is introduced along with parentheses, but this usually results from adding parentheses to the punctuation carried over from *a*, e. g. 2. 4. 44. 9; 2. 9. 38. 1; 2. 12. 26. 1.

VIII. Aphorisms, which are in effect grammatically complete units, but of a distinct type, are inconsistently punctuated, for they may be preceded by the comma (3. 10. 3. 2), semi-colon (3. 2. 26. 5), colon (3. 8. 25. 4), or period (3. 5. 11. 8), the colon, however, predominating. The frequencies are as follows: comma, 7; semi-colon, 23; colon, 41; period, 15. (The interrogation point—15 instances—is disregarded since it is required by the context.)

IX. Appositives as such are occasionally unpunctuated.

1. 5. 49. 5: Great *Romulus* the Grandsyre of them all,
3. 1. 34. 4: The loue of *Venus* and her Paramoure
 The faire *Adonis*, turned to a flowre,
3. 1. 63. 1: And those six Knights that Ladies Champions,

They are normally, though not invariably, unpunctuated when in agreement with a pronoun.

1. 4. 47. 7: Me silly maid away with him he bare,
 2. 1. 56. 1: Which when I wretch, Not one word more she sayd

Exception:

1. 9. 17. 6: And you, my Lord, the Patrone of my life,

X. Interjections are either left unpunctuated or set off by commas. "Alas" is usually punctuated, and "loe" and "ah" usually unpunctuated.

XI. Exclamations are not followed by the exclamation point, but are enclosed in parentheses without other punctuation.

1. 9. 27. 1: I lately chaunst (Would I had neuer chaunst)
 1. 9. 28. 3: We met that villen (God from him me blesse)

In a few instances parentheses are not employed.

2. 1. 10. 1: Or rather would, O would it so had chaunst,

They are of course not employed when the exclamation is a complete sentence. In that case the exclamation concludes with a period.

1. 1. 18. 9: God helpe the man so wrapt in *Errours* endlesse traine.

XII. The punctuation of vocatives is so capricious that a complete analysis is required. In making this, however, we have removed from consideration all those cases in which a punctuation mark preceding or following the vocative may have served some other purpose than to set off the vocative.

A. Vocative after an expletive.

(1) Ordinarily the vocative is followed, but not preceded, by a comma. There are twenty-four vocatives thus punctuated.

1. 1. 19. 2: Cride out, Now now Sir Knight, shew what ye bee,
 1. 5. 27. 8: O welcome child, whom I haue longd to see,

(2) In seventeen instances the first parenthesis of a broken quotation replaces the comma which normally follows the vocative.

1. 1. 52. 8: Why Dame (quoth he) what hath ye thus dismayd?

In three instances both comma and parenthesis are used, the comma being a survival from *a*, which did not employ parentheses.

1. 4. 41. 1: Ah dearest Dame, (quoth then the Paynim bold,)

(3) In one instance a semi-colon replaces the comma.

2. 3. 32. 7: Hayle Groome; didst not thou see a bleeding Hind,

(4) There are five vocatives which are both preceded and followed by commas.

2. 3. 37. 6: All haile, Sir knight, and well may thee befall

In two other instances a parenthesis of a broken quotation replaces one of the commas.

1. 6. 36. 7: Aye me, Deare dame (quoth he) well may I rew
 3. 8. 23. 7: Ah (said she) father, I note read aright,

(5) Six vocatives are entirely unpunctuated.

3. Pr. 3. 5:

But O dred Soueraine

B. Vocative at the beginning of a quotation or invocation.

(1) Ordinarily the vocative is followed by a comma. (It is necessarily preceded by some mark of punctuation, but this can always be accounted for on some other ground.) There are forty-one examples of this.

1. 3. 28. 1: He thereto meeting said, my dearest Dame,
Farre be it from your thought, and fro my will,

(2) In twenty-two instances, however, the comma is replaced by the first parenthesis of a broken quotation, and in three others both comma and parenthesis are used, the comma surviving from *a*.

2. 1. 33. 1: Palmer, (him answered the *Redcrosse* knight)

(3) In eleven cases no mark of punctuation follows the vocative.

3. 2. 9. 4: Her shortly answered; Faire martiall Mayd
Certes ye misauised bene,

C. Vocative in apposition with a personal pronoun.

(1) In nine instances the vocative is set off by two commas (2. 9. 8. 5).

(2) In three instances the vocative is followed, but not preceded, by a comma (1. 10. 17. 2), and in one instance the pause after the vocative is secured by a parenthesis.

3. 2. 42. 1: But thine my Deare (welfare thy heart my deare)

D. Vocative after conjunctive adverb or conjunction.

(1) There are eleven instances of the vocative preceded by such conjunctive adverbs as "therefore," "however," or "henceforth." In six of these the vocative is set off by two commas (1. 8. 2. 6), in three it is merely followed by a comma (2. 1. 20. 6), and in two it is left unpunctuated (2. 12. 10. 9).

(2) The two examples of a vocative preceded by a conjunction are punctuated as follows:

2. 12. 85. 8: But Palmer, if it mote thee so aggrate,

2. 1. 18. 1: But now, faire Ladie, comfort to you make,

E. Vocative following an imperative.

(1) In six instances the vocative is set off by two commas (3. 7. 53. 2), and in one the vocative is followed by both a comma and a parenthesis (2. 9. 12. 1).

(2) In four instances punctuation follows the vocative but does not precede it. In three of these the mark employed is the comma (1. 1. 33. 1; 1. 5. 11. 1; 3. 1. 28. 1), and in one it is the first parenthesis of a broken quotation (2. 7. 20. 5).

(3) In one instance the second parenthesis of a broken quotation precedes the vocative and no mark follows it.

3. 3. 25. 1: But read (said Glauce) thou Magitian
What meanes shall she out seeke, or what wayes take?

F. Vocative well within a sentence. This last, but not unimportant group of vocatives, is made up of those which occur in definite isolation, separating the beginning and the end of a statement or question.

(1) In seven instances the vocative is set off by two commas.

3. 3. 24. 1: It was not, Britomart, thy wandring eye,

In one further case the second comma is replaced by the parenthesis of a broken quotation (2. 7. 39. 1).

(2) In three instances the vocative is followed, but not preceded, by a comma (3. 5. 6. 9).

(3) In one instance the vocative is preceded by a parenthesis, but not followed by punctuation.

2. 1. 48. 1: Ah farre be it (said he) Deare dame fro mee,

(4) In two instances there is no punctuation whatever (1. 1. 12. 5-6; 2. 9. 43. 6-7).

We have now to compare the punctuation of b_1 and a . This comparison is based upon the University of Washington copy of b_1 , and the Church Copy 50742 in the Huntington Library of a . Slight variants in other copies do not materially affect the results.

Books	Punctuation marks in b_1	Variants from a	Percentage of difference*
I	7025	214	3.04
II	8377	333	3.99
III	8019	160	1.99

When the variants are analyzed, the following results are obtained:

Books	Obvious errors in a (corrected in b_1)	Obvious errors in b_1 (not found in a)
I	54	15
II	91	15
III	29	13
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals	174	43

Books	Heavier points in b_1	Lighter points in b_1
I	78	60
II	131	73
III	77	41
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals	286	174

*Every effort has been made to secure accuracy in this and the following tables. A review by another scholar might yield slightly different totals, but any such difference would not affect the conclusions.

There are, besides, a few changes in punctuation which are neither lighter nor heavier.

Books	Exclamation mark substituted in b_1 for interrogation point of rhetorical question in a	Interrogation point substi- tuted in b_1 for other punc- tuation of rhetorical question in a
I		1
II	1	4

Moreover, the above table and those that immediately follow do not provide for changes incident to the substitution or addition of parentheses. Sometimes b_1 substitutes parentheses for the commas or other marks used in a , as in 2. 8. 15. 1; 2. 8. 29. 1; 2. 12. 26. 1; sometimes it adds parentheses to the punctuation used in a , 2. 1. 11. 1; 2. 4. 44. 1; 2. 9. 38. 1; sometimes it substitutes parentheses but retains one of the marks in a , 2. 1. 33. 1; 2. 8. 24. 6; and sometimes it adds parentheses where no punctuation occurs in a , as in 2. 10. 47. 9.

The following table gives a detailed analysis of the punctuation made heavier or lighter in b_1 .

Table of Punctuation Made Heavier in 1596
(Exclusive of Actual Errors)

'90-'96

Table of Punctuation Made Lighter in 1596
(Exclusive of Actual Errors)

'90-'96

Type of Clause or Construction	No punct. to,	No punct. to ;	No punct. to :	to ;	to :	to :	to ;	to ;	to :	Total
Additive	I 9	I 2	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 7
	II 17	II 1	II 1	II 6	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 25
	III 1	III 1	III 4	III 4	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 6
Adversative and Concessive	I 1	I 3	I 4	I 1	I 3	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 12
	II 3	II 7	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 11
	III 1	III 9	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 12
Causal	I 1	I 1	I 2	I 1	I 2	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 3
	II 1	II 4	II 3	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 6
	III 1	III 3	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 4
Relative	I 2	I 4	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 7
	II 8	II 7	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 15
	III 4	III 8	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 13
Result	I 2	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 3
	II 1	II 3	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 4
	III 1	III 2	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 3
Formal Quotation	I 5	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 5
	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 2
	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 2
Informal Quotation	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 1
	II 8	II 8	II 8	II 8	II 8	II 8	II 8	II 8	II 8	II 8
	III 6	III 6	III 6	III 6	III 6	III 6	III 6	III 6	III 6	III 6
Vocative	II 3	II 3	II 3	II 3	II 3	II 3	II 3	II 3	II 3	II 3
	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2
	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2	III 2
Unclassified	I 20	I 3	I 3	I 3	I 3	I 3	I 3	I 3	I 3	I 40
	II 27	II 1	II 19	II 1	II 3	II 1	II 3	II 1	II 3	II 54
	III 11	III 16	III 16	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 29
Total	I 33	I 4	I 20	I 8	I 1	I 7	I 1	I 1	I 1	I 78
	II 59	II 2	II 59	II 1	II 1	II 3	II 1	II 1	II 1	II 131
	III 20	III 2	III 49	III 2	III 2	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 1	III 77
Grand Total	*112	8	2	128	11	2	12	1	10	286

* It should be noted that one short passage, 2 Pr. 2. 5-5. 9, contributes 24 instances to this total.

As the tables show, the variants are the result (1) of errors, (2) of changes which make the punctuation of b_1 heavier or lighter than of a , or (3) of changes considered as neither heavier nor lighter punctuation. We have recognized as errors only such instances as are very obviously erroneous, that is departures from the style-sheet apparently followed by the printer. It will be noted that there are 174 such errors in a (see page 489) that have been corrected in the later edition, but that 43 fresh errors have crept into b_1 . There are in addition a few errors in a that were not removed in b_1 . 61 of the errors in a are the omission of periods at the end of stanzas, distributed as follows: I – 17, II – 30, III – 14. As these periods were deliberately omitted because there was no room for them at the end of long alexandrines, in the strict sense they are not errors at all. 34 of the errors in a are illustrations of the so-called "comma fault," the use of commas at the end of complete sentences; in b_1 , 21 of these commas are replaced by semi-colons, 2 by colons, and 11 by periods. It may be that the compositors of a intended to use periods in all of these cases, and that the commas were the result of getting the type confused in the trays; this is the more likely since there are 8 instances in which a period obviously has been used in place of a comma (3. 1. 53. 2; 3. 1. 61. 6). In 4 other instances there is an absence of any punctuation at the end of a minor unit within the body of a stanza (3. 2. 2. 6–end). The remaining errors are for the most part obvious misinterpretations of the thought. Thus 1. 4. 29. 5-8 reads in b_1 as follows:

Who had enough, yet wished euer more;
A vile disease, and eke in foote and hand
A grievous gout tormented him full sore,
That well he could not touch, nor go, nor stand:

In a a comma follows "more," and "A vile disease" was seemingly interpreted as in apposition with "wished euer more." Again, in a good many passages there is evidence that the compositor introduced wrong punctuation before he appreciated the construction of the following thought unit and then did not trouble himself to correct it. Thus 2. 11. 20. 1-6, correctly punctuated in b_1 , reads as follows:

Which suddeine horreur and confused cry,
When as their Captaine heard, in haste he yode,
The cause to weet, and fault to remedy;
Vpon a Tygre swift and fierce he rode,
That as the winde ran vnderneath his lode,
Whiles his long legs nigh raught vnto the ground;

In a "remedy" is followed by a comma, though line 3 completes a grammatical unit. The probable explanation is that the compositor's eye traveled over the first part of the following line and that he inserted the comma thinking that "Vpon a Tygre" modified "yode," and that when a moment later he discovered that it modified "rode" he did not take trouble to correct the mark. There are a good many instances of faulty punctuation which are most readily explained by the compositor's misunderstanding (1. 2. 16. 5; 1. 7. 34. 7), and they furnish weighty evidence that the punctuation was largely the work of the compositor.

The errors in b_1 consist mostly of the use of commas for periods or periods for commas in constructions where the correct punctuation is perfectly obvious, and were probably occasioned by the types having been carelessly distributed in

the trays. Thus commas occur at the end of stanzas (3. 1. 48. 9) or at the termination of minor units within the stanza (1. 8. 24. 5), and periods occur in the middle of sentences, e. g., 1. 11. 35. 1:

Whom when the damned feend so fresh did spy.
No wonder if he wondred at the sight,

In a few instances punctuation is omitted altogether (3. 8. 38. 7-end). Occasionally the punctuation shows that the construction was misunderstood. Thus the colon in 3. 2. 2. 7 shows that "sith" was interpreted as "since that time" rather than "since the time that":

Yet sith they warlike armes haue layd away:
They haue exceld in artes and pollicy,
That now we foolish men that prayse gin eke t'enuy.

A curious problem is presented by 2. Pr. 2. 5-5. 9 in *a*, which constitutes sig. M6^v. On this page there are only eight marks of punctuation, as opposed to thirty-two in *b*₁, and the punctuation that is employed is careless and inconsistent with the general practice. Note the absence of interrogation points in 2. 6-9, the comma at the end of the sentence in 2. 5, and the inverted comma in 3. 1. The four stanzas, including 2. 1-4 which appear on sig. M6^r and which are adequately punctuated, read as follows:

- 2 But let that man with better sence aduize,
That of the world least part to vs is red:
And daily how through hardy enterprize,
Many great Regions are discouered,
Which to late age were neuer mentioned,
Who euer heard of th' Indian *Peru*
Or who in venturous vessell measured
The *Amar[z]ons* huge riuer now found trew
Or fruitfulest *Virginia* who did euer vew.
- 3 Yet all these were when no man did them know,
[comma upside down]
Yet haue from wisest ages hidden beene
And later times thinges more vnknowne shall show
Why then should witlesse man so much misweene
That nothing is but that which he hath seene?
What if within the Moones fayre shining spheare
What if in euery other starre vnseene
Of other worldes he happily should heare
He wōder would much more, yet such to some appeare
- 4 Of faery lond yet if he more inquyre
By certein signes here sett in sondrie place
He may it fynd; ne let him then admyre
But yield his sence to bee too blunt and bace
That no'te without an hound fine footing trace
And then O fayrest Princesse vnder sky
In this fayre mirrhour maist behold thy face
And thine owne realmes in lond of Faery
And in this antique ymage thy great auncestry.

- 5 The which O pardon me thus to enfold
 In couert vele and wrap in shadowes light
 That feeble eyes your glory may behold
 Which ells could not endure those beames bright
 But would be dazled with exceeding light
 O pardon and vouchsafe with patient eare
 The braue aduentures of this faery knight
 The good Sir *Guyon* graciously to heare
 In whom great rule of Temp'raunce goodly doth appeare.

The explanation of this irregular page may be that the task of setting it and of completing the sheet was assigned to a novice. With canto one, which begins on sig. M7^r, the punctuation again becomes normal. Moreover this page supports the theory that punctuation was largely the work of the compositor, for if a compositor—and especially a green hand—had been working with an adequately punctuated manuscript, it is hardly to be thought that he would be guilty of such general neglect. But that the punctuation was not revised, is good evidence that punctuation was not a matter of too scrupulous concern.

As the tables show, the punctuation is heavier in b_1 than in a . The tendency to replace commas with semi-colons is especially to be noted. To be sure, while in 112 instances b_1 introduces commas where there is no punctuation in a , in another 112 instances it removes commas where a had inserted them. The explanation of this is that in certain constructions a frequently employs the comma where b_1 rather consistently omits it. Thus in a the comma is often inserted at the end of a line, separating a verb and its object (1. 7. 18. 6; 1. 9. 48. 5), a subject and its predicate (3. 9. 27. 1), a verb and a modifying prepositional phrase (2. 7. 58. 2; 3. 6. 26. 1), a noun and a modifying prepositional phrase (3. 3. 28. 8), a prepositional phrase and the verb which it modifies (1. 2. 16. 3), a verb and a modifying infinitive of purpose phrase (1. 1. 3. 6; 1. 9. 42. 2), and a verb and an infinitive object complement (1. 6. 29. 4). Another way of stating the case would be to say that a is less inclined to run-over lines than is b_1 . There is also a tendency in a to insert a comma between a verb and its object within the line (1. 10. 22. 5; 2. 6. 43. 1).

Moreover, b_1 is better punctuated than is a . Not only are there fewer errors, but there are frequent passages in which punctuation has been inserted to clarify the construction. For example, in 1. 12. 9. 1 note the insertion of a comma following "after":

And after, all the raskall many ran,

Again in 3. 3. 55. 1, the insertion of a comma after "sway":

And that, which more then all the rest may sway,
 Late dayes ensample, which these eyes beheld,

Turning from the comparison of b_1 and a to a comparison of b_1 and b_2 , we find that the tendency toward heavier punctuation recognized in the first comparison is even more pronounced in the second. Unless we are to assume that the poet himself adopted an appreciably heavier punctuation beginning with Book Four, we must conclude that the compositors of the last three books, working from the author's manuscript rather than from the printed page, punctuated more

independently and showed their preference for heavier punctuation. Especially pronounced is the tendency to terminate the minor unit with a period, thus breaking down the distinction between major units and minor units. Stated differently, this distinction was rather consistently observed in the punctuation of a ; in b_1 it still maintains, there being only 13 instances in which a period is substituted for the semi-colon or colon which set off the minor unit in a ; in b_2 , however, the distinction largely disappears. An example is the following (4. Pr. 2):

Such ones ill iudge of loue, that cannot loue,
 Ne in their frosen hearts feele kindly flame:
 For thy they ought not thing vnknowne reprove,
 Ne naturall affection faultlesse blame,
 For fault of few that haue abusd the same.
 For it of honor and all vertue is
 The roote, and brings forth glorious flowres of fame,
 That crowne true louers with immortal blis,
 The meed of them that loue, and do not liue amisse.

This stanza is clearly one major unit, the causal clause beginning with line six being intimately related to what precedes. In the first three books there are, all told, only 17 causal clauses set off by periods; in the last three books there are 92.

To be sure, there is something of a stylistic change in the last three books, for the poet shows a tendency to make transitions of thought within the stanzas themselves rather than at the beginning, with a distinct gain in flexibility. This change in the poet's style is not sufficient, however, to account for the increased use of the period.

The shift toward heavier punctuation in b_2 can best be presented statistically. The first table gives the totals for commas, semi-colons, colons, and periods within stanzas, in Books II, III, and IV. For the sake of simplicity we have grouped the interrogation points with the periods, the percentage of interrogation points being approximately the same in the different books. As Book IV has only 604 stanzas, for purposes of comparison we have limited Books II and III to the first 604 stanzas of each.

Comparative Table of Punctuation in Books II and III and Book IV
 (604 stanzas each)

	Commas	Semi-colons	Colons	Periods
Book II	4680	495	402	303
Book IV	4774	479	387	416
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	+ 94	— 16	— 15	+ 113
Book III	4931	476	436	280
Book IV	4774	479	387	416
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	— 157	+ 3	— 49	+ 136

This table shows that the period is much more frequently employed in Book IV than in the two preceding books. The percentage per stanza of periods within stanzas for the three books is as follows: II: .50; III: .46; IV: .69.

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The next table compares the punctuation in Books II and IV of the five types of clauses which allow the greatest latitude in pointing.

Comparative Table of Punctuation of Clauses in Books II and IV
(604 stanzas each)

Clauses	Commas	Semi-colons	Colons	Periods	Totals
<i>Additive</i>					
Book II	950	39	19	6	1014
Book IV	858	95	46	27	1026
<i>Adversative and Concessive*</i>					
Book II	198	73	55	31	357
Book IV	221	53	57	74	405
<i>Relative</i>					
Book II	583	46	41	9	679
Book IV	582	80	37	30	729
<i>Causal</i>					
Book II	8	30	36	3	77
Book IV	9	22	37	31	99
<i>Result</i>					
Book II	50	17	12	6	85
Book IV	22	12	20	19	73

*The adversative and concessive clauses are grouped together, since it is sometimes difficult to differentiate them.

It will be noted that the totals for the respective types of clauses are surprisingly close, giving added point to the other statistics. The increase in the use of periods for all the types is obvious at a glance. Moreover, in the case of additive clauses, Book IV makes much more use of semi-colons and colons, as well as periods, than does Book II, and this is done at the expense of the commas; for while the totals of points for the two books are only twelve apart, there are 92 more commas in II than in IV. Again, in the case of formal relative clauses the heavier pointing in IV is pronounced, there being 147 such clauses set off by a heavier point than the comma, as opposed to 96 in II.

To demonstrate fully that the heavier pointing in Book IV is due—in large measure, at least—to a shift in the practice of punctuation rather than to stylistic change would require a great deal of citation. A few stanzas, however, may be quoted by way of illustration. In the following stanza (4. 5. 16) a relative clause is set off by a period (2), an adversative clause by a semi-colon (4), a causal clause by a period (5), and an additive clause by a semi-colon (8).

Then was that golden belt by doome of all
 Graunted to her, as to the fayrest Dame.
 Which being brought, about her middle small
 They thought to gird, as best it her became;
 But by no meanes they could it thereto frame.
 For euer as they fastned it, it loos'd

And fell away, as feeling secret blame.
Full oft about her wast she it enclos'd;
And it as oft was from about her wast disclos'd.

In the following stanza (4. 12. 15), an adversative clause is set off by a period (2), a causal clause by a colon (3), a second causal clause by a colon (4); an additive clause by a period (5) and an additive clause by a semi-colon (8).

Then did he cast to steale her thence away,
And with him beare, where none of her might know.
But all in vaine: for why he found no way
To enter in, or issue forth below:
For all about that rocke the sea did flow.
And though vnto his will she giuen were,
Yet without ship or bote her thence to row,
He wist not how her thence away to bere;
And daunger well he wist long to continue there.

The final table gives the comparative use of semi-colons, colons, and periods (including interrogation points) for the five types of clauses throughout the six books. In computation the number of stanzas in the different books should be kept in mind, since the last three books are shorter than the first three.

Comparative Table of Punctuation of Clauses in Books I-VI

Books	Semi-colons						Colons						Periods					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
(Number of Stanzas)	621	689	682	604	576	561	621	689	682	604	576	561	621	689	682	604	576	561
<i>Clauses</i>																		
Additive	66	44	54	95	98	67	32	21	27	46	42	14	10	6	5	27	17	8
Adversative and																		
Concessive	40	81	76	55	57	45	50	66	70	57	65	61	30	31	31	74	68	51
Relative	49	54	36	80	55	47	48	50	38	37	43	31	9	12	10	30	50	41
Causal	35	44	60	22	9	16	58	43	52	37	38	37	4	4	9	31	36	25
Result	10	19	20	12	14	23	15	15	16	20	15	10	3	7	17	19	41	28
Totals	200	242	246	264	233	198	203	195	203	197	203	153	56	60	72	181	212	153

This table confirms the deductions from the preceding one. Again the increased use of periods is evident, there being 188 in Books I-III and 546 in Books IV-VI, the percentage per stanza being, I-III: .094; IV-VI: .313. For the other marks the percentages are by themselves too close to be significant; semi-colons, I-III: .345, IV-VI: .397; colons, I-III: .301, IV-VI: .317.

In the punctuation of b_2 there are, as in the case of b_1 , a good many obvious mistakes. Thirteen stanzas are not followed by any mark of punctuation, in some cases, doubtless, because of the length of the ninth line: 4. 1. 7; 4. 2. 46; 4. 2. 50; 4. 4. 27; 4. 8. 2; 5. 2. 7; 5. 2. 18; 5. 6. 21; 5. 7. 25; 6. 1. 13; 6. 1. 25; 6. 3. 30; 6. 12. 18. One stanza ends with a period, where a direct question requires an interrogation point: 6. 12. 19; one run-over stanza ends with a period: 6. 7. 32; and one non-run-over stanza ends with a semi-colon: 5. 11. 43. There are a good many instances of omitted punctuation in the body of stanzas. Examples from Book IV: 2. 6. 8; 6. 31. 5; 7. 36. 8; 8. 38. 2; 9. Arg. 3; 9. 24. 4. Examples from Book VI: 4. 4. 8; 4. 13. 4; 7. 44. 3; 8. 3. 8; 8. 42. 4; 10. 20. 1; 11. 29. 5; 11. 37. 8; 11. 51. 8. The last may be taken as an example:

And also all those flockes, which they before
Had reft from *Meliboe* and from his make,
He did them all to Coridon restore
So droue them all away, and his loue with him bore.

The most frequent mistakes result from the use of the comma where the period—or some heavier mark—is clearly required, or of the period where the comma is required. It is hard to escape the conclusion that the types had become mixed in the trays, for the substitution of periods or commas, as the case may be, would rectify the punctuation in all of these passages. Comma used for the period: 4. 1. 51. 5; 4. 2. 22. 2; 4. 2. 22. 4; 4. 2. 23. 8; 4. 3. 3. 4; 4. 3. 26. 1; 6. 1. 10. 8; 6. 7. 13. 5; 6. 10. 26. 4. Period used for comma: 4. 4. 1. 4; 4. 4. 9. 5; 4. 4. 22. 4; 4. 4. 22. 6; 4. 4. 23. 5; 4. 4. 24. 4; 4. 4. 27. 3; 4. 9. 18. 8; 4. 11. 52. 4; 5. Proem 1. 3; 5. 7. 28. 8; 5. 8. 24. 2; 6. 1. 24. 4; 6. 3. 13. 7; 6. 3. 32. 6; 6. 8. 32. 4; 6. 9. 7. 8. There are seven passages in which a semi-colon is used where a comma was seemingly intended, 4. 4. 27. 8; 4. 11. 24. 4; 5. 2. 51. 6; 5. 10. 17. 4; 5. 10. 37. 3; 6. 3. 23. 5; 6. 4. 40. 9; and two where a colon, instead of a comma, crept in, 4. 3. 6. 3; 4. 5. 25. 1. The first may be taken as an example:

Gainst whom Sir *Priamond* with equall worth:
And equall armes himselfe did forward set.

As in the earlier books, there are several passages which suggest that the compositor had inserted a wrong mark in a line before he realized the construction in the next line. As suggested above, it is significant that he did not take the trouble to correct these mistakes. A good example is 4. 2. 17. 1-2, where, at first glance, line 2 would seem to be introducing a long simile and therefore to justify a semi-colon at the end of line 1, the correct construction only becoming apparent when one reads further in the stanza. In b_2 the passage is punctuated as follows:

At length they both vpstarted in amaze;
As men awaked rashly out of dreme,
And round about themselues a while did gaze,
Till seeing her, that *Florimell* did seeme,

Other instances are as follows: 4. 1. 38. 5; 4. 2. 30. 1; 4. 2. 44. 4; 4. 3. 26. 1; 4. 4. 23. 5; 4. 10. 25. 1; 4. 11. 26. 8; 5. 2. 6. 2; 5. 5. 55. 7; 5. 10. 16. 8; 6. 3. 24. 4; 6. 7. 47. 6; 6. 9. 45. 5. Three of these—5. 2. 6. 2; 5. 10. 16. 8; 6. 7. 47. 6—*may* merely be the result of the mixing of types.

Another mistake in b_2 which occurs four times, results from placing a comma before a word when it should follow it, or after a word when it should precede it: 5. Pr. 4. 7; 5. 4. 36. 8;

5. 12. 40. 5: And that bright sword the sword, of Iustice lent,

6. 3. 24. 8: Hastily starting, vp like men dismayde,*

Analogous is the following:

5. 7. 13. 1: Her seem', das she was doing sacrificize

We have noted that in the earlier books sometimes the punctuation reveals that the thought was misunderstood. This is true of a few passages in the later books, the best of evidence that the punctuation was the work of the compositor. For example,

4. 12. 5. 3-7: That piteously complained her carefull grieffe,
Which neuer she before disclosd to none.
But to her selfe her sorrow did bemone,
So feelingly her case she did complaine,
That ruth it moued in the rocky stone,

See also 5. 4. 6. 5 and 6. 9. 12. 7.

In commenting upon the differences between the punctuation of a and b_1 , we observed (page 494) a marked tendency in a to place a comma at the end of a line in certain constructions where b_1 removed it. B_1 , however, was not altogether free from such punctuation, nor is b_2 . Smith has systematically removed these commas, but though inconsistent with the *general* practice of 1596, they can hardly be called mistakes. Examples are as follows: comma at end of line between simple subject and verb, 4. 3. 23. 7; 6. 3. 36. 3; 6. 6. 26. 6; between verb and object, 4. 7. 30. 3; 6. 7. 46. 8; 6. 10. 32. 5; between noun and prepositional phrase which modifies it, 4. 2. 30. 1; 6. 2. 16. 5; 6. 10. 2. 8; between prepositional phrase and noun which it modifies, 4. 9. 40. 2; between verb and prepositional phrase which modifies it, 4. 3. 47. 7; 4. 8. 2. 2; between prepositional phrase and the verb which it modifies, 4. 2. 10. 4; 6. 6. 20. 8; and between a subject and a prepositional phrase which modifies a following verb, 6. 1. 31. 1; 6. 1. 38. 1.

We find in b_2 , as in a and b_1 (e. g. 2. 7. 56. 1; 2. 7. 57. 8), some tendency to mark inversions with the comma: 4. 9. 1. 9; 4. 10. 7. 9; 4. 12. 16. 2; 4. 12. 27. 6; 5. 10. 28. 9; 6. 4. 18. 6; 6. 8. 34. 1:

Tho when as all her plaints, she had displayd,

Simple inversions, however, are normally unpunctuated: 4. 7. 37. 8:

Her mortall arrowes she at him did threat,

In the punctuation of vocatives, of broken quotations, and of parenthetical remarks, no appreciable distinction occurs between b_1 and b_2 .

* This mistake is corrected in some copies; cf. Variant Readings.

Thus far this study leads to the following conclusions. A comparison of the punctuation of Books I-III in the 1590 edition and of the six books in the 1596 edition shows that the punctuation was rather heavier in the later edition than in the earlier, and that it is heavier in the last three books of 1596 set up from the author's manuscript than in the first three set up from the printed text of 1590. A good many mistakes of punctuation occur in both editions. While b_1 aims to correct the mistakes of a , it fails to correct some of them and makes independent mistakes of its own. There are similar mistakes in b_2 . Many of these mistakes seem to have resulted from a confusion of types in the trays, and it is significant that these obvious mistakes were not corrected in the proof-reading. The fact that some incorrect points were apparently inserted before the grammatical construction was understood, and the further fact that at times the punctuation reveals an actual misunderstanding of the thought, argue that the compositor had a large share in the punctuation. This is further supported by the fact, noted above, that the pointing is not uniform in the two editions. There is no way of determining the extent to which the poet's punctuation has survived, but clearly the compositors felt no obligation to follow it.

This last observation is borne out by Professor Pollard's conclusions based upon a comparison of the few stanzas of Harington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso* that have survived in manuscript, with the printed text ("Elizabethan Spelling as a Literary and Bibliographical Clue," *The Library*, 4th series, vol. 4, no. 1, June, 1923).

We shall next compare the punctuation of b_2 and 1609 (c). To this end we furnish a table of the changes in punctuation in Book IV.

This table shows how radically different was the punctuation in the two editions. In *c* the punctuation is regular, not to say mechanical, with no apparent regard for rhythmical effects. As the table makes clear, *c* is much more heavily punctuated than *b*₂.

The following more important generalizations may be made:

With the exception of relative clauses, clauses of every type are in general completely set off, and invariably so if long or formal. Restrictive relative clauses are not preceded by a comma; non-restrictive relative clauses are normally though not invariably so preceded.

Adjectival and participial phrases are usually set off. Prepositional phrases are much more frequently set off than in *b*₂, though the punctuation of such phrases is not consistent. They tend to be set off if out of the natural order, or if emphasis is desired. Appositional phrases, like nouns of apposition, are regularly set off.

Infinitive complements are not separated from the verbs which they modify, though frequently so set off in *b*₂.

Coordinates of all types, whether nouns, adjectives, verbs, or phrases, are usually separated by commas, and antithetical words or phrases are usually thrown into contrast by commas.

The relative pronoun in the objective case introducing a clause is usually preceded by a comma.

Conjunctions such as "for," "for thy," "then," "and then," "at length," "thus," and "nevertheless" are usually set off, and "but" and "yet" are sometimes set off. Likewise such adverbs of time and place as "whereby," "wherein," "at last," and "first" are frequently set off. The pauses thus effected almost invariably hinder the flow of the line.

The interpolations in broken quotations are invariably set off by commas instead of parentheses. On the other hand, parentheses are much more frequently employed than in *b*₂ to set off parenthetical clauses or phrases. Not only are they retained in the 24 instances where *b*₂ employs them, but in 8 instances they are introduced where no punctuation appeared in *b*₂; in 48 instances they are substituted for other punctuation, usually commas; and in 4 instances imposed upon the previous punctuation.

Vocatives are set off by commas.

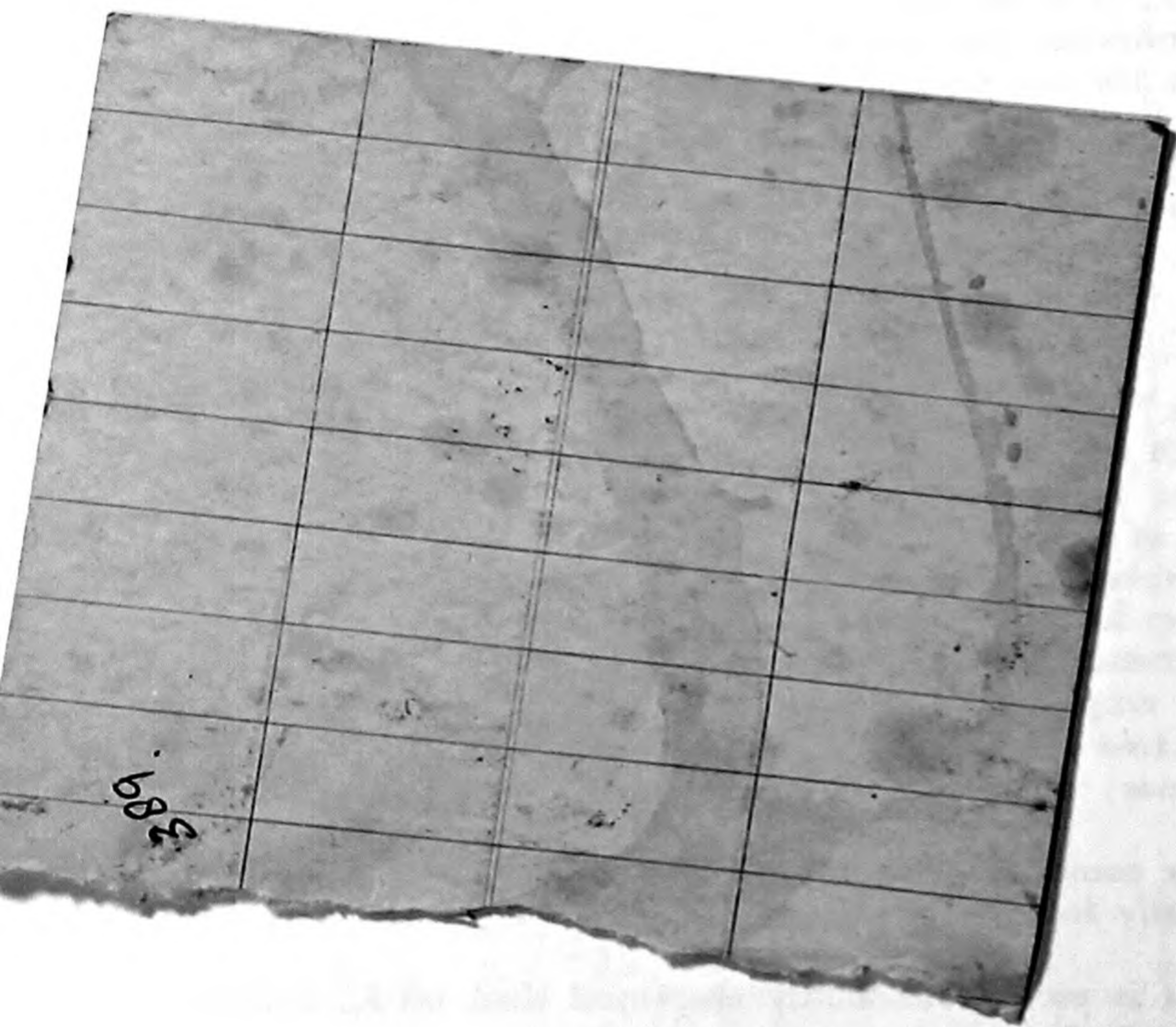
Exclamations are normally followed by the exclamation point, but occasionally by the comma.

The interrogation point is more consistently employed than in *b*₂, following direct but not rhetorical questions.

The complete freedom with which the pointing is altered in *c*, is further evidence that the compositors regarded themselves as responsible for punctuation. It is unfortunate, however, that the compositors of this edition gave so little heed to rhythmical considerations.

The comparison of *b*₂ and *c* shows how rapidly punctuation was being standardized, a tendency that was already evident in the comparison of *a* and *b*₁, and *b*₁ and *b*₂.

An examination of the punctuation of the Minor Poems tends to confirm the conclusion that punctuation was largely the work of compositors. The detailed analysis of the punctuation of the Minor Poems may be presented in a subsequent volume.



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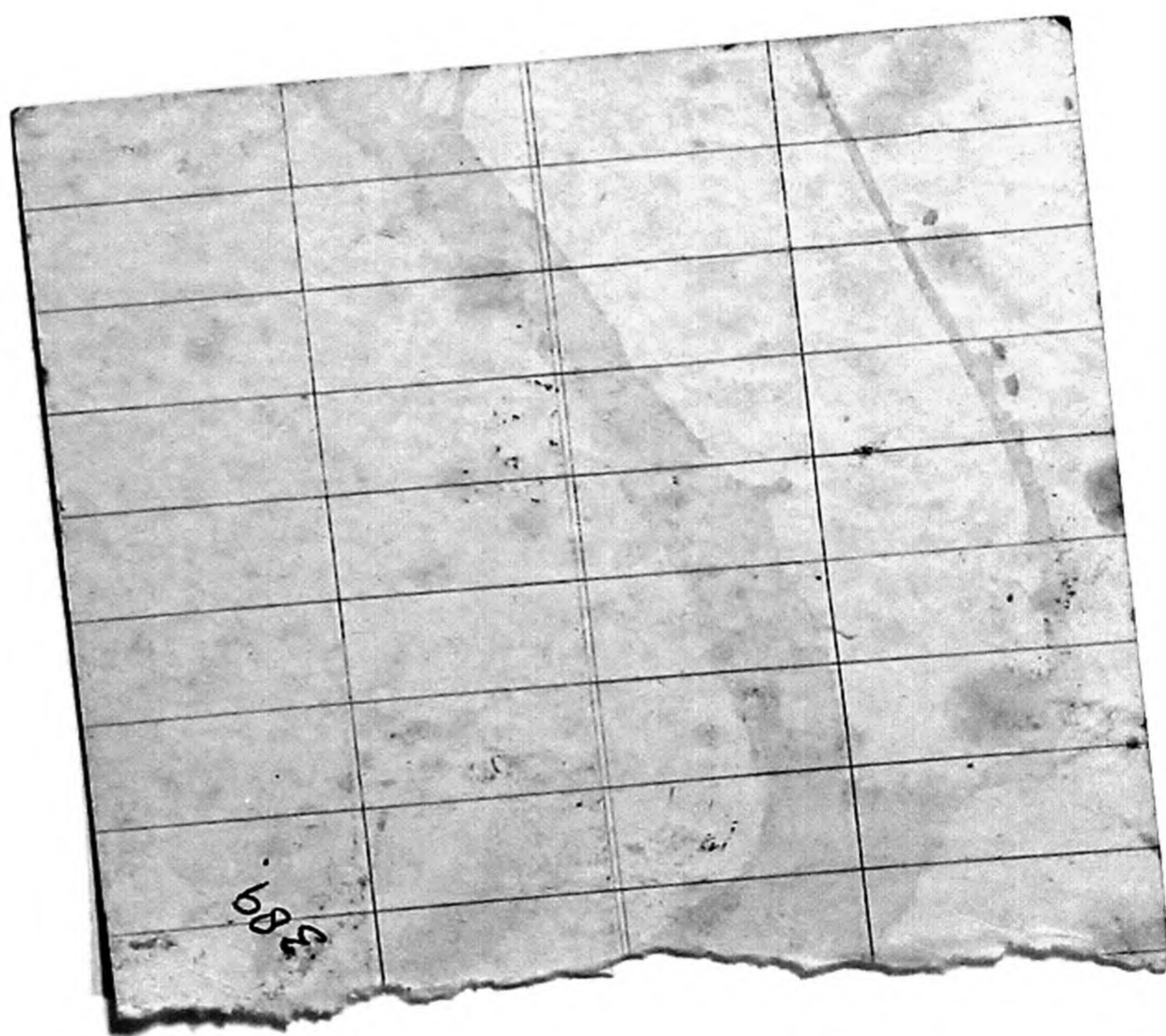
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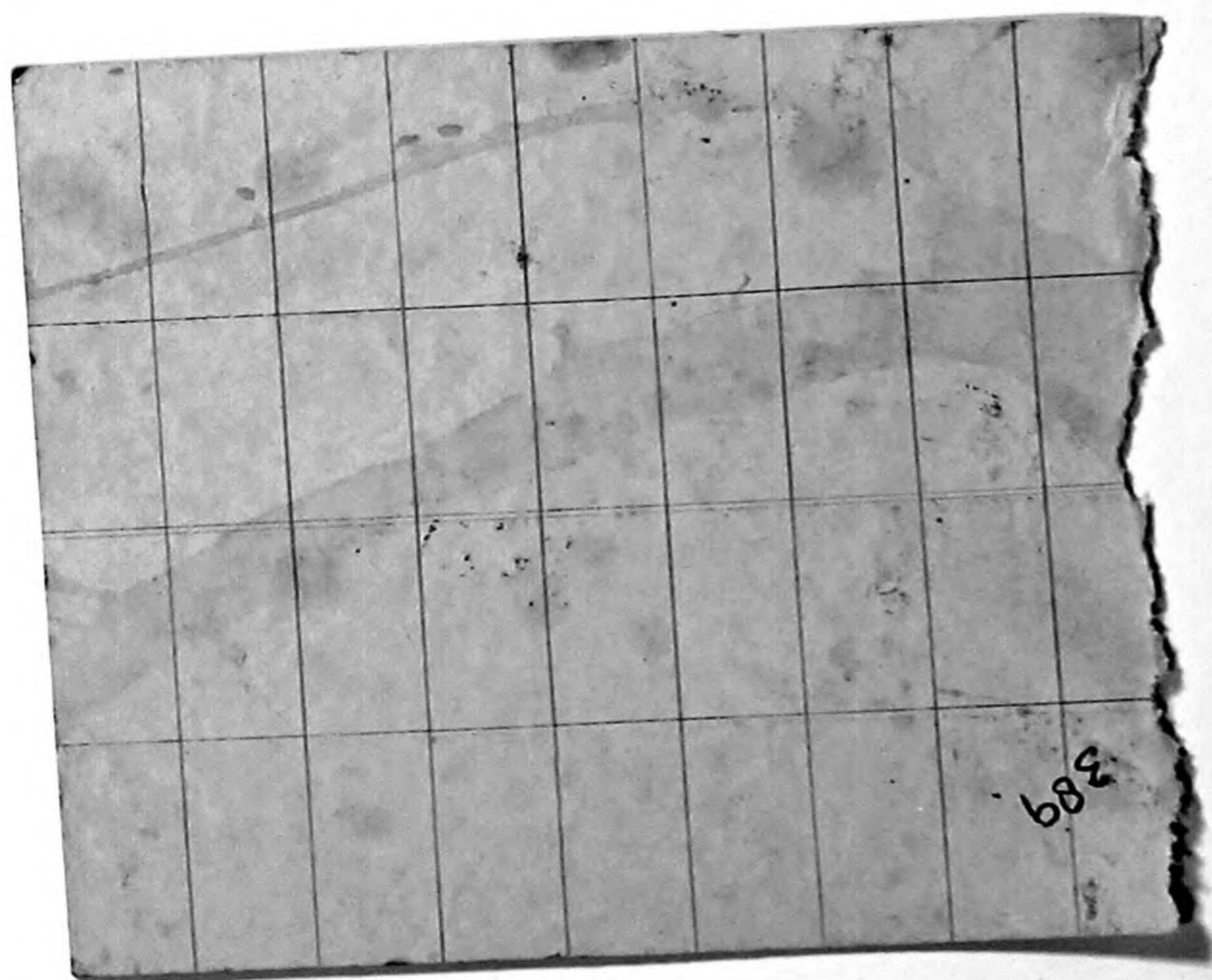


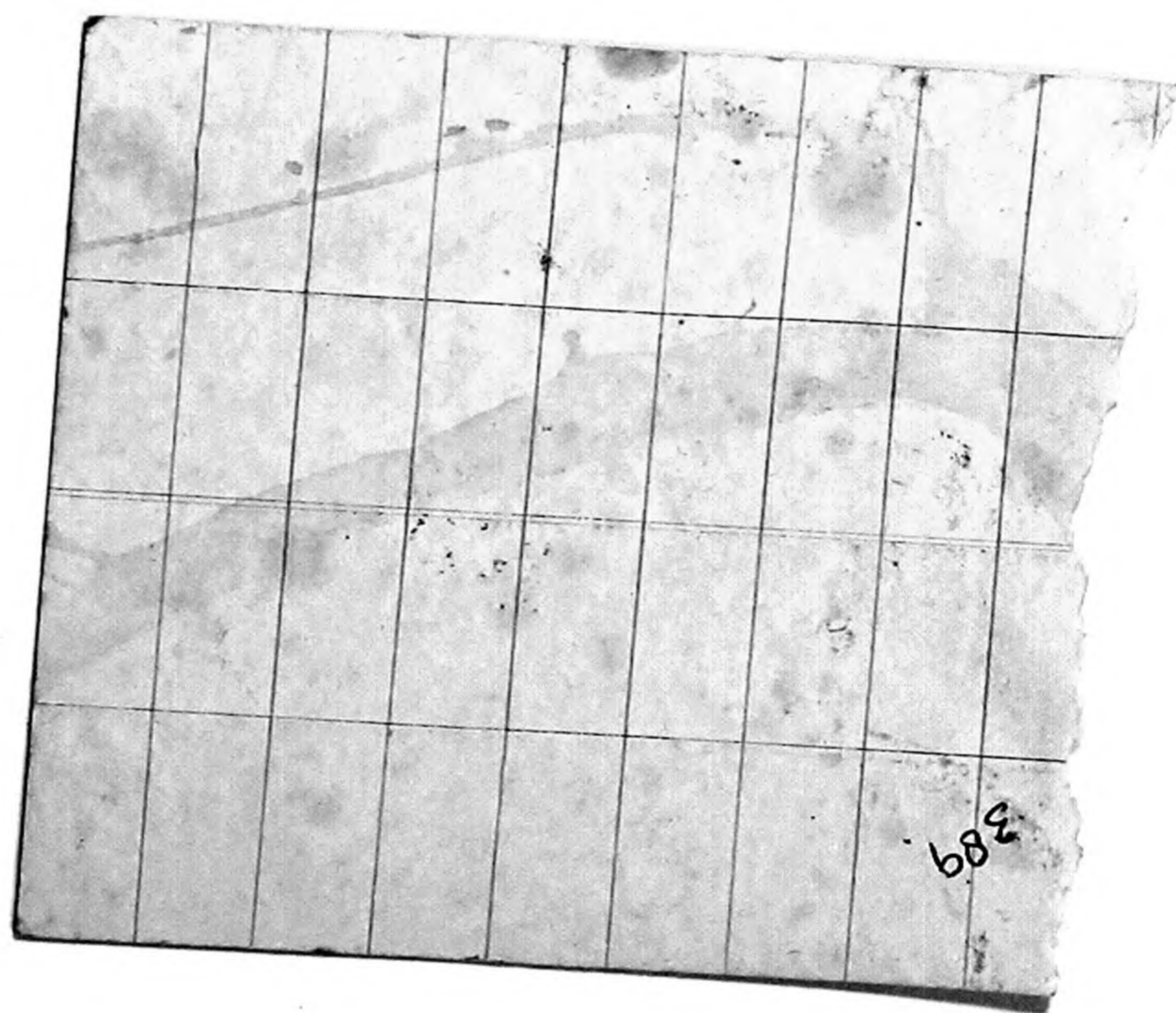
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